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G. A. GRIERSON'S

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

A SUMMARY

By

SIDDHESHWAR VARMA

PART II

HOSHIARPUR

VISHVESHVARANAND INSTITUTE

PANJAB UNIVERSITY

1973

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G. A. GRIERSON'S

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

—A SUMMARY—

PART II

98244

By

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HOSHIARPUR

VISHVESHVARANAND INSTITUTE

PANJAB UNIVERSITY

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VOL. V, PART I

INDO-ARYAN FAMILY

EASTERN GROUP

BENGALI AND ASSAMESE LANGUAGES

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EASTERN GROUP

INTRODUCTION

320 The Eastern Group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars, viz., Assamese, Bengali, Oṛiyā and Bihārī, with a few isolated exceptions, are spoken in Assam, in Lower Provinces of Bengal, in the Eastern districts of the North-Western Provinces and in the extreme east of Central Provinces. Its western limit may be roughly fixed at the longitude of Tāṇḍā in Fyzabad district, say roughly 83°E and it covers the Aryan speaking India as for as the eastern border of Assam, say, 97°E. Between these limits it is also spoken in the Nepal Tarai along the base of Himalayas, which forms its northern boundary and it extends south to about Jaipur in the district of Vizagapatam, say, latitude 19°N. On the other side of Bay of Bengal it is spoken in the Chittagong district, and southwards, into the district of Akyab where, at about N. Lat. 20°, it meets Burmese.

In stating these areas, it should be remembered that any such account can only be approximate, as unless separated by some great natural obstacle, such as a range of mountains, a large river, or a tribe speaking a non-Aryan speech, the Aryan languages as a rule merge insensibly into each other.

Phonetic system. The pronunciation of *a* is much broader (closer) than in the west. In Assamese it has even the sound of *o* in 'glory', in Bengali and Oṛiyā it has commonly the sound of *o* in 'hot', and sometimes the sound of *o* in 'hope', and in Bihārī, the most western dialect of the Group it is flatter, but has not yet achieved the western sound of *u* in 'nut'. In an exactly similar way the long *a* has developed in the Eastern Group into a pair of short and long vowels, the first approaching the sound of *a* in 'man', and the second that of *a* in 'father'. The vowels *e* and *o* have also each developed into a short and a long pair.

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As regards consonants,—(1) the languages of Eastern Group show a marked preference for the sounds *r* and *rh* over the cerebral *ṛ* and *ṛh*. So also, except in Oṛiyā, which is influenced by the Dravidian languages Southern India, a cerebral *ṇ* is always pronounced in the Eastern Group as if it were a dental *n*. In Bengali and Oṛiyā, every cerebral sound is pronounced as if it were a dental. (2) In Bengali and Assamese there is a tendency to pronounce a *ch* as if it were *ts* or *s*, a *chh* as if it were *s*, and a *j* as if it were *z*. The same peculiarity is observable in Marāṭhī. (3) In Eastern languages initial *y* or *w* does not occur, while one or the other is added euphonically in the Western languages. (4) In Bengali an *s* is pronounced something like the English *sh*. In Assamese it is pronounced as *ch* in 'loch'. On the other hand, Bihārī and Oṛiyā follow the western custom of pronouncing as *sh* as if it were *s*.

Inflexion. The languages of the Eastern Group (and also Marāṭhī) show a greater tendency to inflexional synthesis than do those of the Western. Most of the inflexional procedure of Western languages is carried out by addition of separate words, which are still separate words even when added to the main base. For instance, 'of a house' in Hindī would be *ghar-kā*, but it would be *gharēr* in Bengali, *gharar* in Assamese, *gharara* in Oṛiyā, and *gharak* in Bihārī.

Conjugation. It is the conjugation of verbs that the languages of the Eastern Group show the most salient characteristics.

One peculiarity of the Eastern Group, which it shares with Marāṭhī, is what is known as the *l*- past. In all these languages, the characteristic sound of the past tense is *l*, which only appears, and then but rarely, in the language, Gujarātī, of the Western Group. Thus, for 'he struck', we have Assamese *mārilē*, Bengali *mārila*, Oṛiyā *mārilā*, Bihārī *mārᵃlak*, and Marāṭhī *mārilẽ*; but Hindī *mārā*, Rājasthānī and Gujarātī *māryō*, and Pañjābī *māriā*.

Another very important characteristic of the Eastern Group is the *b*-future. Thus it does not share with Marāṭhī. Thus, for 'thou wilt strike', we have Assamese and Bengali *māribi*, Oṛiyā *māribu*, Bihārī *mārᵃbẽ*; but Hindī *mārēga* or *mārihai*,

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Rājasthānī *mārᵃsī* or *marᵒhi*, Gujarātī *mārᵃsē*, Pañjābī *mārēga*.
[LSI pp. 1-9]

BENGALI OR BAṄGA-BHĀSHĀ

321 Bengali is the language of Lower Bengal, or the region of the Gangetic Delta and of the districts immediately above it and to its east. The language also extends on the west in Chota Nagpur, being spoken in the eastern portion of that Division, below the plateau of Hazaribagh and Lohardaga. On the East it extends into the Assam Valley, where it gradually merges into the cognate Assamese language. It also occupies the Assam districts of Sylhet and Cachar. To the south it meets the Burmese language in the district of Akyab. Its extreme south-western boundary cannot be defined exactly, as it here shades off gradually into the cognate language of Orissa. Its western boundary runs through the district of Singhbhum, and includes whole of the district of Manbhum. On meeting the hill country of the Santal Parganas, it goes in the north-easterly direction upto the river Ganges, which it crosses near Rājmahāl. Thence it runs nearly due north, following, closely the course of the Māhānandā River, through the districts of Malda and Purnea, upto the Nepal frontier. The lower ranges of Himalayas from the northern boundary of Bengali.

This language is called by those who speak it Bāṅglā or Baṅga-bhāshā—the language of Baṅga or Vaṅga. The former is the colloquial title, while the latter is the name found in literature. The word 'Bengali' is an English one, framed on the English word 'Bengal'. [LSI pp. 11-13]

Place of Bengali in Indo-Aryan languages. Bengali is the most important of the four languages—Assamese, Bengali, Oṛiyā, and Bihārī, which form the Eastern Group of Indo-Aryan languages. It is more structurally developed than the languages of Hindustan proper. In Bengali postpositions have simply become terminations. The use of participles in the conjugation of verbs has been similarly disguised by the addition of personal suffixes. Bengali grammar has a very feeble sense of the distinction of number. In the case of nouns, the distinction is hardly

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observed at all, except in the case of those referring to human beings ; at most a kind of plural being formed by addition of some noun of multitude. In pronouns, the plural form is commonly used instead of the singular when referring to human beings. The plural being used for the singular, if it is necessary to emphasize the idea of multitude, the original plural is treated as if it was a singular noun, and a kind of plural is formed on this basis. In the case of verbs, all sense of number is lost in the literary language. In the dialects, however, singular pronouns and verbs are still used. [LSI pp. 13-14]

Bengali dialects. There are two marked varieties of Bengali, that of the educated, and that of the uneducated. The dialect of the educated is known as Standard Bengali. It is practically the same over the whole of Bengal, but it is only used by its speakers for literary purposes, or when speaking formally. It departs from the latter not only in its vocabulary, but also in its grammatical forms.

The colloquial Bengali is divided into two main branches, a Western and an Eastern. The Western branch includes- the Central or Standard, the South-Western, the Western, and the Northern. Western Bengali has one sub-dialect called Khaṛiā-thār, spoken by the wild tribes, inhabiting the hills in the south of Manbhum, and another called Māl Pahāṛiā spoken in the centre of the Santhal Parganas. Another variety of the dialect, called Sarākī, is spoken by the Jains of Lohardaga.

The centre of the Eastern Bengali may be taken to be the district of Dacca. In Rangpur and the districts to the east and north, Rājbaṅgśi, dialect is spoken. It has one sub-dialect, called Bāhē, spoken in the Darjeeling-Tarai. Along the eastern littoral of the Bay of Bengal we find another distinct dialect, called South-Western Bengali, and inland there is one more curious dialect, called Chākmā, spoken by the tribes of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. [LSI pp. 17-19]

Pronunciation. Bengali alphabet has not a sufficient number of signs to represent the very complex vowel system. It has three *a* sounds, viz., *ā*, *ă* and *â*, two *e* sounds viz., *ē* and *ĕ*, three *o* sounds, viz., *ō*, *o*, and *ŏ*. The alphabet has only four vowels to

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represent these eight sounds. Of these, *ā* has the sound of *a* in 'father' ; *ă* has the sound of *a* in 'hat', as in *dâkhō* ; *á* is the sound of *aw* in 'awl' and is really the long sound of *ŏ*, as in *mānushár* 'of a man'. The sound *e*, is that of the *a* in 'lane' ; as in *dēśē* 'in a country'. The sound *ĕ* has two closely related pronunciations ; one in French word 'etait', and the other in 'met'. There is continual tendency for one sound to float into the other. The sound of *o* is that of the *o* in 'home' or in the French word 'votre'. *O* is the short sound of the long *ō* in 'home', 'vôtre'. *ŏ* is the commonest sound in the language. It is the sound of *o* in 'hod' and 'hot'. *Chh* is pronounced as *s* by the vulgar and in the Eastern districts. *y* is pronounced as *j*, except when it has a dot under it. *v* is always, when not compounded with another consonant, pronounced *b*. The nasals *n* and *ṇ* are both pronounced like *n*. All Sibilants standing alone are pronounced as *sh*, but the compound *śr* is pronounced as *sr* ; thus the title *Śrī*, is pronounced *Srī*.

The compound letter *ksh* is pronounced *kh* at the beginning of a word, and *kkh*^{v} in the middle of a word. [LSI pp. 29-32]

Nouns. There are two declensions, animate and inanimate.

(1) *Animates.* For nouns ending in consonants the terminations are : nominative oblique and locative singular *ē* and genitive singular *-er*. In nominative plural *ērā* is added. In genitive plural *dēr* or *digēr* is added. For other oblique cases of plural *-diga* is added. For nouns ending in *-a*, in nominative oblique singular *-y* is added, in plural *-rā* is added, in genitive *-r* and *-dēr* are added, respectively. In locative singular *-y* is added. For accusative and dative postposition-*kē* is added.

(2) *Inanimate objects.* In dative and locative-*ē* is added. In genitive *-ēr* is added. Plural is always formed by a periphrasis. Thus, *gāchh-sakal*, 'trees'.

Adjectives. Adjectives do not change for gender. [LSI p. 34]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of personal pronouns are ; first person singular, *āmi*, plural *āmarā*, second person singular *tumi*, plural *tōmarā ;* third person singular, *sē* (inferior) *tini* (superior), plural *tahāra*, *tarā* (inferior), *tāhārā* (superior).

[LSI pp. 34-35]

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Verbs. The plural is commonly used instead of singular, except in third person. Third person singular is also used as an honorific singular.

The forms of auxiliary verb or verb substantive are :

	Present	*Past*
1.	ācchi	chhilām
2.	āchha	chhilē
3.	(sing.) ācchē	chhila
	(plur.) āchhĕn	chhilĕn

The verbal nouns are formed by adding *-ā*, *-ibā* and *-aṇ* to the root. Thus *karā*, *karibā*, *karaṇ*.

The infinitive is formed by adding *-itē* ; thus, *karitē*. Present participle is formed by adding *-itē* and past participle by *-iyā* ; thus, *karitā*, *kariyā*.

The present tense is formed by adding *-i* in the first person ; *-a* in the second person ; and in the third person *-ē* (sing.) *-ĕn* (plur.). Thus *kari* 'I do' ; *kare* ; *karē karĕn*.

The past tense is formed by adding *-ilām* in the first person ; *-ilē* in the second person ; and in the third person singular *-ila (-lĕk)*, plural *-ilĕn*.

The future is formed by adding *-iba* in the first person ; *-ibē* in the second person ; and in the third person singular *-ibē (-bĕk)*, plural *-ibĕn*.

The causals are formed by adding *-ā* to the root. Thus, *karāite*, 'to cause to do'. If root ends in vowel *ōyā* (pron. *wā*) is added. Thus, *dēōyāitē* (pron. *dēwāitē*) 'to cause to give'.

[LSI pp. 34-35]

I. CENTRAL OR STANDARD BENGALI

322 The Central dialect of Bengal, as spoken by the educated classes, is that usually taken as the standard of polite conversation. It has been illustrated in the foregoing grammatical sketch.

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It is the language of the town of Calcutta and of the districts of Twenty-four Parganas, Nadia, Murshidabad, Hoogly and Howrah. It is also spoken in the east of district of Burdwan and northern portions of Midnapore. [LSI p. 37]

II. WESTERN BENGALI

323 The western dialect of Bengali is spoken in its extreme form in the east of the Chota Nagpur Division, in the district of Manbhum, and in the tract called Dhalbhum, in the east of Singhbhum district. Going east, it is spoken in Birbhum and Bankura districts, and in the western portion of Burdwan district. Western Bengali is also spoken, principally by immigrant Kurmīs, in the north of the Orissa Native States of Keonjhar and Mayurbhanja, while the language of the mass of the people is Oṛiyā. Similarly it is spoken in the Eastern and Southern portions of the Sonthal Parganas by the immigrants from the plains. [LSI p. 69]

This dialect differs principally from standard Bengali, in having a broader pronunciation. Thus a long *ō* is often substituted for the *a* of standard Bengali, e.g. *bōllē* 'he said' for *bolilō*. On the other hand a standard Bengali *o* often becomes *u*. Thus, *chhuṭu*, 'small' for *chhōṭō*. The vowel *ē* is pronounced *ă*; thus *ēk* is pronounced *ăk*.

l is frequently substituted for *n*. Thus we have *lŏy*, 'I am not', for *naï*; *lach*, 'a dance', for *nāch*.

The dialect is fond of nasalizing the final vowel of a verb; thus, *khayẽ*, instead of *khayē*, 'having eaten'.

The old singular forms of the personal pronouns *mui*, 'I', *tui*, 'thou', are frequently used instead of the standard *āmi* and *tumi*.

In the conjugation of the verbs, the old singular forms, which are obsolete in standard Bengali, are frequently met with. Thus, *māgli*, 'I asked for', instead of standard *măgilăm*; *balli* for *balilăm*.

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In the third person of the past tense we find the three following terminations, *ō* with intransitive, and *ē* and *ĕk* with transitive verbs. Thus, *hōlō*, 'he was', *ballē* or *ballĕk*, 'he said', instead of standard *bollō*. [LSI pp. 70-71]

In the dialect spoken in Burdwan district there is a tendency to disaspirate aspirated sounds. Thus we have *maddē* for *madhᵛē*,' among' ; *uṭĕ* for *uṭhiyā*, 'having arisen'. The forms of the negative auxiliary are *nēi*, 'I am not' ; *nii*, 'thou art not'. They are used like the standard *nāi*, to represent a past negative with the present tense, *āmi churi kari nei*, 'I did not commit theft' ; *tumi dāō nii* 'thou didst not give'. This is quite different from standard Bengali, in which *naï* or *nahi* is the negative auxiliary, while *nāi* gives a past negative sense to a present tense. [LSI p. 82]

A sub-dialect of Western Bengali is spoken by Sarāwaka Mānjhīs, a well to do cultivating and trading caste of Jains, in the Tamār and Khuntī Thanas, in the extreme South-East of the Ranchi district.

In the declension of nouns, the nominative plural termination *-rā* is carried through the oblique cases, so that we have as accusative plural *chākar-rā-kē*, 'servants' ; and genitive plural, *kōśbi-rā-dēr*, 'of harlots'.

In regard to pronouns note the singular *mũi*, 'I', and the form *hāmarā*, 'we', borrowed from *hamᵃrā*, 'we', of Bihārī, which is the main language of Ranchi.

As regards verbs, the first person singular ends in the old termination *-ũ*. Thus, *mōrchhũ*, 'I am dying'. The first person singular of the future ends in *-mu* ; thus, *pāmu*, 'I shall get' ; *jãmu*, 'I shall go'. The third singular of the past tense usually ends in *-ĕk* in all verbs, both transitive and intransitive. Thus, *ni jālĕk*, 'he went' ; *pālĕk*, 'he got' [LSI pp. 86-87]

KHARIÀ-ṬHĀR DIALECT OF MANBHUM

324 A corrupt variety of Western Bengali is spoken in the hills of the Dalmā range in Baṛāhbhūm in the south of Manbhum. It is spoken in slightly different forms by the Khaṛiās and by the Pahāṛiās. The Khaṛiās are an aboriginal tribe of Chota

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Nagpur whose proper language belongs to the Munḍā or Kolarian family. The Pahāṛiās are a cognate race to the Khariās, and inhabit the same hills.

As in the case of the Kuṛmālī dialect of Bihārī, we meet Bihārī forms mixed up with Bengali ones, but not to so great an extent as in that form of speech. [LSI p. 90]

Pronunciation. Bengali *a* (pronounced as *ŏ* or *ö*) frequently becomes *u*. Thus, *kuri* for *kari*, 'having done'; *kunnu* for *karinu*, 'I did'. The letter *ē* (pronounced as *ē* or *ĕ*) frequently becomes *ᵛā*, which is pronounced as *ă*; thus, *yᵛāhak*, pronounced *yăhŏk*, for *ĕk*, 'one'.

There is a tendency to aspiration, as in *dhūr*, for *dūr* 'distant'. *n* is liable to become *ṛ*, with nasalisation of the preceding vowel. Thus, *mũṛish* for *munis*, 'a servant'. This is really an attempt to pronounce a cerebral *ṇ*, the sound of which has been lost in Bengali. *l* sometimes becomes *ṛ*, as in *sakaṛ*, for *sakal*, 'all', but it more usually becomes *n*, as in *nak* for *lōk*, 'a person'. [LSI pp. 90-91]

Nouns. There are two pleonastic suffixes *-ṭa* and *-gā*. Both are common. Thus, *dui-ṭā*, 'two'; *chhāo-gā*, 'the son'.

Case. The instrument-locative usually ends in *-ē*. Thus, *mājhē*, 'in'; *gharē*, 'in a house'. Sometimes these end in *-t*, thus, *gĕnā-t*, 'on going'. For ablative postpositions *-hãte* and *-thĕkĕ* are added. Thus, *dhūr hãtē*, 'from a distance'. The plural seems, as a rule, to be the same as the singular. When necessary, regular Bengali forms are used. Other forms are regular. [LSI pp. 91]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of personal pronouns are; *muï*, 'I'; *muï-rā*, 'we'; *tũï*, 'thou'; *tāhar, tahar*, 'thy'; *sē*, 'he', *tāharā, tāharā*, 'they'. [LSI p. 91]

Verbs. In the verbs there are the wildest irregularities. The most conspicuous is the want of sense of person. Forms for each person occur, but the third person singular seems to be capable of being used for all the three persons. The past tense third person termination *-nᵛak* (*ăk*) can be used for second as well as first person. Thus, *kunᵛāk*, 'I did'; *munᵛak*, 'thou hast killed'; *kunᵛak*, 'he did'; *bunᵛak*, 'he said'. [LSI pp. 92-93]

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MĀL-PAHĀṚIĀ

325 Māl-Pahāṛiās, a Dravidian tribe, have abandoned their original customs and language, and now speak a corrupt form of Bengali, included in which are stray words of Dravidian birth. The speakers of the dialect inhabit the central portion of the district of the Sonthal Parganas.

This language closely resembles the Khaṛiā-ṭhār spoken in Manbhum, described above.

As in Khaṛiā-ṭhār, every *n* becomes cerebralised *ṇ*. In Bengali it is pronounced like an ordinary dental *n*.

In the conjugation of verbs, the third person singular of the past tense ends in *-a*, as in *ballă*, 'he said'. [LSI p. 99]

III. SOUTH-WESTERN BENGALI

326 This dialect is spoken in Central Midnapore. It is bounded on the east and north by the standard dialect spoken in these portions of the district, and on the south and west by the Oṛiyā. It covers a small area, and might almost be classed as a mixed-sub-dialect of standard Bengali and Oṛiyā. It differs considerably, however, from both languages, and possesses peculiarities of its own which entitle it to be classed as an independent dialect, and not as a mere mixture.

The dialect is strongly influenced by Oṛiyā. For instance, the colloquial Oṛiyā forms its ablative by adding *-u*; thus, *gharu*, 'from a house'; such forms are met with in this dialect, as *mājhu*, 'from among'; *sē-ṭhinu*, 'from that place'. The plural of Oṛiyā nouns is formed by adding *māna*, cf. *chākar man kē*, 'to the servants', corresponding to the Oṛiyā *chākarmānan ku*. The root *thā*, meaning 'to be' of this dialect, does not occur in Bengali, but is found in Oṛiyā. Cf. *thāila*. 'he was or they were', corresponding to Oṛiyā, *thilā*. Some other forms are met with in Oṛiyā. [LSI pp. 105-107]

Besides the above the following peculiarities of the dialect may be mentioned :

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Pronunciation. *a* is frequently written and pronounced as *ŏ* or *o*. Thus, we have *korᵛā* for *kariyā*, 'having done'. The vowel *e* is frequently written *yā*, pronounced *ă*. Thus, *gēla*, 'he went', becomes *gᵛāla*, pronounced *gălŏ*. *ăi* becomes *ē*, and is so written. Thus, *khāila*, 'he ate', becomes *khēla*. The vowel *i* between two consonants is frequently elided, and the first consonant is assimilated to the second. Thus, *paṛila*, 'he fell', becomes *palla*. (pron. *pŏllŏ*.)

There is a steady tendency to double the consonants when they are medial, and the accent falls on the preceding syllable. Thus, for *phūkā*, 'squandering', we have *phukkā*. There is a tendency to disaspiration. Thus, *kāch*, 'near', for *kacchē*. As in Oṛiyā, initial *n* is very often changed to *l*. Thus we have *lijēr*, for *nijer*, 'of one's own'. [LSI pp. 107-108]

Nouns. Allusion has already been made to the ablative suffix *-u*. The suffixes of the locative and genitive are *-i* and *-kār*, respectively. Thus, *paṭhśāli*, 'in the school'; *lokkār* 'of a man'. The corresponding genitive termination in Oṛiyā is *-kara*, which is only used in the plural. [LSI p. 108]

Pronouns. Several irregular forms of the pronouns are met with. These are *mui*, the old singular 'I'; *mōr*, 'my'; *mōnnē*, 'we'; and *mōrhē*, 'our'. From the regular *āmi*, we have a dative plural, *āmānnakē*, 'to us'. For second person, we have *tui* (old sing.), 'thou', (used with a verb in the singular); and a curious form *tan*, meaning 'thy'. For the third person we have *tān* (honorific), 'his'; and *tānnē*, 'they'. [LSI p. 108]

Verbs. There is a peculiar negative suffix *-ni* or *-nika*. It occurs in words like, *jāi-ni*, 'not having gone'; *dila-nika*, 'he did not give'.

In the conjugation of verbs the personal terminations used are those of Oṛiyā.

As regards conjugation, the present is regular. For the past tense, in the, first person, suffix *-ni* is added; thus, *pāni*, 'I got', standard, *pāilam*. In the second person, suffix *-lu* is added; thus, *baslu*, 'thou didst sit', standard *basilē*. For the third person, the suffix is *-la*; thus, *kalla* (pron. *kollŏ*), 'he made', standard *karila*.

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The causal verbs are formed by adding *-bā* to the root. Thus, *khābāya-ṭha*, 'you are feeding', standard, *khāoyaitēchha*'.
[LSI pp. 108-109]

IV. NORTHERN BENGALI

327 This dialect is spoken in the districts of Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Bogra, and Pabna. The standard of the dialect may be taken to be the form spoken in the district of Dinajpur. The whole of this tract has been subject to Kōch tribes, who invaded it from Cooch Bihar, Assam, and Eastern Bengal, who now speak a corrupt variety of Northern Bengali.

This dialect is also spoken in the east of Malda district. Curiously enough, here the language is much more distributed by race than according to locality, so that in one and the same village in the east of the district four or five languages may be heard spoken. Bengali, Bihārī. Santālī, Kōch-Bengali, and others all meet in this district on equal terms. In this district the Kōch residents speak an impure Bengali, differing from that of their neighbours belonging to other castes.

Another sub-dialect of Northern Bengali is found in the north-east of the district of Purnea. It is largely mixed with idioms borrowed from the neighbouring Bihārī. [LSI p. 119]

The following points may be noticed regarding the form of the dialect spoken in Dinajpur:

Pronunciation. The system of spelling and pronunciation closely follows that of Standard Bengali, the more contracted forms of the verbal conjugation being as a rule followed.
[LSI p. 120]

Nouns: Case. The termination of locative singular is *-ēt* or *-at*. Thus, *kashṭēt*, 'in trouble'. The nominative plural sometimes takes the same form as that of the instrumental singular. Thus, *chhāoyatē*, pronounced *chhāwātē*, 'children'. The termination of accusative-dative plural is *-dēk*, as in *bandhudēk*, 'friends'.
[LSI p. 120]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of pronouns of first person are *hāmi*, 'I', *hamrā*, 'we'; of second person, *tumi*, 'thou'; and of the third person, *sē*, 'he', *tarā*, 'they'. [LSI p. 120]

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Verbs. In the conjugation of verbs, there are irregularities in the personal terminations. The second person, honorific, sometimes ends in *-ĕn*. Thus, *dĕn*, 'you give'. The first person of the future ends in *-im*, as in *balim*, 'I will say'. The third singular past ends in *-ē* in the case of transitive verbs, and drops the termination in the case of intransitive verbs. Thus, *dilē*, 'he gave'; *chhil*, 'he was'. For the future, the termination *-m* is added. Thus, *pām*, 'I shall get', *j̈ām*, 'I shall go'. The termination of the infinitive is *-bā*. Thus, *baribā*, 'to fill'. [LSI pp. 120-121]

NORTHERN DIALECT OF MALDA

328 *Pronunciation.* The letter *a* (ŏ) is pronounced as *ō* or *o*. Thus *jhōn* for *jan*, 'a person' ; *chhōṭō* for *chhōṭa*, 'a little'. The letter *ĕ* or *ē* is frequently written *ʷā*, and both are pronounced like *ă* in 'hat'. Thus, *bʷaṭā* (*bāṭā*) 'a son'. *ṛ* is pronounced as *r* in the dialect. Thus, *bara* for *baṛa*, 'great'. The letters *ś*, *sh*, and *s* are all written *s*, which is pronounced as dental *s*, which is the influence of adjoining Bihārī. [LSI p. 128]

Nouns : Case. The accusative-dative is usually formed by adding *-k*. Thus *babāk* 'to the father'. The postposition of the ablative is *hōtē*, as *hat hōtē* 'from the hand'. The genitive plural is formed by adding *ghōr* to the genitive singular. Thus, *tār-ghōr*, 'of them'. Other case endings are regular. [LSI p. 128]

Pronouns. The nominatvie forms of personal pronouns are ; *hāmi*, 'I' ; *hāmrā*, 'we' ; *tũi*, 'thou' ; *tōr*, 'thy' ; *tãi*, *ãi* 'he' ; *tāk* 'him' ; *tār*, 'his'. [LSI p. 128]

Verbs. Of finite verbs, the present tense first person is formed by adding *-i ;* thus, *kāṭi*, 'I cut' ; second person by adding *-s ;* thus, *dis*, 'thou givest' ; third person by *-y* ; thus, *khay*, 'they eat'. For future tense, first person, *-mu* is added ; thus, *pāmu*, 'I will get'. For third person *-bē* is added ; thus, *kahbē*, 'he will say'. For past tense, second person, *-li* is added ; and in third person transitive verbs *-lē* and intransitive verbs-*lō* is added. Thus, *dili*, 'thou gavest' ; *dilē*, 'he gave' ; *pōlō*, 'he fell'.

The present participle is formed by adding *-tē ;* thus *jantē* 'knowing'. [LSI pp. 128-129]

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SIRIPURIĀ DIALECT OF PURNEA

329 The western limit of Northern Bengali extends into the Purnea district. It is spoken in the eastern third of the district, that is to say, the whole of Kishanganj and eastern half of Sadr sub-division. In the Kishanganj sub-division and in the Kasba Amur and Balrampur Thanas, a dialect, mixture of Bihārī and Bengali, called Siripuriā or Kishanganjiā is spoken. Although in the main a Bengali dialect it is written in Kaithī character.

The following forms peculiar to the dialect may be noted :

There is a tendency to change *a* to *u*. Thus, *ghuṛī* for *ghaṛī*, 'a space of twenty minutes'. As in Malda, *ṛ* always becomes *r*, and all sibilants are pronounced as *s*, though written *ś* in the Kaithī character. The words *pōl*, 'he fell', *phōl*, 'he became', *ōl*, 'he came', are a corruption of Bihārī words. The word *ōsĕ*, 'having come', is a corruption of the Bengali *asiyā*. [LSI p. 139]

The Northern Bengali spoken in Bogra, differs little from that of Dinajpur. The following may be noted as local peculiarities :

bā, 'a father' ; *tur-i* 'even thine' ; *mērō*, 'we' ; and especially the curious verbal forms, such as *kartitēchhi*, 'I am doing' ; *khaṭṭitēchhi*, 'I am working' ; *kartutuchhu*, 'thou art making', and *kartitichhē*, 'he is making'. Some stray forms of Rājbaṅgśī, which is spoken in the immediate north, are also found. Such are, locatives like *dēśōt*, 'in a country' ; pronominal forms like *añi*, *tañi*, 'he' ; and the typical dropping of the initial *r* as in *āk* for *rākh*, 'keep' ; *ayĕ* for *rahiyā*, 'having remained'. [LSI p. 152]

V. RĀJBAṄGŚĪ

330 This dialect is spoken in the districts of Rangpur, Jalpaiguri, the Tarai of Darjeeling district, the State of Cooch Behar, together with the portion of Goalpara district of Assam. Kōch people are mostly settled in this area. As they migrated from the east, this dialect bears many close points of resemblance to the dialect of Eastern Bengal. In the Darjeeling Tarai, the dialect is influenced by the neighbouring Northern Bengali, and has a special name, as a sub-dialect, viz., Bāhē. The difference of the dialect

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from Northern Bengali is principally owing to a large infusion of the idiom of Eastern Bengal. [LSI pp. 163-164]

Pronunciation. As in Northern Bengal, *ō* is frequently substituted for *a*. Medial consonants are often elided as in *sa-i* for *sakhi*, 'a friend' ; *pi-a* for *priya*. The letter *chh* is pronounced as a dental *s* ; thus, *āchhē*, 'he is', is pronounced as *āsē*.

The letter *j* is pronounced as *z* or as *jh* ; thus, *jēlā* is pronounced as *jhēlā* or *zēlā*, 'when'. As initial *r* is usually elided and if the following vowel is *a*, it becomes *ā*. Thus, *raba*, 'a noise', becomes *āō*. Aspirated letters are exchanged for unaspirated ones and vice-versa. Thus, *jē* and *jhē*, 'who'. [LSI p. 164]

Nouns : Case. The suffix of the nominative case is *-ē* of accusative-dative *-ak* or *-ōk*, of genitive *-ar* or *-kār*, of locative *-at* or *-ōt*. In other cases postpositions are used. In instrumental *-hātay* is added. In ablative *-thanē* or *-ṭhāi* is added. The above are the singular suffixes/postpositions. In plural besides the postposition *-gulā*, *-rā* is added in nominative, and in other cases postpositions *gulā*, *gulak*, *hatay* etc. are added. Besides the above, the forms of standard Bengali are also met.

The case suffixes fluctuate a good deal, both in form and use. Thus, for *hātay*, the suffix of the instrumental we also find *hatē*.

Pronouns. The pronouns are also declined in the same way as nouns. The nominative forms of personal pronouns are ; first person *muï*, *maï*, *mõ̃*, *hāmi* or *hāmra* (sing.), *hamā*, *hāmra* or *hāma-gulā*, (plur.). Of second person are ; *tuï*, *taï*, *tõ̃*, (sing.), *tōmā*, *tōmrā*, *tōmā*, *gulā*, and so on (plur.). Of third person are ; *ō*, *ōyē̃*, *ũyāy*, *õ̃yay*, *ãy*, *ãĩ*, or *ōkĕnā*, 'he, that'. The forms of standard Bengali are also used. [LSI pp. 164-165]

Verbs. The forms of the auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive are :

Present tense : *achõ̃*, 'I am' ; *āchis*, 'thou art' ; *āchē*, 'he is'.

Past tense : *āchinu*, 'I was' ; *āchili*, 'thou wast' ; *āchilo*, 'he was'.

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The terminations of the present tense of finite verbs are ; first person -*õ*, second person -*is*, and third person -*ē*. Thus, *karõ*, 'I do' ; *karis*, *karē*. Of the past tense are ; first person -*inu* or -*nu*, second person, -*ilē* or -*lu*, third person -*il*. Thus, *karinu* or *karnu*, 'I did' ; *karilē* or -*lu* ; *karil*. Of the future are ; first person -*im* or -*imu* or -*imõ*, second person *ibu*, third person -*ibē* ; thus, *karim*, 'I shall do' ; *karibu* ; *karibē*.

The termination of the infinitive and present participles is -*itē* ; thus, *karitē*, 'to do'.

As usual the past tense is liable to usual contraction, especially when the root of the verb ends in *r*, or *h*. Thus, instead of *karinu*, we can have, *kaillu*, 'I did' ; *kail*, 'he said', for *kahil*.

The following abnormal forms may be noted, -*kahum* (Darjeeling), 'I will say' ; *kaõ* (Jalpaiguri), 'I speak' ; *pălaõ*, 'I flee' (Jalpaiguri) ; *bĕrachõ*, 'I am roaming' ; *kabharlagil*, (Darjeeling), 'he began to say'. [LSI pp. 165-166]

VI. EASTERN BENGALI

331 Judging from the number of people who speak it, this is the most important of the Bengali dialects.

Eastern Bengali is spoken in the districts of Dacca, Mymensingh, Tippera and Backergunge in Bengal, and Sylhet and Cachar in Assam. An isolated colony of the dialect also appears in the island of Sandip at the mouth of Megna. Eastern Bengali is also spoken in the districts of Faridpur, Jessore, and Khulna. Here it merges into the standard dialect of Central Bengal. We may call this form of speech as East-Central sub-dialect. In the north-east of the district of Mymensingh and in the Surma valley, a mongrel form of Eastern Bengali is spoken by the debased tribes at the foot of the Garo hills.

This dialect exhibits well-marked peculiarities of pronunciation, a cockney-like hatred of pre-existing aspirates, and in addition, the regular substitution of an aspirate for a sibilant. While standard Bengali is unable to pronounce sibboleth, except as shibboleth, Eastern Bengali avoids the sound of *sh*, and has

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'hibboleth'. On the other hand the Eastern dialect cannot pronounce the letters *ch*, *chh*, and *j* ; but substitutes *ts* for the first, *s* for the second, and *z* for the third. These peculiarities of pronunciation become more marked as we go eastward.

[LSI pp. 201-202]

Principal peculiarities of the dialect spoken in Dacca district are given below.

Pronunciation. The vowel *a* is usually pronounced as *ŏ*, but is sometimes lengthened into a long *ō*. Thus, *kōirtō* for *karita*, 'he used to make'. An unaccented *i* is almost invariably pronounced, not in its own syllable, but epenthetically in the preceding one. Thus, *bāiṭā*, for *bāṭiyā*, 'having divided'. The letter *ch* is pronounced *ts*. Thus, *chaliyā*, 'having gone' is pronounced *ts̆ŏila*. The letter *chh* is pronounced like a hard *s*. Thus, *chhāŏyal*, 'a child', is pronounced as *sāwal*. The letter *ṛ* is pronounced *r*. Thus, *bŏrō*, is pronounced for *baṛa*, 'great'. Soft aspirated consonants are disaspirated. Thus, *bhāgē*, 'in a share', is pronounced *bāgē*. Similarly letter *h* is elided. Thus, *ka'hila*, 'he said', becomes, *kai'lō*. The sibilants *ś*, *sh*, and *s*, are all pronounced as *sh*.

[LSI pp. 203-204]

Nouns. The usual pleonastic suffix is *-ḍi* or *-ḍī* ; thus, *duï-ḍī*, 'two'.

Case. The nominative singular often ends in *-ē*, as in *bāpē*, 'the father'. The termination of the accusative-dative is *ērē*. Thus, *bāp-ērē*, 'to the father'. The termination of the instrumental locative is *-ē*, or after a vowel *-tē* ; also after long *a*, *y*. Thus, *b'āg-ē*, 'in a share' ; *bāri-tē*, in the house' ; *khidā-y*, 'by hunger'. The termination of the genitive is the same as in standard Bengali. [LSI p. 204]

Pronouns. Some of the nominative forms of personal pronouns are ; *āmi*, 'I' ;*tumi*, 'thou' ; *tōmār*, 'thy' ; *tini*, *sē*, 'he' ; *tārā*, 'they'. [LSI p. 204]

Verbs. The forms of the auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive are :

Present tense, *-āchh(s)a*, 'thou art' ; *āchh(s)ē*, 'he is'.

Past tense, *-āchh(s)ilō*, 'they were' ; *haïlō*, 'they became'.

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Finite verbs. The terminations of the present tense are ; *-i* first person, *-ō* second person, and *-ē* or *-y* third person. Thus, *mari*, 'I die' ; *khay*, 'they eat'. The termination of the future tense first person is *-mu ;* thus, *kōmu*, 'I will say'. The termination of the past tense second person is *-lā*, and of the third person *-lō* ; thus, *dilā*, 'thou gavest' ; *kailō*, 'he said'.

The infinitives and present participles are formed by adding *-tē* ; thus, *thāiktē*, 'remaining'. The verbal nouns are formed by adding *-bār* ; thus, *kōirbār*, 'of doing'. [LSI p. 205]

DIALECT OF MYMENSINGH DISTRICT

332 The vocabulary of the dialect of this district is freely mixed with Arabic and Persian due to the population being largely Muslim. The dialect is so far influenced by the neighbouring Assamese that an initial *s* is pronounced and written *h*. Thus, *hē* for *sē*, 'he' ; *haggal*, for *sakal*, 'all'. [LSI p. 209]

Pronunciation. The vowels *ŏ*, *o*, and *u* are freely interchanged. Thus, *suḍu*, for *chhōṭa*, 'small' ; *thurā*, for *thōrā* 'a little'. The letter *kh* when medial, sometimes becomes *h*, thus, both *takhan* and *tahōn*, 'then'.

Nouns. The nominative as in Dacca, often ends in *ē*. Thus, *putē*, 'the son'. The locative sometimes ends in *a* (pronounced *ŏ*), and sometimes in *t* corresponding to the standard *tē*. Thus, *bārīt*, 'in the house' ; *mulōka*, 'in a country'. [LSI p. 210]

Verbs. The first person of the future ends in *-ām*. Thus, *pāibām*, 'I will get'. The third singular past ends in *a*, or *ō*, and sometimes drops all terminations. Thus, *dil*, *dila*, or *dilō*, 'he gave' ; *āsil*, 'he was'.

The respectful imperative is peculiar. We have *dēukhāin*, 'give thou'. The infinitive ends in *-at*, as in *b'arat*, 'to fill'.

[LSI p. 210]

HAIJONG SUB-DIALECT

333 This is a corrupt form of Eastern Bengali spoken by members of the Haijong tribe, a Tibeto-Burman clan settled in the districts of Mymensingh and Sylhet, principally in the country at the foot

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of the Garo Hills. The dialect is also spoken by Dālus (properly a Gārō sept), Bānāis, Hāḍīs, and other low-caste tribes of the same locality. [LSI p. 214]

Besides the forms given below, those of standard Bengali are freely used.

Nouns : Case. The nominative often takes the termination *-rā*, as in *palā-rā kay*, 'the son says'. It sometimes ends in *ā* as in *hāpālā kubālē*, 'the child beat (her)'. Accusative also optionally takes the termination *-rā*, but the regular termination is *-gē*, which is also used for the dative. Thus, *a-gē kobāo*, 'beat him' ; *a-gē di*, 'give to him'. The sign of instrumental is *-di* or *diā*, as in *dari diā* (or *di*) *bāniā*, 'having tied him with a rope'. The signs of ablative are *-thākkʷa* and *-tan*, and of genitive *-lak* or *-lā*. Thus, *bāp-tan* or *bap-lā-tan*, 'from a father', *rāja-lak*, 'of a king'. The standard forms are common in locative. [LSI p. 214]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of personal pronouns are ; first person *mai* (sing.), *āmrā* or *āmlā* (pl.) ; second person, *tai* (sing.), *tumrā* or *tumlā* (pl.) ; third person *ai* (sing.), *amrā* or *amlā* (pl.). The demonstrative pronouns are *ei*, *i*, 'this', *ai*, *a*, *u*, *adā*, *udā*, 'that'. [LSI p. 214]

Verbs. In the conjugation of verbs, the standard forms are freely used. We also have another set of forms for the various tenses, which do not change for number or person. This is due to the influence of Tibeto-Burman languages. Thus, taking *āsē*, meaning 'am', 'is', 'are', we have :

mai āsē, 'I am'	*āmlā āsē*, 'we are'
tai āsē, 'thou art'	*tumlā āsē*, 'you are'
ai āsē, 'he is'	*amlā āsē*, 'they are'

So far as conjugational forms are concerned, the present tense takes *-ē*, past *-ibār* or *-iban*, and the future usually the standard form. Thus, *marē*, 'strikes' ; *māribār* or *māriban*, 'struck' ; *māriba*, 'will strike', etc.

The imperative takes *-ek*. The bare root is also used. Thus, *mārek* or *mār*, 'strike'. [LSI p. 215]

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SYLHETTIA

334 This dialect is spoken in Sylhet Town in the north and north-east of the district. Due to the peculiarities of pronunciation this dialect is not intelligible to the natives of Central or North Bengal.

The most noteworthy peculiarities are ; the formation of the genitive singular, which ends in *-âr*, not in *-ēr*, and the formation of the periphrastic present, with the syllable *-rā*. Both these forms are found in Cachar. [LSI p. 224]

Pronunciation. The vowel *a* is sometimes pronounced as in 'ball' and is then transliterated *å*. This is most noticeable when the vowel is followed by a liquid as in *mānushår*, 'of a man'.

K has a gutteral pronunciation, like the German *ch*. *Ch* is pronounced like English *s*, and there is no difference between *ch* and *chh*. *P* is frequently pronounced like *ph* (not *f* but perhaps *pf*). In fact very little distinction is heard between any of the aspirated sounds and their unaspirated originals ; thus, *ghâr*, is almost pronounced as *gâr*. The sibilant is often, but not invariably changed to *h*. Thus, *hāph* for *sāp*, 'a snake' ; *hakal* for *sakal*, 'all'. In the words borrowed from Hindūstānī (which are common) the *s*-sound is usually preserved. *H* is often dropped, thus, *'ati* for *hāti*, 'an elephant'. The epenthesis is also noticeable in some words ; thus, *kāl* (*kāli*) is pronounced as *kāil* ; *ghuriō* is pronounced as *ghuiriō*. [LSI pp. 224-225]

Nouns. The case suffixes mostly differ from the standard Bengali. The suffix of the genitive (sing.) is *-år*, of dative-accusative is *-rē* ; of ablative is *-tanē*. The plural sometimes ends in *-āin*. Thus, *ghârāin*, 'houses'. [LSI p. 225]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of personal pronouns are ; *āmi*, 'I' ; *āmra*, 'we' ; *tumi*, *tuin*, 'thou' ; *tōmrā*, *tōrā*, 'you' ; *tain* (honorific) *hē* (*sē*), 'he' ; *tāinrā*, *tāin tāin* (honorific), *tarā*, 'they'. [LSI pp. 225-226]

Verbs. The past tense is formed by adding *-ilām* in the first person ; *-ilāy* or *ilē* in the second person ; *ilā* (honorific) *-ilō*, *-lō* in the third person. The future is formed by adding *-mu* in

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the first person ; *-bāy* in the second person ; and *-bā* (honorific), *-bō* in the third person. The past conditional is also used for future. The suffixes are ; *-tām* first person ; *-tāy*, *-tē* second person ; *-tā* (honorific), *-tō* third person. The present conditional is formed by adding *-i* in the first person ; *-ō* in the second person ; *-ē* and *-in* in the third person. [LSI pp. 225-227]

The Bengali spoken in Cachar district of Assam is the same as that spoken in Eastern Sylhet, and possesses all the peculiar characteristics of the extreme Eastern Bengal type. There is a tendency to pronounce an initial *p* as *f*. Thus, *paramarsa*, 'counsel', is pronounced *fŏrŏmŏrshŏ*. Amongst the verbs the forms worthy of note are : *kartrā*, 'he is doing' ; *āichhaïn*, 'he (honorific) has come' ; *dichhaïn*, 'he (honorific) has given'. The terminations of these two last are the regular terminations of the third person honorific in Biharī. [LSI p. 233]

DIALECT OF TIPPERA

335 The dialect of Tippera closely agrees with that of Dacca. The following special peculiarities may be noted :

The tendency to drop aspiration is stronger even than in Dacca, the aspiration of even hard aspirated consonants being liable to be dropped. Thus, *k'āiyā*, 'having eaten' for *khăiyā*. Sometimes even the aspirated consonants are dropped altogether, and a *y* substituted. Thus, *zayam dăyēn*, for *zakhen dēkhēn*, 'see the wounds'. The elision of *h* is also carried further. Thus, as in Dacca, *s* is pronounced *h*. Thus, *āshiyā*, 'having come', becomes, first, *āhiyā*, and then *ā'iyā*. [LSI p. 239]

Nouns : Case. The accusative-dative sometimes ends in *-ra*, as in *pāt-ra*, 'to the fields'. [LSI p. 239]

Pronouns. Special forms of pronouns, are *āmārē*, 'me' or 'to me' ; *āmār* or *āmrar*, 'my' ; *tūmār*, 'thy' ; *tē* or *tāin* (respectful) 'he' ; *tārā-rē*, 'to them'. [LSI p. 239]

Verbs. Examples of the perfect, are *karsi*, or *karsi-ō*, 'I have done', *karsa*, 'thou hast done' ; *karssē* and *karsē*, 'he has done'. For the future we have *zayyam*, 'I will go' ; *balbām*, 'I will say'. The infinitive ends in *-tō* or in *-tām*, as in *b'ārtō*, 'to fill' ; *ka'itām*, 'to say'. [LSI pp. 239-240]

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DIALECT OF BACKERGUNGE

336 The dialect of this district closely resembles with that of Dacca.

Pronunciation. The aspiration is frequently omitted from soft consonants, *bh* being pronounced as *b*, *dh* as *d*, and *gh* as *g*. Thus, *bhāi* is pronounced as *bāi*. Initial *s* is often pronounced as *h*; e.g., *śēshē* is pronounced as *hēshē*. *k* in the middle of the word is generally pronounced as *h*; e.g., *ākāl*, 'a famine' is pronounced *āhāl*. *Ch* is pronounced as *ts*. Thus, *chākar* is pronounced *tsāhar*. *Chh* is always pronounced as the *s* in 'sea'. *J* is often pronounced as *z*. Thus, *jal* becomes *zal*. *Ṛ* is pronounced as *r*. Thus, *baṛa*, 'great', is pronounced *bŏrŏ*, not *bŏṛŏ*.

The final *ā* at the end of a word is pronounced like the *ŏ* in 'hot', and not like the *ō* in 'port' as is customary in standard Bengali. [LSI pp. 259-260]

Nouns. The plural in the oblique is often formed by adding *-gō*. The accusative is formed by adding *-rē* and not *-kē*. [LSI p. 260]

Verbs. The most noticeable grammatical peculiarity is the first person of the future tense. It ends, not in *-ba*, but in *-mu*. Thus, *jāmu*, or *zāmu*, 'I shall go'; *karmu*, or *harmu*, 'I shall do'. The following forms are also noteworthy. *Uḍiyā* for *uṭhiya*, 'having arisen'; *rāhō* and *rēhō* for *rākha*, 'keep thou'; *bōz'dē* for *bujhitē*, 'to understand'. [LSI p. 260]

EAST-CENTRAL DIALECT

337 This dialect spoken in the districts of Faridpur, Jassore, and Khulna form a connecting link between the standard language of Central Bengal, and the extreme eastern type of Dacca and Backergunge.

Chh is pronounced as *s*, and *j* is pronounced as *z*. Thus, we have *achhē*, 'he is', pronounced *āsē*, and *jan*, 'a person', is pronounced *zŏn*, There is also the usual tendency to pronounce *e* like the *ă* in 'hat'. Thus, *gela*, 'he went', is pronounced *gălā*.

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As a rule, allowing for contractions, the grammar is practically the same as that of Central Bengal. [LSI p. 279]

VII. SOUTH-EASTERN BENGALI

338 This dialect is spoken in the districts of Noakhali (excluding the island of Sandip), and Chittagong, and in the north of the district of Akyab of Burma. Here the causes which have led to the corruption of Eastern Bengali have proceeded to their extreme limits, and, especially in Chittagong and Akyab, the difference is so marked that a native from other parts of Bengal does not readily understand what is said to him. [LSI p. 291]

Pronunciation. The vowel *a* is pronounced like *ŏ* in '*hot*'. It retains this sound even at the end of words, where in standard Bengali, it would be pronounced like *ō* in port. There is a tendency to substitute this vowel for others. Thus, *kaifiyat*, 'a remark', is pronounced *kōfiyōt*.

K at the beginning of a word very often has the sound of a rough *kh*, like *ch* in 'loch', and sometimes it is pronounced as *g*. Thus, *gŏri* for *kari*, 'having done'. *kh* is often pronounced like *h*, and is sometimes corrupted to *g*. Thus, *mukh* is pronounced as *mug*, *j* and *jh* are pronounced like the *z* in 'zeal', *ṭ* and *ṭh* are often changed to *ḍ*. *P* at the beginning of a word is often pronounced like *f* and sometimes like *h*. Thus, *fāri* for *pāri*, 'I can', and *hōlā* for *pōlā*, 'a son'. *ś*, sometimes, and *s*, generally at the beginning of a word are pronounced like *h*. Thus, *sakal*, 'all' becomes, *hōkōl*. *H* is frequently elided.

A single consonant, especially a hard one, occurring between two vowels is often elided. Thus, *ḍākiō*, 'call', becomes, *ḍāiō*. But *m* in such positions is often changed to *anunāsika*. Thus, *āmi* becomes *ãi* ; *tumi*, 'thou' becomes, *tũi*. [LSI pp. 291-293]

Nouns : Case. The noun is declined by adding different case endings. The accusative - dative take *-rē* ; ablative *-tun* ; locative *-e* or *-at* ; genitive *-ar* ; and instrumental *-ar-di*.

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Number. The plural is formed by adding *-hala* or *-gun* or *-un*. Thus, *chāyar-hala*, 'servant' ; *kũur-gun*, 'dogs'.

[LSI p. 293]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of personal pronouns are ; *ãi*, 'I' ; *ãya*, 'we' ; *tũi*, 'thou', *ãonē*, 'you' ; *tē*, *tãi*, *tān*, *hētē*, 'he' ; *tārā*, *tanā*, 'they'.

[LSI p. 293]

Verbs. There are two sets of terminations of the present tense according to root endings. Verbs ending in consonants take the terminations *-ir*, *-i* in the first person, *-ar*, *-as* in the second person ; *-ēr -ē* (honorific), *-tan* in the third person. Verbs ending in vowels take the terminations *-ir*, in the first person ; *-or* in the second person ; and *ēr*, *-r* in the third person.

The terminations of past tense are ; *-gyam*, *-gi* or *-ilam* (*-iām*) in the first person ; *-gya*, *-ilā* (*-iā*) or *-ilāk* in the second person ; *-gyē* or *-il* in the third person. The past tense in *-gi*, *-gyo*, *-gyē*, is restricted to verbs whose roots end in *r*, *ṛ*, or *g*. For the *g*, *j* is sometimes substituted. Other verbs take, in the past tense, the terminations *yi*, *ya*, and *yē*, before which *-i-* is inserted if the root ends in a vowel.

The terminations of the future are ; *-yum*, *gyam* or *bām*, first person ; *bā*, second person ; *-bya* or *-bē*, third person. Before all these terminations, *-i-* may optionally be inserted. Thus, *karyum* or *kariyum*. [LSI p. 294]

CHĀKMĀ SUB-DIALECT

339 In the central portion of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, in the the Chākmā Chief's Circle, situated in the country round in Karanphuli River, a broken dialect of Bengali called Chākmā, peculiar to the locality, and of a very curious character, is spoken. It is based on South-Eastern Bengali, but has undergone much transformation. It is written in an alphabet which, allowing for its cursive form, is almost identical with khmēr character, which was formerly in use in Combodia, Laos, Annam, Siam, and at least, the southern parts of Burma. [LSI pp. 321-323]

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As the grammar of this dialect closely resembles that of Chittagong, its grammatical sketch is not being given. The following details are worthy of note :

Cerebral sounds are regularly changed to dentals, e. g. *dāki* or *ḍāki*, 'having called' ; *thēṅ* for *ṭhēn*, 'a leg'.

The verb substantive is conjugated as follows :

	Present. 'I am' etc.	*Past*, 'I was', etc.	
	Singular and *Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
1.	*āgi*	*ēlūṅ*	*ēlaṇ*
2.	*āgas*, ~ *nē*	*ēlē*	*ēlā*
3.	*āgē*, ~ *nē*	*ēl*	*ēlāk*

The conjugation of finite verbs closely resembles that of Chhittagong. The principal exception is that the first person ends in *-ūṅ* or *aṅ*. [LSI pp. 323-324]

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340 STANDARD LIST OF SELECT BENGALI

English	*Bengali colloquial*	*Western Bengali (Manbhum)*
one	ĕk	ĕk
two	dui	dui
three	tin	tin
four	chāri	chār
hand	hāt	hāth
foot	pā	pātal
head	mātā, māthā	māthā
a father	ăk bāp	bāp
of a father	ăk bāper	bāpēr
to a father	ăk bāp-ke	ăk bāp-ke
two fathers	dūi~dū bāp	dūi~dū bāp
I am	1 āmi hoi 2 āmi āchi~āchhi	āmi āchhi
thou art	1 tūi hosh, tumi hŏo, āpni hŏn 2 tūi āchish~āchhish, tumi ācho~āchho, āpni āchen~āchhen	tumi, tūi, āchha, āchhis
he is	1 shē hŏĕ, tini hŏn 2 shē āche~āchhe, tini āchen~āchhen	se, tini, āchhē, āchhĕn
we are	1 āmra~morā hoi 2 amrā~morā āchi~achhi	āmrā āchhi
you are	1 torā hosh, tomrā hŏo, āpnārā hon 2 torā āchish~āchhish, tomrā ācho~āchho, apnārā āchen~āchhen	tumra, āpanārā, āchha, āchhĕn

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WORDS AND SENTENCES

Northern Bengali of Dinajpur	*Eastern Bengali (Mymensingh and west Sylhet)*	*Eastern Bengali (Backergunge)*	*South-Eastern Bengali*
ek	ĕk	ĕk	ēk, ēgwa
dui	dwi	dōi	dui, duā
tin	tin	tin	tin, tinwā
chāir	ts̲ār	ts̲āir	chāir, chārgwā
hāt	hāt	āt	hāt
pão	pāo	pāo	pā, ṭhēn̲g
māthā	māthā	māthā	māthā
ĕk bāp	ĕk bāp	ĕk bāp	ēk bāp
ĕk bāpēr	ĕk bāpēr	ĕk bāpēr	ĕk bāar
ĕk-bāpēr ṭhē	ĕk bāp-rē	ĕk bāpār kēsē	ēk bāa-rē
dui-bāp	dui bāp	dui bàp	dui bāp
mui achhã	āmi āsi	mui aï	ãĭ āchhi
tui āchhis	tui āsas	tui ao	tui āchhas
ay āchhe	sē āse, tāin asaïn	he ay, hini ayen	tē āchhe
kāmrā āchhi	āmrā āsi	morā ai	ãyarā āchhī
tamrāh āchha	tomrā āsa	tōrā ao	tũi āchha, tõrā āchha

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English	*Bengali colloquial*	*Western Bengali (Manbhum)*
they are	1 tāra hŏĕ, tā̆ra hŏn	tara, tā̆ra,
	2 tārā āche~āchhe tā̆rā āchen~āchhen	āchhē, āchhĕn
I was	āmi chhilum	ami chhilam
thou wast	tūi chhili tumi chhile, āpni chhilen	tumi, tūi, chhilē chhili
he was	shē chilo, tini chhilen	sē, tini, chhila, chhilēn
we were	amrā~mōra chhilum	āmrā chhilām
you were	torā chhili, tomrā chhile, āpnārā chhilen	tumrā, āpa-nārā chhilē, chhilĕn
they were	tārā chhilo, tā̆rā chhilen	tārā, tā̆rā, chhila. chhilĕn
I shall be	āmi hōbo	āmi hatē pāri
I beat	āmi mārī	āmi piṭi
thou beatest	tūi mārish, tumi māro, āpni māren	tumi, tūi, piṭa, piṭ
he beats	shē māre, tini māren	sē, tini, piṭe, piṭen
we beat	amrā māri	āmrā piṭi
you beat	torā mārish, tomrā mārō, āpnārā māren	tumrā, āpnā-rā, piṭa, piṭĕn
they beat	tārā māre, tā̆ra māren	tārā, tā̆ra, piṭe piṭĕn
I beat (past)	āmi māllum, āmi mere- chhilum	āmi piṭĕ chhili
thou beatest (past)	tumi mālle, tumi mere chhile	tumi, tūi piṭĕ chhili

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Northern Bengali of Dinajpur	*Eastern Bengali (Mymensingh and west Sylhet)*	*Eastern Bengali (Backergunge)*	*South-Eastern Bengali*
amrāh āchhe	tārā āsē	herā ay, henrā ayen	tārā āchhē
mui āchhinu	āmi āslām	mui aisilām	ai āchhilām
tui āchhilu	tui āslē	tui aisili	tui āchhili
ãy āchhila	shē āsil, tāin āslāin	he aisilo, hini aisilen	tē āchhil, tãi achhil
hāmrā āchhina	āmra āslām	mōrā aisilām	ãyara āchhilām
tamrāh āchhilen	tomrā āslā	tōrā aisili	tõrā āchhilā
amrāh āchhila	tārā āsil	herā aisilō henrā aisilen	tārā āchhil
mui ham	ami haĭmu	mui amu	ãi haĭyam
mui mārā	āmi piṭi	mui māri	āi māri
tui maris	tui pitas	tui mar	tui māras
ãy mare	shē piṭē, tāin piṭaĭn	he mārē, hini māren	tē mare, tãi mārē
hāmrā māri	amrā piṭi	mōrā māri	āyarā māri
tamrāh mārén	tomrā piṭa	tōrā mārō	tõra māra
amrāh māre	tārā peṭē	herā mārē, henrā māren	tārā mārē
mui māichhinu	āmi piṭsilām	mui mārsilām	ãi mārgyam, mārzam
tui māichhilu	tui piṭsilē	tui mārsili	tui mārgyi, mārzi, tũi mārgyāk, mārzāk

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English	*Bengali colloquial*	*Western Bengali (Manbhum)*
he beat (past)	shē mālle ; shē mere-chhilo	sē, tini piṭĕ chhila, pite chhilĕn
we beat (past)	āmrā mallum, āmrā mere chhilum	āmrā piṭĕ chhili
you beat (past)	tomrā mālle, tomrā mere chhile	tumrā piṭĕ chhilē
they beat (past)	tārā mālle, tārā mere chhilo	tārā piṭē chhila
I shall beat	āmi mārbo	āmi piṭba

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Northern Bengali of Dinajpur	*Eastern Bengali (Mymensingh and west Sylhet)*	*Eastern Bengali (Backergunge)*	*South-Eastern Bengali*
ay māichhila	shē piṭsil tāin piṭslāin	he mārsilō	tē mārgyē, mārzē
hāmrā māichhina	āmrā peṭsilām	morā mārsilām	ārā mārgyām, mārzām
tamrāh mārchhilĕm	tomrā piṭsilē	tora mārsili	tōrā margyi~mārzi
amrāh māichhila	tārā piṭsil	herā mārsila	tārā mārgyē, mārzē
mui mārim	āmi piṭmu	mui mārĕmu	ai māirgam

[LSI pp. 351-391]

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ASSAMESE

341 Assamese is spoken in the Assam valley in and between the districts of Lakhimpur and Goalpara. There are also stray colonies of Assamese people in Sylhet, Cachar and Manipur, who still retain their ancestral language in a more or less corrupted form.

The word Assamese is an English one, based on the English word Assam, which is a corruption of Bengali word Āsām. The Assamese call their country 'Asam' with both vowels short and their language Ŏsŏmiyā.

Whether Assamese is a dialect of Bengali or a separate language has been a matter of dispute. If we take grammar alone as the basis of comparison, it would be extremely difficult to oppose any statement to the effect that Assamese was nothing but a dialect of Bengali. The Bengali spoken in Chittagong, differs far more widely from the grammar of the standard dialect of Calcutta than does Assamese. If, however, we apply test of the possession of literature, than Assamese is entitled to claim as an independent existance. [LSI pp. 393-394]

Dialects. The standard Assamese is spoken in and about Sibsagar. Over the upper part of the Assam valley the language is everywhere the same. In the west, a distinct dialect is spoken by the people of Kamrup and Eastern Goalpara. In Manipur and in isolated villages in Sylhet and Cachar, where there are settlements of Manipurīs, the Mayangs speak a mongrel form of Assamese, called by the name of the tribe. [LSI p. 394]

Pronunciation. The vowels *i*, *ī*, and *u*, *ū* are used indiscriminately to express both long and short vowels. It depends upon accent and has nothing whatever to do with the length of the letter written. When *o* is followed in the next syllable by the vowel *i*, the *o* becomes a pure *u*, and is so written. Thus, *bole*, 'he says', but *bulise*, 'he is saying'.

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Letters *ch* and *chh* are both pronounced in the same way, viz., like the *s* in 'sin'. In the same way *j*, *jh* are both pronounced like the French *j*, or *s* in 'pleasure'. The letters *ṛa* and *ṛha* are both pronounced like *ra* and *rha*, respectively. Similarly, common people pronounce all other cerebral letters as if they were dentals. Thus, *du-ṭā*, 'two', is pronounced *du-tā*. Letters *sh*, and *s*, when not compounded with any other consonant are pronounced something like a rough German *ch*, or like the Arabic *khē*. In such cases these are transliterated by *h̃a*. When compounded with another consonant, they are usually pronounced like the *s* in 'sin'.

When consonants in the middle of a word are followed by *i*, they are often elided. Thus, *h̃âite* for *h̃âhite*, 'with'; *nâi* for *nâdi*, 'a river'. [LSI pp. 399-401]

Nouns. Case suffixes vary according to different word types. Again, with most of the cases more than one termination is used to indicate the case relation. For example, in accusative, either the noun occurs without any case suffix or takes, *-ak*, *-k*, or *-ake*, *-ke*. Thus, the word *putra*, has three forms, *putra*, *putra-k*, *putra-ke*. The suffixes ending in *-k*, *-ek* are not used with inanimate nouns. The terminations which end in *-e* are more emphatic than the others. Further emphasis is indicated by the addition of *i* or *he*, the latter being the stronger.

The plural is formed by the addition of *-bilāk*, *-bor*, or *-hãt* to the nominative singular. The compound thus formed is then declined like the singular of words ending in a consonant. *-bilāk* is more honorific than the other two.

In nouns of relationship four different forms are used, according as the relation is mine, yours, non-honorific; yours, honorific; or his. Thus, we have, *bopāi*, 'my father'; *bāper*, 'your father (non-honorific)'; *bāperā*, 'your father (honorific)'; *bāpek*, 'his father'. [LSI p. 402]

Adjectives. Adjectives, as a rule, do not change for gender, but a few ending in *ā*, such as *buṛa*; 'old', form the feminine in *i*, as in Hindī.

Comparison is usually expressed by suffixing *-kai* or *-kari* to the locative of the noun with which comparison is made. Sometimes the locative alone is used. [LSI p. 402]

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Pronouns. The nominative forms of the first two personal pronouns are : *may, maï, may-e* 'I' ; *āmi, āmi-ye*, 'we' ; *tay, tay-e* (non-honorific), *tumi, tumi-ye* (honorific), 'thou' ; *ta-hat, ta-hăt-e* (non-honorific), *tomolāk, tomolak-e* (honorific) 'you' ; *āpuni, āpuni-ye* ; 'Your Honour' self'. The demonstrative pronouns are also used as pronouns of the third person. *zi, ze-ye*, is 'who, which' ; *kon, kon-e*, is 'who ?' and *ki, ki-he*, is 'what ?'.

Verbs. In the conjugation of verbs there are no plural forms and there are two forms of the second person, a non-honorific and an honorific.

The present and past forms of the Auxiliary verb and verb substantive are the following :

Present, 'I am', etc.	*Past*, 'I was', etc.
1. *aṣŏ*	1. *aṣilŏ*
2. *āṣa* (non-honorific)	2. *aṣili* (non-honorific)
āṣa (honorific)	*aṣilā* (honorific)
3. *āṣe*	3. *āṣil*

The finite verbs can be divided into three categories, so far as their conjugations are concerned. The first includes nearly all the verbs whose roots end in vowels. It forms its first verbal noun by changing the final vowel of the root to *owā*, the second by simply adding *ā*, and the third by adding *ā* to the root, the root always remaining unchanged. There are certain exceptions also to the above rules.

The second person honorific of the present is always the same as the first verbal noun. The present definite and pluperfect tenses are all periphrastic, being formed by the addition of suitable tenses of the auxiliary verbs. The past is also used in the sense of the perfect and imperfect.

The present tense is formed by adding *-ŏ* in the first person ; *-wa, -a* (non-honorific) *-ā* (honorific) in the second person ; *-y, -e* in the third person.

The past tense is formed by adding *-lŏ, -ilŏ* in the first person ; *-li, -ili* (non-honorific), *-lā, -ilā* (honorific) in the second person ; and *-l, -le, -ile* in the third person.

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The future tense is formed by adding *-m, -im* in the first person ; *-bi, -ibi* (non-honorific) *-bā, -ibā* (honorific) in the second person ; and *-ba, -iba* in the third person.

The present participle is formed by adding *-õte* ; thus, *guṣõte*, 'while departing'. And the past participle is formed by adding *-wā, -ā* ; thus, *howā*, 'been' ; *guṣā*, 'departed'.

Negative verbs. nāi means 'there is not'. To express negation otherwise, *na-, nā-, nī-, nu-, ne-,* or *no-* is prefixed to the verb, the vowel of the prefix corresponding with the first vowel of the verb. If the verb begins with the *a* vowel, only *n-* is prefixed, as in *olāy*, 'he appears', *nolāy*, 'he does not appear'. *nai* used with the present gives it a past meaning. Thus, *tumi diyā nāi*, 'thou gavest not'.

Passive voice. Passive voice is formed by conjugating the past participle with *ha.* Thus, *mok diyā haiṣe*, 'it is being given to me'. Or by conjugating the first verbal noun with *za.* Thus, *tak powa zāy* ; 'that is found', literally, 'the finding that goes on'.

[LSI pp. 402-403]

WESTERN ASSAMESE

342 The Assamese spoken in the districts of Kamrup and Goalpara is influenced by Rājbaṅgśi Bengali spoken immediately to the west, in west Goalpara and the Bengal district of Rangpur.

The principal points in which it diverges from standard Assamese are the following :

The pronunciation of the vowels appears to approach more nearly to that of Bengali than does standard Assamese. Thus the vowel *e* is often pronounced like the *a* in 'hat'.

In nouns the words expressing relationship show slightly different terminations. Thus, instead of *bapek*, 'his father', we find *bāpāk*. The plural is formed by adding *hãt* or *hẽt* instead of *hãt*. In *sākārgilākak*, 'to the servants', the Rājbaṅgśī plural termination *gilāk* is used.

In verbs, the second verbal noun ends in *-ā*, instead of *-a*. In standard Assamese, the third person of the past tense of transitive

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verbs ends in *-e*, but in this dialect it takes the Eastern Bengali termination *-āk*. Thus, *hârilāk*, 'he did', instead of *kårile*. The past tense of *z̤ā*, 'go' is, as in Bengali, *gel*, not *gâl*. Similarly, the pluperfect is *geiṣil*, not *gâisil*. [LSI p. 414]

SUPPLEMENT

MAYĀNG

343 The Mayāng dialect is a mongrel form of Assamese. It can with equal (or perhaps more) justice be classed as a form of Eastern Bengali. The language possesses characteristics of both languages, but at the same time differs widely from both. It has been shown as a form of Assamese, merely because all its speakers live in the territory under the political influence of Assam Government. This dialect, both in vocabulary and grammar, is strongly infected with the peculiarities of the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in the Manipur state. [LSI p. 419]

Pronunciation. This clearly represents that of Bengali of Eastern Sylhet and Cachar. The letter *j* is pronounced as *j*, not as *z*. The distinction between cerebral and dental letters has vanished, and there is same difficulty in pronouncing the letter *h*. Thus, 'a house' is *gor*, not *ghor*, 'wealth' is *don* not *dhon*. On the other hand, *s* is pronounced as *h*, thus, *hune*, 'having heard', for *sune*.

Article. The indefinite article is *agō*, 'one', which follows the noun it qualifies. Thus, *mānu agō*, 'a man'. The demonstrative pronoun, *augō*, *autā*. or *aukhonā* or some other of its forms, is used for the definite article. It also follows the noun it qualifies.

Pleonestic suffixes. The suffixes *gō* and *khān*, *khonā*, or *khnā* are very frequently added to a noun or pronoun without affecting the sense.

Nouns : Gender. Gender is indicated, when necessary, by the addition of words signifying sex. There are also traces of the expression of gender by altering terminations, as in *gorōni*, 'a mare' ; *yeimopi mālok*, 'middle wife'.

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Number. The plural is indicated, when not clear from the context, by adding some word meaning 'all' or 'many' such as *hābi*, 'all' ; *lōkei*, 'people', and others.

Case. The nouns are declined by adding suffixes. The nominative takes the termination *-e* before transitive verbs, as in Assamese and Bengali. The termination of instrumental is *-ol*. For the dative the termination *-re* is used, as optionally for the accusative, which usually takes no suffix. The termination of the ablative is *-tō*, which is always added to the dative. Thus, *bapōk-orāng-tō*, 'from a father'. The termination of the genitive is *-r*, or, after a consonant, *-or*. The Kuki-Chin termination *-tā* is also used, as in *bābā-tā*, 'of a father'. Similarly, the termination of the locative is *-e* or *-t*, the latter becoming *-ot* after a consonant. [LSI pp. 421-422]

Adjectives. These precede the nouns they qualify, as in *durai des*, 'a far country'. The comparative degree is formed with *jinge*, 'more', the noun with which comparison is made being put in the ablative. [LSI p. 422]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of personal pronouns are ; *mi*, 'I' ; *āmi*, 'we', *ti*, 'thou' ; *tumi*, 'you' ; *tā*, 'he' ; *tānō*, 'they'.

The relative pronoun does not seem to be used. The Tibeto-Burman idiom of employing a participle is used instead. The interrogative pronouns are ; *kung* (to which *gō* may be added), 'who ?' ; *kitā*, 'what ?' ; *kar* is 'whose ?'. [LSI p. 422]

Verbs. Throughout the conjugation, the plural is freely used for the singular. As in the case of nouns, pleonastic suffixes are freely added, without affecting the meaning.

The verb substantive is conjugated as follows :

	Present, 'I am', etc.		*Past*, 'I was', etc.	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1.	*osu*	*osi*	*osilu*	*osilang*
2.	*osōt*	*osō*	*osile*	*osilai*
3.	*ose*	*osi*	*osil*	*osila*

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Finite verbs. The terminations of the present tense closely agree, with the Bengali of Eastern Sylhet and Cachar, which are ; first person, *-auri*, (sing.), *-ayār* or *-iyār* (plur.) ; second person, *-ār* (sing.) *-ai* (plur.) ; third person *-ār* (sing.), *-aitarā* or *-aitrā* (plur.).

In the past tense the third person singular differs in transitive and intransitive verbs, the latter dropping the termination. The conjugation generally follows, the Bengali-Assamese system. The terminations are ; first person ; *-ailu* (sing.), *-ailāng* (plur.) ; second person, *-aile* (sing.), *-ailai* (plur.) ; third person, *-ailō* (sing.), *-ailā* (plur.).

There are two forms of the future. One is an Aryan, and the other is a non-Aryan one. The terminations of the Aryan future are ; first person *-aituo* or *-aitau* (sing.), *-aitāngai*, (plur.) ; second person, *-aituo* (sing.). *-aitarai* or *-aitrai* (plur.) ; third person ; *-aitoi* (sing.), *-aitai* (plur.). The non-Aryan future is formed by suffixing the Thādo-Kuki future termination *-ng*. Thus, *māting-gā*, 'I will say'.

The imperative is the root alone, with or without *-gā* suffixed. Thus. *kilā*, 'strike', *jā-gā*, 'go'.

Negative. An adjective is negatived by suffixing *-nayā* as in *hobā*, 'good', *hobā-nayā*, 'bad'. Some verbs are compounded with the negative participle. Thus, *nāilu*, 'I am not' ; *nāil*, 'is not'.

[LSI pp. 422-425]

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344 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES IN ASSAMESE

English	*Assamese*	*Western Assamese*
one	ek	ăk
two	dui	dui
three	tini	tini
four	sāri	sāri
hand	hāt	hāt
foot	bhâri	bhâri
head	mur	mur
a father	bāpek ezan	bāpāk ăṭā
of a father	bāpek ezanar, bāpekar	bāpāk ăṭār
to a father	bāpek ezanak, bāpekak	bāpāk ăṭākak lēgi
two fathers	duzan bāpek	bāpāk duṭā
I am	may haõ	mai āṣõ
thou art	tumi howā	taï aṣāh, āpuni āṣei
he is	hi hay	hi aṣă, tăõ āṣă
we are	āmi haõ	āmi āṣõ
you are	tomolāke howā	tumi āṣā
they are	teõ-bilak hay	tāhāt āṣei
I was	may āṣilõ	maï aṣilõ
thou wast	tumi āṣila	taï āsili apuni āṣil
he was	hi āṣil	hi āṣil
we were	āmi āṣilõ	āmi āṣilõ
you were	tomolāke āṣilā	tumi āṣilā
they were	teõ-bilāk āṣil	tahāt āṣil
I shall be	may hâm	maï hâm
I beat	may mārõ	maï mārõ
thou beatest	tumi marā	taï mārāh, apuni māra
he beats	hi māre	hi māră

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English	*Assamese*	*Western Assamese*
we beat	āmi mārõ	āmi mārõ
you beat	tomolāke marā	tumi mārā
they beat	teõ-bilāke māre	tāhãtă māră
I beat (past)	may mārişilõ	maï mārişilõ
thou beatest (past)	tumi mārişilā	taï mārişili, āpuni mārişil
he beat (past)	hi mārişil	hi mārişil
we beat (past)	āmi mārisilõ	āmi mārişilõ
you beat (past)	tomolāke mārişilā	tumi mārişilā
they beat (past)	hi-hāte mārişil	tahãtã mārişil
I shall beat	may mārim	maï mārim

[LSI pp. 437-446]

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VOL. V, PART II

INDO-ARYAN FAMILY

EASTERN GROUP

BIHĀRĪ AND ORIYĀ LANGUAGES

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BIHĀRĪ

345 Bihārī means properly the language of Bihar. It is spoken also outside its limits. On the west, Bihārī is spoken in the eastern districts of the Province of Agra and even in a small portion of Oudh. On the south it is spoken on the two plateaux of Chota Nagpur. It extends from the lower ranges of the Himalayas on the north to Singhbhum on the south, and from Manbhum on the south-east to Basti on the north-west.

Bihārī belongs to the eastern group of Indo-Aryan languages. In order to show this a brief comparative sketch of the grammars of Bihārī and of Bengali, its neighbour to the east is being given. Bihārī, as we go westward, more and more departs from the standard of Bengali and approaches that of the languages of Eastern Hindī. For the purposes of comparison, the dialect, Maithilī, which is situated on the east of the Bihārī tract, and which is most near to Bengali is being taken.

Pronunciation. In regard to pronunciation, Bihārī occupies a middle place between Bengali and Eastern Hindī. Nothing is so characteristic of Bengali as its pronunciation of the vowel *a* and the consonant *s*. The first is sounded like the *o* in the English word '*not*'. In Maithilī, the same vowel has also a broad sound, not so broad as in Bengali, but still distinctly broader than the sound which the vowel takes in Central Hindustan. As we go westward, this broad pronunciation is gradually lost, till it entirely disappears in the most westernly dialect of Bihārī—Bhojpurī. The letter *s* is pronounced as *s* in Bihārī, whereas it is pronounced as *sh* in Bengali. Thus in pronunciation, we may say, that Bihārī partakes partly the characteristics of Bengali, and partly those of west, with a leaning towards the latter.

Declension. In Hindī, in the declension of the noun. the oblique form of the base is frequently the same as the nominative, or, as the latter is called, the direct form of the base, but when

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it is different, it always, or nearly always, ends in *ē*. In Bihārī the oblique form is common in the case of pronouns, and also occurs in the case of certain nouns ending in *l*, *r*, and *b*. Same in a few exceptional cases, it ends in *ā*, not *ē*, e.g. *hamar-ā-kē*, 'to me'. In Bengali, it is the same, except that the oblique form in the case of nouns is more rare, e.g. *ām-ā-kē*, 'to me'. So in Hindī, the oblique form of the genitive postposition is *kē*, but in Bhojpurī, the only dialect of Bihārī in which it has an oblique form, it is *kā*, and this oblique form of the genitive is used to form the nominative plural, a peculiar construction quite unknown to Hindī. Thus, *ham^{a}nī-kē*, 'of us' oblique form, *ham^{a}nī-kā*, used to mean 'we'. So also in Maithilī, we have *ham-ā-r*, 'of us', 'of me', and the nominative plural *hamarā-sabh*, 'we all'. In Bengali, we have, *santān-ēr*, 'of a son', and its oblique form, *santān-ēr-ā*, used as a nominative plural, to mean 'sons'. We thus see that in the formation of the oblique base of a noun or of a pronoun, Bihārī agrees with Bengali, and not with Eastern Hindī.

Adjectives. As regards adjectives, the distinction of gender is very slightly observed in Bihārī and Bengali, while it is always followed in the west.

Conjugation. It is, however, in the conjugation of the verb that the most striking affinites with Bengali present themselves. Bihārī has three auxiliary verbs, two of which are found in Bengali and not in Hindī. The Bihārī for 'I am seeing' is *dekhait-chhī*, and in Bengali, the same phrase is translated *dekhītē-chhi*. In one dialect of Bihārī, the word for 'I am' is *bāṭī̃*, and in Bengali it may be *baṭi*. In Bihārī and Bengali, the sign of future tense is the sound *b*. Thus, Bihārī *dekh-ab*, Bengali, *dekh-iba*, 'I shall see'. In Hindī, it is formed in an altogether different way. So in the same two languages the sign of the past tense is *l*. Thus, Bihārī *dekh-^{a}lanh^{i}* 'he saw', Bengali, *dekh-ilen*.

Both in Bihārī and Bengali, the sense of number has almost disappeared in the conjugation of the verb. The old numbers of each tense still remain in existence, but their forms are used to show respect or the reverse, instead of distinction between plural and singular. In Hindī, there is an important rule regarding the

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conjugation of the past tense of verbs. In the case of transitive verbs the construction is passive, whereas in the case of intransitive verbs it is active. In Bengali and Bihārī this distinction has long since been obliterated.

Dialects. Bihārī has three main dialects, Maithilī or Tirahutiā, Magahī, and Bhojpurī. Each of these has several sub-dialects. The three dialects fall naturally into groups, viz., Maithilī and Magahī on the one hand, and Bhojpurī on the other. Magahī, indeed, might very easily be classed as a sub-dialect of Maithilī, rather than as a separate dialect. [LSI pp. 1-4]

MAITHILĪ OR TIR^{A}HUTIYĀ

346 Maithilī or Tir^{a}hutiyā is, properly speaking, the language of Mithila, or Tairabhukti. It is spoken in the districts of Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, greater part of district of Purnea, South-Gangetic portion of the Bhagalpur district, eastern portion of the South Gangetic portion of the Monghyr district, a small portion of Champaran district and in the north and west of Sonthal Parganas.

Maithilī is spoken in its greatest purity by the Brāhamans of the north of the Darbhanga and Bhagalpur districts and by those of western Purnea. These men have a literature and traditions which have retarded the corruption of the dialect. The dialect spoken in the south of Darbhanga district, and in those portions of the Monghyr and Bhagalpur districts which lie on the north of Ganges may be called Southern Standard. It shows signs of wearing away of inflexions. The dialect spoken in Purnea may be called Eastern Maithilī

South of the Ganges, Maithilī is influenced more or less by the Magahī, spoken to its west, and partly also by Bengali. The result is a well-marked dialect locally known as *chhika-chhiki Bōlī*, from its frequent use of the syllable 'chhik', being the base on which the verb substantive is formed.

The Maithilī spoken in the Muzaffarpur district, and in a strip of country on the eastern side of Darbhanga is strongly infected by the neighbouring Bhojpurī. It may be called western Maithilī.

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The dialect spoken by the Musalmans of Darbhanga, known as Jolahā Bōlī, is a form of Maithilī ; though some what corrupted by the admission of Persian and Arabic words in its vocabulary. [LSI pp. 13-14]

Pronunciation. The letter *sh*, when not compounded with another consonant, is pronounced as if it were *kh*. The compound *shp* is pronounced *hfp*. Thus, *pushp*, 'a flower', is pronounced *puhfp*. The letters *s* and ś are both pronounced like the *s* in 'sin'. The letter ś is usually reserved to represent Persian *ś*.

As in other Bihārī dialects the vowel *e* and *o*, and the diphthongs *ai* and *au* have each two sounds, a short and a long one. The letter *e* is pronounced like the *a* in 'mate' ; *ō* as the second *o* in 'promote' ; *ai* as the *i* in 'might' ; and *au* as the *ou* in 'house'. As for the short vowels, each has the short sound of the corresponding long one.

The vowel *a* has four distinct sounds, *a*, *å*, *ā*, *ă*. The pronunciation of *a* is something between that of the *a* in 'America', and that of *o* in 'hot'. The letter *å* is the long sound of this, pronounced like *a* in 'all'. This sound, it should be noted, is not nearly so marked in Maithilī as in Bhojpurī, in which dialect it is pronounced with a drawl. The letter *ā* is like the *a* of 'father'. The letter *ă* is the short sound of this, something like the *a* in 'farrier'.

In Maithilī the vowels *a*, *i* and *u* are often so pronounced as to be hardly audible. They are then, in transliteration, written as small letters above the line, thus, ^{a}, ^{i}, ^{u}. The small ^{a} occurs only in the middle of words in unaccented syllables. It is not pronounced at all by some speakers. The small ^{i} and the small ^{u} occurs only at the end of a word. They are hardly audible, and sound more like a weak aspirate coloured by the vowel than anything else. The words *dekh^{a}lánh^{i}*, 'he saw', and *dekhiáh^{u}*, 'let me see' have these sounds. These imperfect vowels are frequently nasalised, as in *dekhitáhĩ*, 'immediately on seeing', and in *dekh^{a}lahã*, 'I saw'. [LSI pp. 21-24]

Rule of the short antepenultimate. This rule is most important. It runs through the whole Bihārī language. It only applies to Tadbhava words.

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Before coming to the rule itself, it should be noted that in Tadbhava words, the diphthongs *ai* and *au* are pronounced *aï*, *aĭ*, *ăï*, *ăĕ*, *aü*, *aŏ*, *ăü*, or *ăŏ*, respectively, according to their origin.

a. Whenever the vowel *a* finds itself in the antepenultimate syllable i.e., the third from the end of a word, it is shortened to *ă*. Thus, the long form of *nāū*, 'a barber', is *năūa* or *nauā*.

b. Any other long vowel or diphthong finding itself in the antepenultimate syllable is shortened, provided a consonant, which is not a merely euphonic *y* or *w*, follows it. Thus, from *sīkhab*, 'to learn', *sikh^{a}lak*, 'he learned'.

c. Any vowel or diphthong, whatever, finding itself removed more than three syllables from the end of a word, is shortened, whether it is followed by a consonant or not. Thus, from *dēkhab*, 'to see', *dekhăĭ̆tia^{u}*, '(if) I had seen'. [LSI pp. 24-25]

Nouns. A noun has three forms. (1) Short, (2) Long, (3) Redundant. Thus, short, *ghōra*, 'a horse'; long, *ghor^{a}wā*; redundant *ghora^{u}ā*. The short form may be weak or strong. Thus, *ghōr* or *ghōrā*, 'a horse'. Usually only one form is used, but sometimes both.

Number. Plural is formed by adding a noun of multitude, such as *sabh* or *sabáh^{i}*, 'all', and *lokani*, 'people'. Thus, *nēnā*, 'a boy'; *nēnā sabh*, *nēnā sabáh^{i}*, *nēnā lokani*, 'boys'.

Case. The only true case is the instrumental formed by adding *ẽ*, before which a final *ā* is elided, *ī* becomes *i*, and *i* or *ū* shortened. Thus, *nenẽ*, 'by a boy', *nēnā sabáhiẽ*, 'by boys'. The genitive is formed by adding *-ak* or *-k*, thus. *nēnāk*, 'of a boy'. Other cases are formed by postpositions, added to the form of the nominative, or to the oblique form when such exists. Some of these are *kẽ*, 'to'; *sã*, *saũ*, 'from' or 'by'; *kēr* or *kar*, 'of'; *mẽ*, *mã*, 'in'.

Gender. Tadbhava nouns and adjectives in *a*, form the feminine in *ī*. Thus, *nēnā*, fem. *nēnī*. Long forms in *awā*, have fem. in *iyā*. Thus, *nenawa*, *neniyā*. Redundant forms in *auā* have *īwā* in the fem. Tadbhava adjectives ending in silent consonant form the fem. in *i*. Thus, *baṛ*, 'great', fem. *baṛi*.

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Oblique form. Certain nouns, principally ending in *b*, *r* and *l*, have an oblique form in *a* used before postpositions. Thus, *pahar*, 'a guard' ; *paharā saũ*, 'from a guard'. [LSI p. 26]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of personal pronouns are ; *ham* 'I' *ham sabh* 'we' *tõh*, *tõ* 'thou', *tõh sabh* 'you' *ápanahĩ*, 'self'; *õ*, *sẽ*, 'he' ; *õ sabh*, *sẽ sabh*, 'they'. The honorific pronouns of the second person are, *ahā*, *ahaĩ*, *ápanahĩ*, or *ápane*, 'Your honour'. The third person forms are also used as demonstrative pronouns.

The relative pronoun is *jẽ*, 'who'. The interrogative pronouns are *kẽ*, 'who ?', *kī*, 'what ?'. The pronouns *kõn* 'who ?', or 'what ?' (adjective), *kõnõ*, 'any, some' (adjective), and *kichhu*, when it means 'anything', are not inflected. [LSI p. 26]

Verbs. Verbs do not change for number, but each person has several forms. There are four principal forms depending, each, upon the status of the subject and of the object (direct or remote).

The forms are :

1. Subject non-honorific, Object non-honorific, e.g., he (a slave) sees him (a slave).

2. Subject non-honorific, Object honorific, e.g., he (a slave) sees him (a king).

3. Subject honorific, Object non-honorific, e.g., he (a king) sees him (a slave).

4. Subject honorific, Object honorific e.g., he (a king) sees him (a king).

The second and fourth forms are usually made by lengthening the final vowel (when necessary), and adding *nh*^{i}. Thus, *dekh*^{a}*lá́th*^{i}, 'he (a king) saw him (a slave)' ; and *dekhal*^{a}*thinh*^{i}, 'he (a king) saw him (a king)'. In the third and fourth forms in which the subject is honorific, the second person is the same as the first.

The rule of attraction is as follows :

If a verbal form ends in *ai* or *ainh*^{i}, and the object (direct or remote) is in the second person, the *ai* is changed to *au* and the

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ainh^{i} to *aunh*^{i}. Thus, *Murtā nēnā-kē mărl*^{a}*kai*. 'Murtā beat the child' ; but, *Murtā toharā-kē măral*^{a}*kau*, 'Murtā beat you'.

K may be added to any form in *ai* or *au* without changing the meaning. Forms ending in *ai* or *aik*, or *au* or *auk*, always belong either to the first or third forms, and are hence only used when the object is non-honorific.

Transitive verbs. The verbal nouns are formed by adding *-ab*, *-bā*, and an imperfect ^{i}. Thus, *dēkhab*, *dekh*^{a}*bā*, *dekh*^{i}.

Present participle is formed by adding *-ait*, and past participle by *-al*. Thus, *dekhait*, *dekhal*.

The present tense is formed by adding the following terminations :

Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Form 4
1. *-i, -iai*	*-iainhi*	*-i, iai*	*-iainhi*
2. *-âh*	*-*^{a}*hūnhi*	same	same
3. *-ai*	*-ainh*^{i}	*-áthi*	*-*^{a}*thinh*^{i}

Thus, we have *dēkhī*, *dekhiai*, 'I see, (if) I see', and so on.

In addition to the above there are certain optional forms also.

The future tense is formed in three different ways.

1. With the terminations of the present tense the syllable *-gâ* is generally added. Thus, *dēkhī-gâ*, 'I shall see'.

2. Second variety. The following terminations are added. The forms of the third person are wanting. The syllable *-gâ* may be added to any form.

Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Form 4
1. *-ab*, *-*^{a}*bai*	*-*^{a}*bainhi*	*-ab*, *-*^{a}*bai*	*-*^{a}*bainhi*
2. *-*^{a}*bâh*	*-*^{a}*bahūnh*^{i}	same	same

3. Third variety. The syllable *-gâ* may also be added to any of the forms.

Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Form 4
1. *-*^{a}*tiai*	*-*^{a}*tiainh*^{i}	^{a}*tiai*	*-*^{a}*tiainh*^{i}
2. wanting	wanting	same	same
3. *-at*, *-*^{a}*tai*	^{a}*tainh*^{i}	^{a}*tăh*, *-ath*^{u}	*-*^{a}*thūnh*^{i}

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The past tense is formed by adding the following terminations :

	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Form 4
1.	*al*, *ᵃlai*	*-ᵃlainhᵘ*	*-al*, *ᵃlai*	*-ᵃlainhᵘ*
2.	*-ᵃlâh*	*-ᵃlahūnhᵘ*	same	same
3.	*-ᵃlak*, *alakai*	*-ᵃlakainhᵘ*	*-ᵃlánhᵘ*, *-ᵃlathᵘ*	*-alᵃthīnhᵘ*

Thus we have *dēkhal*, *dekhᵃlai*, 'I saw', and so on.

Neuter verbs. In the case of neuter verbs second and fourth forms are rarely used. The present and future tenses are formed as in the case of transitive verbs. The past tense is formed by adding the following terminations :

	Form 1	Form 2
1.	*-alī*, *ᵃliai*	*-ᵃlī*, *-ᵃliai*
2.	*-alăh*	same
3.	*-al*	*-alăh*

Certain optional forms are also met with. [LSI pp. 28-29]

SOUTHERN STANDARD MAITHILĪ

347 It is spoken in the Samastipur Sub-division of Darbhanga, North Monghyr, and Madhipura Sub-division of Bhagalpur.

Pronunciation. The principal difference is that the rule of shortening the antepenultimate vowel is not followed in the case of the simple present of a verb. Thus, 'he sees', is *dēkhai*, not *dekhai*, as in standard Maithilī.

Nouns. Another termination of the genitive is *-ke*. Before the genitive termination *-k*, a final long vowel is shortened. Thus, from *nēna*, 'a boy', one form of the genitive is *nēnak*, not *nēnak*, as in standard Maithilī.

Pronouns. The honorific pronoun of the second person is *āis*, *ahă* or *apᵃne*. The genitives of *je*, 'who', *se*, 'he' ; and *ki*, 'who ?' one *jē-kaf*, *tē-kar*, and *kē-kar*, respectively.

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Verbs. The following are the terminations used in the simple present, and in the past indicative and conditional. The four forms have the same power, as in standard Maithilī :

	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Form 4
1.	*-ũ̃, -õ̃∼-aū*		*-i, -iai* (fem. *ĩ*)	*-iainh*
2.	*-ẽ* (fem. *ĩ*) *-ẽ̃,*	same as	*-âh, -á,*	*-hunh*
	-ai, -aĩ, -hĩ̃∼hīk	Form 4	*-han∼hank*	
3.	*-ai∼ -aik*		*-ath, -ath^{i}, -ā* (fem. *ĩ*), *∼ -anh* (fem. *inh*)	*-thinh,* -hink

The past tense indicative of transitive verbs has the following terminations in the third person :

Forms 1 and 2 *-ak, -kaik,* Form 3 *-kā, -ẽ̃, -anh, āt.* Fem. *-kī, -inh, -īt.* Form 4 *-hinh, -khinh.*

The following terminations may be used in the past tense of any verb, whether transitive or intransitive :

Form 1. 1st person, *-ã̃* (only in north Monghyr) ; 3rd person *-kai.*

Form 3. 1st person, *-ianh, ihanh* ; 2nd person, *-hâ.*

The following are the terminations of the future :

	Form 1	Form 3	Forms 2 and 4
1.	*-bõ̃, -bai, -baik*	*-ab*	*-bainh*
2.	*-bẽ, bẽ̃, -bai,-baĩ,*	*-bâh, -bâ, -bhan,*	*-bhunh*
	-bhẽ̃, etc.	*-bhank*	
3.	*-at, -tai, -taik*	*-tanh* (Fem. *-tinh*),	*-bhinh, -thanī*
	(Fem.) *-aitī*	*-tā* (Fem. *ti*), *-tat* (Fem. *-tīt, -tath^{i}*)	

Auxiliary verbs. Besides the base '*chha*' which we meet in standard Maithilī, there is also a base *chhika.* Thus, *chhikai,* 'he is'. A common form of the 3rd singular of the simple verb is *achh,* or *chha,* instead of *achh^{i}.* [LSI pp. 79-80]

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EASTERN MAITHILĪ OR GĀÕWĀRĪ

348 In the central and western part of Purnea, a corrupt form of Maithilī is spoken by the illiterate classes of Hindus, except the Brahmins, who speak the pure standard Maithilī. This dialect is spoken even to the east of river Mahananda by Hindus, where Bengali is principally spoken by Muhammadans. The corrupt form of Maithilī is locally known as Gāõwārī, or the village dialect.

The principal points of difference between it and standard Maithilī are the following :

Nouns. The termination of the genitive is *-k*, *-ke*, *-kar* or *-kēr*.

Pronouns. One form of the nominative of the pronoun of the first person is *hammε̃*, and of the second person, *tōhε̃*. The honorific pronoun of the second person is *ap'ne*, *ihã̂*, or *ahã̂*. The plural of all pronouns is formed by adding *-sab*, *-sibī*, *-sī* or *-ār*.

Verbs. In standard Maithilī, there are four sets of forms to each person, depending on the respect shown both to the subject and the object. In Eastern Maithilī, the forms in which special honour is shown to the object have almost disappeared, that is to say, only the first and third forms are in common use.

As in standard Maithilī, the plural is the same as the singular. The first person is often used honorifically instead of the second.

The following are the terminations used in the simple present, the past, and the past conditional :

	Form 1	Form 3
1.	*-ũ̃*, *-ā*, *-aũ̃* or *-ã̂*	*-iai*
2.	*-a*, *-ē*, *-ε̃* or *-aĩ*	*-â*. *-hâk*, *-hauk*
3.	*-ai*, *-aik*	*-at*

For the future we have the following terminations :

	Form 1	Form 3
1.	*-bai*, *-bõ̃*, or *-baũ̃*	*-ah*, *-bī*
2.	*-bā*, *-bē*, *-bε̃*, *-bai*, *-bhε̃*, or *-mε̃*	*-bâ*, *-b^{a}hâk*, *-bhauk*
3.	*-at*, *-tai*, *-it*, *-itai*, *-tah*, *-itah*	

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Eastern Maithilī *dekhibõ*, is equivalent to the Bengali *dēkhiba*, 'I will see'.

Forms ending in *-ai* or *-aik* are used when the direct or remote object of the sentence is inferior to the subject. [LSI pp. 86-87]

CHHIKĀ-CHHIKĪ BŌLĪ

349 This dialect is almost confined to the south of the Ganges. The only exception is a small tract on the north of the Ganges, in the south of the Gogri Thana of the Monghyr district, in which Chhikā-chhikī has intruded into the territory which properly belongs to Southern Standard Maithilī. It is spoken in the eastern part of South Monghyr, in South Bhagalpur, except in a small tract in the west of the Banka Sub-division and in the north and west of the Sonthal Parganas.

It is called 'Chhikī-chhikī Bōlī' owing to the frequence with which the word *chhikai*, meaning 'he is', and its congeners is used. As it closely resembles the language spoken north of the river in Madhipura and Purnea, attention to two peculiarities which it shares with the dialect of Monghyr is being drawn. The first is the fondness which it has for adding the sound of *o* in the English word 'hot', to the end of words. Thus, what in standard Bengali would be *apan*, 'own', becomes in south Bhagalpur *ap^{a}nō*, pronounced *ap'nŏ*. The other peculiarity is the tendency to lengthen a final short *^{i}*. Thus, instead of the standard Maithilī *kar^{i}*, 'having done', South Bhagalpur has *karī*. [LSI pp. 95-96]

MAGAHĪ OR MĀGADHĪ

350 Magahī or Māgadhī is, properly speaking, the language of the country of Magadha, which at the present day roughly constitutes the district of Patna, together with the northern half of the district of Gayā. However, it is not confined to the old country of Magadha. It is also spoken all over the rest of Gayā and over the district of Hazaribagh ; also; on the west, in a portion of the district of Palama^{u}, and on the east, in the portions of the district of Monghyr, and Bhagalpur. Over the whole of this area, it is practically one and the same dialect, with hardly any local

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variations, except near the city of Patna, where it is infected with idioms belonging to the North-Western Provinces.

Magahī has a sub-dialect, Eastern Magahī, which is affected by the Bengali spoken in the area. This dialect is found in south-east of Hazaribagh, in Manbhum, in south-east of the district of Ranchi, in Kharsāwān, Mayūrbhanja and Bamra. It is also spoken as an isolated island of speech in the west of the district of Malda.

Pure Magahī has also found its way south of the district of Ranchi, and appears in the north of the district of Singhbhum, in the states of Sarai Kalā and Kharsāwān, where it is spoken side by side with Oṛiyā. [LSI pp. 30-31]

Character of the language. Magahī is condemned by speakers of other Indian languages as being rude and uncouth. In fact the principal difference between it and Maithilī is that the latter has been under the influence of learned Brahmins, while the former has been the language of a people who have been dubbed as boors since Vedic times. One of its most objectionable features, to Indian ears, is the habit of winding up every question, even when addressed to a person held in respect, with the word *rē*.

[LSI p. 35]

Pronunciation. The pronunciation of Magahī is not so broad as in Maithilī. The letter *a* is usually pronounced like the *u* in 'hut', as in the North-Western Provinces. In the last syllable of the second person of a verb, it is however, pronounced like the *a* in 'all'. For rest of the vowel sounds remarks under the head of Maithilī, also apply to Magahī. The vowels *i* and *u* at the end of a word are fully pronounced in Magahī and not as ' or " as in Maithilī.

There is the same confusion of *sh* and *kh* that we find in Maithilī. When not compounded with another consonant both are pronounced *kh*. The letters *ś* and *s* are both pronounced like the *s* in 'sin'.

The rule of the short antepenultimate applies in Magahī, exactly as it does in Maithilī. [LSI pp. 35-36]

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Nouns. Each noun has three forms as in Maithilī. Thus, *ghōrā*, (short), *ghor^{a}wā*, (long), and *ghorauwā* (redundant), 'a horse'. The short form may be weak (as *ghōr*) or strong (as *ghōrā*).

Number. Plural is formed by adding *-n* and shortening a final long vowel. Thus, *ghorā*, 'horse', pl. *ghōrau*. Plural may also be formed by adding nouns of multitude such as *sab*, *lōg*. Thus, *ghōrā sab*, 'the horses' ; *rajā lōg*, 'the kings'.

Case. The only two cases are the instrumental and the locative, formed, as in Maithilī by the addition of *-ẽ* and *-ē*, respectively, before which a final *-ā* is elided and a final *-ī* or *-ū* is shortened. Thus, *ghōrẽ*, 'by a horse' ; *ghōrē*, 'in a horse'. These forms do not occur in the plural.

Other cases are formed by postpositions added to the nominative, or (when that exists) to the oblique form.

Oblique form. In all nouns ending in vowels, the oblique form is the same as the nominative. In all nouns ending in consonants, it may either be the same as the nominative, or may add *-e*. Thus, *ghar-ke* or *ghare-ke*, 'of a house'.

Pronouns. The nominative forms of personal pronouns are : *ham*, 'I' ; *hamani* (inferior), *ham^{a}ranī* (sup.) 'we' ; *tũ*, *tõ* 'thou' ; *tohonī* (inf.) *toh^{a}ronī* (sup.) 'you' ; *ap^{a}ne* (sing.) *ap^{a}ne sab* (plur.) 'self' ; *ū*, *sē*, *taun*, 'he' ; *ū*, *sē*,*tinh^{a}kani*, 'they'. 'Self' is *ap^{a}ne*. The relative pronoun is *je*, *jaun*, 'who'. The interrogative pronouns are, *kē*, *kō*, *kaun*, 'who ?', *kā*, *kī*, *kaũchī*, 'what ?'

Verbs. As in the case of Maithilī, the chief difficulty of Magahī grammar is the number of verbal forms for each person. The verb, as in Maithilī, agrees both with its subject and with its object, and, while there is no distinction of number, there are the four forms of each person depending on the status of the subject and the object.

The rule of attraction closely agrees with that which obtains in Maithilī. If a verbal form ends in *-aï* (or *-ai*), *-i* or *-in*, and the object, direct or remote, is in the second person, the *-aï* (or *ai*) is changed to *-aü* (or *-au*), the *-ī* to *-ū* and the *-in* to *-un*.

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This rule also applied when the subject of the verb is connected indirectly with the second person. Thus, if the subject of a verb is 'his brother', the termination would be *-aï* or *-ī*, but if it is 'your brother', the termination would be *-aü* or *-ū*.

Besides the ordinary present definite and imperfect formed as in other Aryan languages by adding the auxiliary verb to the present participle, Magahī has two tenses, which may be called the present indefinite and the past indefinite, respectively. They are formed by adding the auxiliary verb to the root, to which the vowel *a* has been appended. Thus, *dēkha hi*, 'I see'; *dekha halũ*, 'I saw'. These tenses are of very frequent occurrence.

The auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive are declined in all the four forms as under :

Present, 'I am', etc.

	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Form 4
1.	*hī*	—	*hĩ*	—
2.	*hẽ*	*hahin*	*hâ*	*hahum*
3.	*hai*	*hahin*	*haĩ*	*haïn*

Past, 'I was', etc.

	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Form 4
1.	*halũ*	—	*halĩ*	—
2.	*halẽ*	*hal^{a}hin*	*halâ*	*hal^{a}hum*
3.	*hal*	*hal^{a}hin*	*halan*	*hal^{a}thin*

The main tenses are simple present, past, and the future. The future has two varieties, variety I has its sign as *-b*, as *dekhab*, variety II, has its sign as *-h*, as *dēkhī*, etc. The following are the terminations :

Simple present

	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Form 4
1.	*-ũ*	—	*ĩ*	—
2.	—	*-^{a}hin*	*â*	*-^{a}hun*
3.	*-ai*	same	*-ath*	*-^{a}thin*

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Past

	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Form 4
1.	-$^{a}l\tilde{\bar{u}}$	—	-$al\tilde{\bar{\imath}}$	—
2.	-$^{a}l\tilde{e}$	-$al^{a}hin$	-$^{a}l\hat{a}$	-$al^{a}hun$
3.	-^{a}lak	-$al^{a}kan$	-$al^{a}th\bar{\imath}$	-$al^{a}thin$

Future, variety 1

	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Form 4
1.	-ab	—	-$abai$	—
2.	-$^{a}b\tilde{e}$	-$ab^{a}hin$	-$^{a}b\hat{a}$	-$ab^{a}hun$
3.	—	—	—	—

Future, variety 2

	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Form 4
1.	—	—	—	—
	—	—	-$ih\hat{a}$	—
	-i	-$at^{a}hin$	-$ih\tilde{e}$	-$at^{a}thin$
	-at		-^{a}tan	

The imperative is the same as the simple present.

There are three forms of the verbal nouns. In one *-ab* is added, in the second *-al* is added and in the third no termination is added. Thus, the verb *dēkh* has the forms, *dēkhab*, *dēkhal*, and *dēkh*. [LSI pp. 36-37, 38-39]

EASTERN MAGAHĪ

351 In Manbhum and Kharsawan this corrupt Magahī is spoken principally by Kuṛmīs, and is locally known as Kuṛmālī Ṭhār. It is also known as Korṭhā, or, in the north-west of Manbhum as Khaṭṭā, or in the west of the same district. as Khaṭṭāhī. [LSI p. 147]

The following are the principal peculiarities of the dialect :

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Pronunciation. A long *ō* becomes *a* (pronounced in the Bengali fashion like the *o* in 'hot' ; thus *lōkēr*, 'of a man', we find *laker*. An *i* or *e* is apt to change a preceding *a* to *e*. Thus, Bengali *kahilek*, 'he said', becomes, *kehalāk*, [LSI p. 147]

Nouns. The pleonastic suffix *ṭa*, *ṭāi* or *ṭay* is very common. Sometimes, it has the force of the English definite article. Thus, *chhāwā-ṭa*, 'the child' ; *bēṭā-ṭāy*, 'the son'.

In the declension of nouns, the termination for the accusative dative is *-kē*, which belongs both to Bihārī and Bengali. Thus, *bāp-kē*, 'to the fathers'. The genitive has many terminations, viz., *-ēr*, *ē-kar*, *-kar*, *-kēr*, *-ek*. The instrument and locative are formed by adding *-ē*.

The plural is usually the same as the singular, but in the case of human beings *-gulā* is added. Thus, *muniś-gulā-kē*, 'to the servants'. [LSI pp. 147-148]

Pronouns. The following nominative forms of the personal pronouns may be noted :

mãy, 'I' ; *hām^{a}rā*, 'we' ; *tãy*, 'thou' ; *ū*, *tẽy*, *sē*, 'he'.

The relative and correlative pronouns are *jē*, and *sē*. Adjectival pronouns are *ahē* and *sēi*, 'that', and *ehē*, 'this'.

[LSI p. 148]

Verb. Singular and plural are, as a rule, the same.

Some of the forms of verbs substantive and auxiliary verbs are ; Present tense : *āhã*, 'I am' ; *āhis*, 'thou art' ; *āhē*, *āhek*, 'he is'. Past tense : *Helaõ*, 'I was' ; *hel*, *helek*, 'he was' ; also, *rahã*, 'I was' ; *rahē*, *rehek*, 'he was'.

Finite verbs. Some forms of the various tenses met with in the dialect may be noted. Present, *lāgaõ*, 'I seem', *keris*, 'thou doest'. Future, *pāyam*, 'I shall go' ; *kaham*, 'I shall say' ; *kerbẽi*, 'we shall do'. Past, *pāolaõ*, *pāolẽi*, , 'I obtained' ; *aṭaolahan*, 'I reached' ; *lagaole*, 'thou didst commence' ; *keh^{a}lak*, 'he said'. Imperative, *chalẽ*, 'let us come' ; *dē*, 'give thou' ; respectful, *rakhẽ*, 'keep', inferior, *dehak*, 'give'.

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In the case of intransitive verbs, sometimes the Bihārī custom of dropping all terminations is followed, as in *gēl*, 'he went'; and sometimes almost pure Bengali forms are used, as in *kehᵃlek*, 'he said'. [LSI pp. 148-149]

BHOJPURĪ

352 Of the three Bihārī dialects, Maithilī, Magahī, and Bhojpurī, it is the most western. It reaches, on the north, across the Ganges, and even beyond the Nepal frontier, upto the lower ranges of the Himalayas, from Champaran to Basti. On the south, it has crossed the Sone, and covers the great Ranchi plateau of Chota Nagpur, where it ultimately finds itself in contact with the Bengali of Manbhum, and with the Oṛiyā of Singhbhum.

The two eastern dialects of Bihārī are much more closely connected with each other than either is connected with Bhojpurī. In grammatical forms, Maithilī and Magahī have much in common that is not shared by Bhojpurī, and, on the other hand, Bhojpurī has peculiarities of declension and conjugation which are unknown to the other two. There is a difference of intonation, too. In Maithilī, the vowel *a* is pronounced with a broad sound approaching the 'o' in 'hot'. On the contrary, Bhojpurī, pronounces the vowel with the clear sharp-cut tone which we hear all over Central Hindōstān.

In the declension of nouns, the Bhojpurī postposition of the genitive is *ke*, while in eastern dialect it is either *k* or *kar* or *ker*. Besides this, the genitive of a Bhojpurī substantive has an oblique form, a thing unknown to Maithilī or Magahī. In the conjugation of verbs, the Bhojpurī verbs substantive, *bātē*, 'he is', does not appear in the other two, while the form of the verb substantive, which may be called common to the three dialects, *-hai*, 'he is', is throughout its conjugation pronounced so differently in Bhojpurī that it can hardly be recognised as the same verb finally. Bhojpurī is free from the complicated verbal forms of Maithilī and Magahī. Bhojpurī has simple conjugation, with rarely more than one form for each person. [LSI pp. 40-42]

Sub-dialects. Bhojpurī has three main varieties,—standard, the western, and Nagpuria. It has also a border sub-dialect called

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Madhēsī, and a broken form called Thārū. Standard Bhojpurī is spoken mainly in the districts of Shahabad, Ballia, and Ghazipur (eastern half), and in the Doab of the Gogra and the Gandak. As its name implies, western Bhojpurī is spoken in the western districts of Fyzabad, Azamgarh, Jaunpur, Benares, the western half of Ghazipur, and South Gangetic Mirzapur, while Nagpuriā is spoken in Chota Nagpur. Madhēsī is spoken in Champaran, and Thārū Bhojpurī along the Nepal frontier from that district to Bahraich. [LSI p. 42]

Pronunciation. The vowel *a* is usually pronounced in the clear-cut way, i.e. like the *u* in 'nut'. The long drawled *â* is especially common in Bhojpurī.

The rule of the short antepenultimate occurs in Bhojpurī as in the other Bihārī dialects, The only difference is that a long *ā* is shortened to *a* and not to *ă*. Thus, the third person past of *māral*, 'to strike', is *mar^{a}las*, 'he beat', not *măr^{a}las*.

[LSI p. 48]

Nouns. Each noun has three forms as in Maithilī. Thus, *ghōṛā* (short), *ghoṛ^{a}wā*, (long). *ghoṛauā* (redundant). The long form sometimes ends in *-ē* instead of *ā*. Thus, *ghoṛ^{a}wā*. All these forms may have their terminations nasalised. Thus, *ghoṛ^{a}wã̄*.

Number. Plural is formed by adding *-ni*, *-nh*, or *-n* and shortening a preceding long vowel. Plural may also be formed by adding nouns of multitude, such as *sabh*, 'all', *lōg*, 'people'.

Case. The only true cases are the instrumental and locative singular, formed, as in Maithilī, by the addition of *ẽ* and *ē*, respectively, before which a final *ā* is elided, and a final *ī* or *ū* is shortened. Thus, *ghoṛẽ*, 'by a horse' ; *ghōṛē*, 'on a horse'.

Other cases are formed by postposition added to the nominative, or (when such exists) to the oblique form. Some of these are *kē*, 'to' ; *sē*, *tē*, *santē* or *kar^{a}tē*, 'by' ; *khātir*, *lāg*, *la*, 'for' ; *sē*, *lē* 'from' ; *k*, *ke*, *kăi*, 'of' ; *mẽ*, *mõ*, 'on.'

Adjectives. In standard Bhojpurī, adjectives do not change for gender, [LSI p. 50]

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Pronouns. The nominative forms of personal pronouns are : *mε̃* (inf.), *ham* (sup.) 'I' ; *ham^{a}nī-kā* (inf.), *ham^{a}ran* (sup.) 'we' ; *tũ* or *tε̃*, 'thou' ; *toh^{a}nī-kā* (inf.), *toh^{a}ran* (sup.) 'you' ; *rauwā̃*, *rawā̃*, *raurā*, (sing.), *rauran*, *rawan* (plur.), 'your honour' ; *ap^{a}ne* (sing.), *ap^{a}nan* (plur.), 'self, your honour' ; *sē*, *tē*, *tawan*, *taun*, *ū*, *ō*, 'he' ; *tinhkā*, *tawan*, *taun*, 'they'.

The relative pronouns are *jē*, *jawan*, *jaun*, 'who'. The interrogative pronouns are ; *kē*, *kawan*, *kaun*, 'who ?', *kā*, 'what ?'. Anyone, someone' is *keū*, *kēhu*, *kaunō*.

The pronouns are declined for case. [LSI p. 50]

Verbs. Except in a few isolated instances, the form of the verb depends only on the subject. The object has no effect upon it. In all verbs, the first person singular is hardly ever used except in poetry. The plural is used instead. The use of the second person singular is vulgar. The plural is here also used instead. The first person plural is commonly used instead of the second person, when it is desired to show respect. The syllable *sâ* may be added to the second or third person to show the plural number or respect. Thus, *dēkhâ-lâ-sâ*, 'your honour sees'. It is quite common to use masculine forms instead of the feminine.

The verb substantive and auxiliary verbs have two forms. Only the masculine forms in the present and past tenses are given below :

Present, 'I am', etc.

	Form 1		Form 2	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	(*baṛõ*)	*baṛī̃* or *banī̃*	(*hâwõ*)	*hâwī̃*. *hâī̃*
2.	*bāṛ*, *baṛē*	*bāṛa*,	*hâwε*,	*hâwâ*,
	baṛasi, *bāṛas*	*baṛâh*	*hâwas* etc.	*hâwâh*
3.	*bā*, *baṛē*, *bāṛa*	*baṛan*	*hâ*, *hâwε*,	*hâwan*
	baṛō. *baṛasi*,		*hâwasi*, *hawas*	
	baṛasu, *baṛas*			

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Past, 'I was', etc.

	Form 1		Form 2	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	(*rahᵃlõ̃*)	*rahᵃlĩ̃*	(*raho*)	*rahĩ̃*
2.	*rahᵃlē*, *rahᵃlas*	*rahᵃlâ*, *rahᵃlâh*	*rahē*, *rahas*	*rahâ*, *rahâh*
3.	*rahal*, *rahᵃlē*, *rahᵃlasi*, *rahᵃlas*	*rahᵃlan*	*rahē*, *rahasi*, *rahas*	*rahan*

Finite verb. The verbal noun has three forms, viz. 1. *dēkh*, 2. *dēkh-ol*, 3. *dēkhab*. All mean 'to see', 'the act of seeing'.

The terminations of the three main tenses, present, past and future in masculine gender are as under :

Simple present

	Singular	Plural
1.	(-*õ̃*)	-*ĩ̃*
2.	-*ē*, -*asi*, -*as*	-*â*, -*âh*
3.	-*ē*, -*a*, -*õ*, -*asi*, -*asu*, -*as*	-*an*, -*ani*

Thus, we have *dēkhē*, *dēkha*, *dēkhõ*, *dēkhasi*, *dēkhasu*, *dēkhas*, 'he sees', and so on.

	Past		*Future*	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	(-ᵃ*lõ̃*)	-ᵃ*lĩ̃*	(-ᵃ*bõ̃*, -ᵃ*baü*)	-*ab*, -ᵃ*bī*, -*ihâ*
2.	-ᵃ*lē*, -ᵃ*las*	-ᵃ*lâ* (*h*)	-ᵃ*bē*	-ᵃ*bâ* (*h*)
3.	-ᵃ*lē*, -ᵃ*las*, -ᵃ*lasi*	-*alan*, -*alani*	-*ī*	-*ihē*, -*ihen*

Thus, we have *dekhᵃlē*, *dekhᵃlas*, *dekhᵃlasi*, 'he saw' ; *dēkhī*, 'he shall see', and so on.

Bhojpurī has a peculiar form of present indicative, which is, itself, often used in the sense of the future. It is formed by adding the suffix -*lā* to the present subjunctive. Just as Hindustānī , *dēkhū̃-gā*, means 'I shall see', so does the Bhojpurī *dēkhī-la*.

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The imperative is the same as the simple present.

Perfect is formed by adding *-hẫ*, or *-hâ* to the past. Thus, *dekhᵃlī̃ hâ*, 'I have seen', and so on.

Causals are formed by adding *-āw* to the root. Thus, *dekhawī-lā*, 'I cause to see'.

The potential passive voice is formed by adding *ā* to the root. Thus, *dēkhaī-lā*, 'I can be seen', [LSI pp. 48-49, 51-53]

NORTHERN STANDARD BHOJPURĪ

353 This form of speech slightly differs from the true standard Bhojpurī. It is spoken in the districts of Saran, Gorakhpur and Basti. The language varies slightly as we go north-west. The language of central and north Saran, and of a portion of Tahsil Deoria in Gorakhpur, may be considered the model of the south-eastern part of the tract. As we go further north we find two distinct sub-dialects, that to the east being commonly known as Gorakhpurī ; and that to the west as Sarwariā.

The following are the few principal points in which it differs from the standard dialect.

Nouns. The plural is sometimes formed by adding the syllable *sâ*. Thus, *ghōṛā-sâ*, 'horses'. In standard Bhojpurī it is more usual to employ this suffix with verbs than with nouns.

Pronouns. Besides *ham*, 'I', *hamē* is also used. For 'anyone', we sometimes meet *kōī*, and for the adjective 'what', *kauan*.

Verbs. The verb substantive *bāṛē*, 'he is', often takes the form *bāṭē* in all districts north of the Ganges, though the form *baṛē* is also used. We thus get forms like *bāṭī̃* or *banī̃*, 'I am' ; *bāṭâ*, 'you are', and so on.

The optional forms of the simple present used in Saran are, 2nd Sing., *dekhuē, dekhues*, 3rd Sing., *dēkhuē, dēkhai*, 3rd plur., *dēkhen*.

The past has characteristic sound *u* instead of *l*. The optional forms of this tense are ; 2nd sing., *dekhᵃles, dekhuē*, 3rd sing.,

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dekhuē ; 1st plur., *dekhuī̃* ; 2nd plur., *dekhuâh*, *dekhuâ* ; 3rd plur., *dekhᵃlen*, *dekhuan*.

Some forms of the first and second person of the past tense are met with, due to the influence of Maithilī spoken to the east of the Gaṇḍak.

Generally speaking, Saran used the suffixes *-hâ*, *-hā*, *-hã̂*, *-hã̆*, etc., much more freely than Shahabad. They appear in all the past tenses, and not only in the perfect and pluperfect. Thus, the imperfect may be *ham-dēkhat rahᵃlī̃ hã̂*, 'I was seeing'.

[LSI pp. 224-225]

GORAKHPURĪ

354 The Sub-dialect has a few local peculiarities. The letter *ṛ* is preferred to *r*. Thus, we have *paral*, 'it fell' instead of *paṛal*.

Instead of *tekᵃrā*, the oblique form of *sē*, 'he', we find *sekᵃra*. Instead of *kochhu*, we find *kuchh*.

There is a third person plural in *ẽ*, which has been borrowed from the trans-Gogra *aĩ*. Thus, *rahᵃlẽ*, 'they were'. It has a feminine in *-ī̃*, as in *kahᵃlī̃*, 'she said', used honorifically.

Another instance of borrowing from the trans-Gogra dialect is the use of the instrumental case in *-an*, in *bhūkhan*, 'by hunger'.

[LSI pp. 228-229]

SARWARIĀ

355 The sarwariā sub-dialect is spoken all over the district of Basti, and over the western half of Gorakhpur. It differs from the Bhojpurī of East Gorakhpur principally in vocabulary. The words for things in common use frequently differ considerably. There are also, however, some differences of grammar. The principal are the following :

We see the same reluctance to use the cerebral *ṛ* in Basti that we observed in Gorakhpur. Thus, we find *paṛal*, 'it fell', used instead of *paṛal*. The termination of the genitive is *kăĭ̆*, with an

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oblique form *kē*. This is borrowed from the western Bhojpurī. Thus, *d aïu-kai*, 'of God', but *bāp-kē lagẽ*, 'near the father'.

In verbs, the most noteworthy peculiarity of the Basti dialect is that the third person singular of the past ends in *-is* instead of in *-as*. Thus, *kahªlis*, 'he said' ; so also *dihªlis*, *lihªlis* and others. The respectful imperative ends in *-au* as in *rākhau*. The termination of the conjunctive participle may be *-ke*, as in *jāy-ke*, 'having gone', or *kăĭ̆*, as in *dēkhi-kăĭ̆*, 'having seen'.

The potential passive is formed by adding *-ªwā* and not *-ā* to the root of the verb : thus, *kahªwāĩ̃*, 'I may be called', instead of the standard Bhojpurī *kahāĩ̃*. [LSI pp. 238-239]

WESTERN BHOJPURĪ OR PŪRBĪ

356 The western Bhojpurī is spoken in the districts of Azamgarh, Benares, in the centre of Mirzapur, in the west of Ghazipur and in the extreme east of Fyzabad, and Jaunpur. This dialect is the most western outpost of the Eastern Group of the Indo-Aryan family of language, and possesses some of the features of its cousions to its west.

The following are the principal points in which this dialect differs from the standard form of the dialect.

Nouns. The plural is usually the same as the singular, the typical termination *-an*, being seldom used.

The postposition for the genitive is *ka* or *kăĭ̆*, instead of *kĕ*. While in standard Bhojpurī the oblique form of many nouns and pronouns ends in *-ā*, in western Bhojpurī it ends in *-ē*, thus, standard Bhojpurī, *dēs-kā*; western Bhojpurī, *dēs-kē*.

Adjectives. Adjectives change for gender and case as in standard Hindī. Thus, *baṛē bēṭē kăĭ̆ ghar*, 'the house of the elder son'.

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the personal pronouns are ; *maĩ̃*, *mõ* (inf.) *ham*, *hamẽ* (sup.) 'I' ; *hamman*, *hamªhan* (inf.), *hamªrē*, *hamªran* (sup.) 'we' ; *taĩ̃* (inf.) *tũh*, *tũ* (sup.) 'thou', *tũhan*,

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tũhanē (inf.) *tuhᵃrē*, *tuhᵃran* (sup.) 'you' ; *i* (near), *ũ* (remote) 'he, she' ; *itthū*, *ithuā*, (near), *otthū*, *othuā* (remote) 'it' (sing.) ; *ithuan*, *othuan*, 'it' (plur.).

'This' is *haī*, 'that' is *haũ*, and 'who' is *jē*, *jaun*. In all the above, the genitive singular has a feminine in -ī. as *mōrī bēṭī*. 'my daughter'. The oblique form ends in *ē* as *mōrē bāp-kē*, 'to my father'.

Verbs. We find the first person singular much more generally used than in standard Bhojpurī. The verb substantive is as follows :

Present, 'I am', etc.

	Form 1				Form 2			
	Sing.		Plur.		Sing.		Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*bāṭõ*	*bāṭiũ*	*bāṭī*	—	*hanõ*	*hauiũ*	*hauī*	—
2.	*batē*	*bāṭī*. *bātis*	*bāṭâ*	*bāṭū*, *bāṭiū*	*hauē*	*hauī*, *hâī*, *hauis*	*hauâ*	*hanū* *haniū*
3.	*bā*, *bāy*	*bāi*	*bataĩ*	*bāṭĩ*	*hau*, *hâw*	—	*hauĩ*	*hanĩ*, *hâĩ*

The past tense is *rahᵃlõ* 'I was', which is conjugated regularly like the past tense of a neuter verb.

The following are the principal tenses of the finite verb. Only masculine forms are given. The feminine forms are formed on the analogy of *bāṭõ*, above.

	Simple present, 'I see', etc.		*Past*, 'I saw', etc.	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*dēkhõ*	*dēkhī*	*dēkhᵃlõ*	*dekhᵃlī*
2.	*dēkh*	*dēkhâ*	*dekhᵃlē*	*dekhᵃlâ*
3.	*dēkhai*, *dēkhō*	*dēkhaĩ*	*dekhᵃlas*, *dekhᵃles* (fem. *dekhᵃlasi*)	*dekhᵃlaĩ*, *dekhᵃlan*

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Future, 'I shall see', etc.

	Singular	Plural
1.	*dekh^{a}bō*	*dēkhab, dekh^{a}baĩ*
2.	*dekh^{a}bē*	*dekh^{a}bâ*
3.	*dēkhi*	*dekhihaĩ*

[LSI pp. 248-252]

NAGPURIĀ OR SADĀN

357 In a part of Palamau district, and over nearly the whole of Ranchi district, the language of the settled Aryans is a corrupt form of Bhojpurī, which has undergone modifications, partly by the influence of the Magahī dialect which surrounds it on three sides and of the Chattīsgaṛhi spoken to its west, and partly owing to the influx of words into its vocabulary which belong to the languages of the non-Aryan population. The same language is spoken in the north and east of the native state of Jashpur. It is generally known as Nagpuriā or the language of Chota Nagpur proper. [LSI pp. 277-278]

Pronunciation. The influence of the neighbouring Bengali leads the letter *a* to be sometimes pronounced as *ō* or *o*. Thus, *sab*, 'all', becomes *sōb* or *sob*. [LSI p. 280]

Nouns : Number. Nouns do not change in the singular. The plural is formed by adding *-man*,—a termination from Chhatīsgaṛhī. The plural termination is seldom used, except in the case of animate nouns.

Case. The cases are formed by the postpositions ; *-kē*, 'to' (also forms accusative) ; *-k*, *-kēr* or *-kar*, 'of' ; *-mē*, 'in' ; *-lē*, *-lăi*, *-lagin*, *-lagē*, 'for' ; *-sē*, 'from'. There is an instrumental in *-ē*. Thus, *bhukhē*, 'by hunger'. [LSI p. 280]

Pronouns. Some of the forms of personal pronouns are ; *moẽ* (inf.), *ham* (sup.), 'I' ; *ham^{a}rē*, *ham^{a}rē-man*, 'we' ; *tõ̃* (inf.), *tõh* (sup.), 'thou' ; *toh^{a}rē*, 'you' ; *rāure*, *ap^{a}ne*, 'your honour' ; *ū*, *ūhē*, 'he' ; *ū-man*, 'they', *ī-man*, 'these' ; 'who ?' is *kē* and 'what ?' is *kā*. 'anything' is *kōnō* which does not change in declension. [LSI p. 280]

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Verbs. The following are the forms of auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive in the present and past tenses.

	Present, 'I am', etc.		*Past*, '*I was*', *etc.*	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ahõ, hõ∼haũ*	*ahī∼haī*	*rahõ*	*rahi∼rahᵃlī*
2.	*ahaïs, haïs∼his*	*ahā∼hā*	*rahis*	*rahā∼rahᵃlā*
3.	*ahē∼hai*	*ahaĭ∼haĭ*	*rahē∼rahᵃlak*	*rahaĭ∼rahᵃhaĭ*

The negative verb substantive is *nakhī*, 'I am not'.

Finite verbs. The base alone is used as verbal noun. The suffix *-al* is also used. Thus, *dēikh*, *dēkhal*, 'the act of seeing'. The present participle is formed by adding *-at*, and past participle by *-al* to the root. Thus, *dēkhat*, 'seeing' ; *dēkhal*, 'seen'. The conjugational forms of the verb *dēkh*, 'to see' in the present, past and future tenses, are given below :

	Present, 'I see', etc.		*Past*, 'I saw', etc.	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*dēkhō-nā*	*dēkhi-lā*	*dekhᵃlõ*	*dekhᵃlī*
2.	*dēkhisi-lā, dēkhis-la*	*dēkha-lā*	*dekhᵃlis*	*dekhᵃlā*
3.	*dēkhe-lā*	*dēkhai-nā*	*dekhᵃlak*	*dekhᵃlaï*

Future, 'I shall see', etc.

	Singular	Plural
1.	*dekhᵃbõ*	*dēkhab, dekhᵃbai*
2.	*dekhᵃbē*	*dekhᵃbā*
3.	*dēkhī, dekhᵃtai*	*dekhᵃbaĭ*

The present definite is formed in the usual way. Thus, *dēkhat-hõ*, 'I am seeing'. So also the imperfect, *dēkhah-rahõ*, 'I was seeing'.

[LSI pp. 280-281]

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MADHĒSĪ

358 The language spoken in the district of Champaran, although based in the main on the stock as that of the Bhojpurī spoken in the Saran and East Gorakhpur, it has some peculiarities borrowed from the Maithilī spoken in the neighbouring district of Muzaffarpur. The Maithilī influence is strongest in the east of the district on the Muzaffarpur border. As we go west, the influence, decreases, till, on the banks of the Gaṇḍak, the language is the same as that spoken in north-east Saran, and in eastern Gorakhpur. The dialect is locally known as Madhesī, a word formed from the Sanskrit *Madhya-dēśa*, meaning 'mid-land'.

Among the peculiarities of this dialect to be noted are the following :

The dialect shares with Maithilī a dislike to the cerebral *ṛ*, frequently substituting the dental *r* for it. Thus, we find *paral*, instead of *paṛal*, 'it feel' ; *bar^{a}kā*, for *baṛ^{a}kā*, 'great'.

The Maithilī form *Ok^{a}nī*, current in Muzaffarpur, is used for 'to them'.

For the auxiliary verb, we have both *bārâ*, 'you are', and *bāṭē*, 'he is'. In the finite verb, note the form *khās*, 'they used to eat'. The third person singular of the past tense of transitive verb regularly ends in *-ak*, as in Maithilī. Thus, we have *kah^{a}lak*, 'he said', *dēlak*, 'he gave' and many others. The word for 'he came', is the Maithilī *āel*, not the Bhojpurī *āil*.

[LSI pp. 300-301]

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359 STANDARD LIST OF SELECT BIHĀRĪ

English	*Maithilī*	*Magahī*	*Kurmalī*
one	ēk	ēk	ek-ṭā
two	dū	dū	du-ṭā
three	tīn[1]	tin	tin-ṭā
four	chār[1]	chār	chār-ṭa
hand	tar[a]bā, hāth	hāth	hāth
foot	tabā	pāõ, pair, gōr	gartār
head	sir, māth	māthā, mūṛh	mur
a father	ēk pitā	bāp	bāp
of a father	kōnō pītā-k	bāp-ke	bāp-kar
to a father	kōnō pitā kẽ	bāp-kē	bāp-kē
two fathers	dū pitā	dū bāp	du-ṭā bāp
I am	ham thikákū	ham hī	hāmi rahī
thou art	tõ thikẽ	tũ haĩ, tũ hahĩ	tũ hua ~ rahâ
he is	ō thīk	ū haï, ū hathī (~ hathū) ū haü	ūo huē~ rahē
we are	ham[a]rā lok[a]ni thikáh[ū]	ham[a]nī hi	hāmnī rahī
you are	ahã thikáh[ū]	tõ hâ, ap[a]ne hi	tohnī rahâ
they are	ō lok[a]ni thikāh	ū sab hathin ū sab hathun	ūo-sab rahat
I was	ham chhaláh[ũ], ham rahi	ham hali	hāmi rah-haliō
thou wast	tõ chhalẽ	tũ halẽ ~ halē	tũ rah-hali
he was	ō chhal, o rahai	ū halaï	ūo rah-halēik
we were	ham[a]rā sabah[1] rahi	ham[a]rī halī	hāmri rah-haliō
you were	ahã rahī	tõ halâ, toh[a]nī halâ, ap[a]ne hali	tohni rah-halē

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WORDS AND SENTENCES

Bhojpurī (Sahabad)	*Western Bhojpurī*	*Nagpuria*	*Madhesī*
ē-gō	ēk	ēk	ēk
dū-gō	dui	dui	dū
tin-gō	tin	tin	tīn
chār-gō	chāri	chāir	chār
hāth	hāth	hãth	hāth
pãw, gōṛ	gōṛ	gōṛ	gõṛ
math, kapār	kapār	mũṛ	mũr
bāp	kaunō kakā	bap	ēk bāp
bāp-ke	kaunō kakā-kăī	bāp-kēr	ēk bāp-ke
bāp-kē	kaunō kakā-kē	bāp-kē	ēk bāp-kā
dū-gō bāp	dui kakā	dui bāp	dū bāp
ham hâĩ, ham bānĩ	ham haĩ, ham bātĩ	mōẽ hekõ~ ahõ	ham bānī
tūhâwâ, tū bāṛē	tũ hanâ	tōẽ hekis~ ahis	tu bāṛâ
ū bā	ū hau	ū hekē~ ahē	ū bāṛan
ham^{a}nī-kā bānī	ham haĩ	ham^{a}rē-man hekī ahī~hai	ham^{a}ni hai ĩ
toh^{a}nī-kā bāṛâ	tũ hayē	toh^{a}rē-man hekā, aha,~hā	rauã-sabhan bānī
ok^{a}nī-ka bāṛan	ū lōg h^{a}uan	ū-man hekaĩ, ahaĩ~haĩ	ū-lōg bā
ham rəh^{a}lĩ	ham rah^{a}lĩ	mōẽ rahõ	ham rah^{a}lī-hā
tū rah^{a}lâ	tũ rah^{a}lâ	tōẽ rahis	tū rah^{a}lâ-hâ
ū rah^{a}lē	ū rah^{a}lan	ū rahē	u rah^{a}lan-hâ
ham^{a}nī-kā rah^{a}lĩ	ham sabhẽ rah^{a}lĩ	ham^{a}rē rahi	ham^{a}nī rah^{a}lī -hâ
toh^{a}nī-kā rah^{a}lâ-sâ	tū sabhẽ rah^{a}lâ	toh^{a}rē rahā	toh^{a}nī rah^{a}lâ -hâ

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English	*Maithilī*	*Magahī*	*Kuṛmālī*
they were	ō lok^{a}ni rahath^{1}	ū sab hal^{a}thi, hal^{a}thin	ūo-sab rah-halēik
I shall be	ham hōeb	ham hōeb	hāmi huab
I beat	ham mārai-chhī	ham piṭa-hi	hāmi piṭa-hī
thou beatest	tō̃ mārai-chhē̃	tū̃ piṭa-hē̃~ piṭa-hã	tū̃ piṭ
he beats	ō mārai achh^{1}	ū pīṭa-haï	ūo pita-hat
we beat	ham^{a}rā sahah^{1} mārai-chhi	ham^{a}ni pīṭa-hī	hāmuī piṭa-hī
you beat	ahã̃ mārai-chhi	tō̃ pīṭa-hâ, toh^{a}nī piṭa-hī	tohnī piṭa-hâ
they beat	ō lok^{a}ni mārai-chhathīnh^{1}	un^{a}khanī pīṭa-hathī~piṭa-hathin	ūo-sab piṭa-hat
I beat (past)	ham māral	ham piṭ^{a}lī	hāmi piṭliō
thou beatest (past)	tō̃ măr^{a}lē̃	tū̃ piṭ^{a}lē	tū̃ piṭlē
he beat (past)	ō măr^{a}lak	ū piṭ^{a}lak	ūo piṭlak
we beat (past)	hamr^{a}rā sabah^{1} māral	haṃ^{a}ni piṭ^{a}lī	hāmnī piṭliē
you beat (past)	ap^{a}nē māral	tō̃ piṭ^{a}lâ	tohnī piṭe-halē
they beat (past)	ō lok^{a}ni măr^{a}-lainh^{1}	ū sab piṭ^{a}-lan	ūo-sab piṭe-halēik
I shall beat	ham mārab	ham pit^{a}baï~ ham piṭab	hāmi piṭab

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Bhojpurī (Sahabad)	*Western Bhojpurī*	*Nagpuriā*	*Madhesī*
ok^{a}nī-kā rah^{a}-lan-sâ	ū lōg rah^{a}lan	ū-man rahẽ	ū lōg rahal
ham hōib, ham hōkhab	ham rah^{a}bai	mōẽ hōbō̃	ham hōkhab
ham mārī-lā	ham mārī-lā	mōẽ marō̃-na	ham mārī-lā
tū mārâ-lâ	tū̃ mārăĭ̆-lâ	tōẽ mārisi-lā	tū māra-lā
ū māre-lā	ū mārăĭ̆-lā	ū māre-lā	ū māre-lā
ham^{a}nī-kā mārī-lā	ham sabhẽ mārī-lā	ham^{a}re mārī-lā	ham^{a}nī mārī -lā
toh^{a}ni-kā mārâ -lâ	tū̃ sabhē mārăĭ̆ -lâ	toh^{a}rē mâra-lā	toh^{a}nī mārâ-lâ
ok^{a}nī māre -lē	ū lōg marăĭ̆-leni	ū-man mārai-na	ū lōg māre-lā
ham mar^{a}lī	ham mar^{a}lī	mōẽ mār^{a}lō̃, ham mərlī	ham mar^{a}lī
tū mar^{a}lâ	tū̃ mar^{a}lâ	tō ẽ mārlis	tū mar^{a}lâ
ū mar^{a}las	ū mar^{a}les	ū mār^{a}lak	ū mər^{a}lē
ham^{a}nī-kā mar^{a}lī	ham sabhē mar^{a}lī	ham^{a}rē∼ham^{a}rē -man mār^{a}li	ham^{a}nī mar^{a}li
toh^{a}nī-kā mar^{a}lâ	tū sabhe mar^{a}-lâ	toh^{a}rē∼toh^{a}rē -man mār^{a}lā	tū mar^{a}lâ
ok^{a}ni mar^{a}lan	ū lōg mar^{a}les	ū-man mār^{a}laĭ̆	ū lōg mar^{a}lan
ham mārab	ham mar^{a}bai	mōẽ mār^{a}bō̃	ham mārab

[LSI pp. 325-365]

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ORIYĀ

360 Oṛiyā Ōḍrī, or Utkalī is the language of Orissa proper, and the surrounding country. It is also spoken in a portion of the district of Midnapore in the north. Oṛiyā is also the language of most of the district of Singhbhum, belonging to the division of Chota Nagpur, and several neighbouring native states which fall politically within the same division. On the west it is the language of the greater part of the district of Sambalpur and of a small portion of the district of Raipur in the Central Provinces, and also a number of native states which lie between these districts and Orissa proper. On the south, it is the language of the north of the Madras district of Ganjam, with its connected native states, and of the Jeypore Agency of Vizagapatam.

[LSI pp. 367-368]

Place of Oṛiyā in Indo-Aryan languages. Oṛiyā, with Bengali, Bihārī, and Assamese, forms one of the four speeches which together make up the Eastern Group of the Indo-Aryan languages. Its grammatical construction closely resembles that of Bengali. It has the same weak sense of number, and as in Bengali plural has to be signified with the aid of some noun of multitude. In the verb, as is also the case in Bengali, the singular of the first and second persons are only used by the uneducated. As against, Bengali, it is pronounced as it is spelt. The Oṛiyā verbal system is at once simple and complete. Its very complete set of verbal nouns may be contrasted with the incomplete series of infinitive and gerund which we meet in Bengali. The Oṛiyā grammar does not know the so-called 'Infinitive mood' at all. In this respect Oṛiyā is in an older stage of grammatical development than even classical Sanskriti, nd, among Indo-Aryan languages, can only be compared with the ancient Sanskrit spoken in Vedic times. This archaic character, both of form and vocabulary, runs through the whole language, and is no doubt accounted for by geographical position.

[LSI pp. 368-369]

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Dialects. Oṛiyā is remarkably free from dialectic variation. The well known saying, which is true all over India, that the language changes every ten *kōs*, does not hold in Orissa. In Ganjam, the language becomes more and more subject to the influence of Telugu, so that not only the vocabulary is infected, but even the typical Telugu termination *-u* is added by the uneducated to the genuine Oṛiyā nouns, and the Telugu pronunciation of *ch* and *j*, as if they were *ts* and *z*, respectively, is adopted universally. On the other hand, the Oṛiyā of North Balasore shows sign of being Bengalised, and, as we cross the boundary between that district and Midnapore, we find almost a new dialect which is a mechanical mixture of corrupt Bengali and corrupt Oṛiyā. In the extreme north-west in the native state of Jashpur, where the Oṛiyā language is spoken it is mixed with the Bihārī spoken in the same state, much as it is mixed with Bengali in Midnapore.

Finally we come upon a genuine dialect of Oṛiyā in the north-east of the native state of Bastar, which is known as Bhatrī. It is the connecting link between the Oṛiyā and the Marāṭhī Halbī.

[LSI pp. 369-370]

Pronunciation. The pronunciation of the vowels is much the same as in Bengali. Unlike Bengali, the final *a* in Oṛiyā is always pronounced as in *ghara*, or rather *ghŏrō*, Bengali *ghŏr*.

As a rule the pronunciation of the consonants is much clearer in Oṛiyā than in Bengali. There is not that elision of a *y* or *v* at the end of a compound consonant, which is so prominent a feature in the latter language.

The pronunciation of the cerebral letters is much more pure than in Bengali or Hindī.

The cerebral *ṇ* has altogether lost its true sound in Bengali, and is pronounced as dental *n*, but in Oṛiyā it has preserved its true sound and is pronounced as a strongly burred *ṇ*, as we hear in western India.

The three sibilants, *ś*, *sh* and *s* are all pronounced as *s*, exactly reversing the Bengali practice.

In true Oṛiyā, every syllable is distinctly pronounced, and the accent is put on the penultimate syllable if it is a long one,

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and never further back than the antepenultimate. On the other hand, in Bengali the accent is thrown back, as for as possible, and, to assist this, the succeeding syllables are contracted or slurred over in pronunciation. [LSI pp. 378-379]

Nouns : *Number*. There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plural is formed by adding *mānē*. Instead of *mānē*, nouns of multitude, like *dala* or *lōka* may be used to form the plural. When these are added, the noun is declined as if in the singular.

Case. There are two categories of nouns : 1. Rational beings, and places, and, 2. Irrational beings, and common nouns without life. When these are declined for the case, they add different terminations in most of the cases. [LSI p. 380]

Adjectives. Adjectives rarely change for gender. [LSI p. 380]

Pronouns. Most of the pronouns have two forms, one inferior and the other superior. Some of the forms of personal pronouns are ; *mu*, *mũ* (inf.) *āmbhē* (sup.) 'I' ; *tu*, *tũ* (inf.) *tumbhē* (sup.) 'thou', *sē*, 'he, she'. 'His (your) Honour' is *āpaṇa*, and 'self' is *āpē*. In the plural forms of all the three persons and in other pronouns as well *mānē* or *sakaḷa* is added to the singular form. Thus, *sē-mānē*, 'they'. [LSI p. 380]

Verbs : *General remarks*. When respect is intended, the plural form is used instead of the singular. In the verbal forms colloquially *l* is frequently substituted for *n* and *vice versâ*. Thus, *lēli* for *nēli*, 'I took' ; *luhē* for *nuhē*, 'it is not'.

So far as the conjugation of verbs is concerned practically all types of verbs have the same terminations in different tenses, with very slight modification. Broadly speaking the following terminations are added in the three main tenses, present, past and future in finite. as well as, in substantive and auxiliary verbs.

	Present		*Past*	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*-ẽ, -i*	*-ũ*	*-ili*	*-ilũ*
2.	*-u*	*-a*	*-ilu*	*-ila*
3.	*-ē, -aï*	*-anti*	*-ilā*	*-ilē*

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Future

	Singular	Plural
1.	*-ibi, -imi*	*-ibũ, iba*
2.	*-ibu*	*-iba*
3.	*-iba*	*-ibē*

Thus, for example the forms of the past first person plural would be ; *aṭ̃ũ, achũ*, 'we are' ; *dēkhũ*, 'we see'. Similarly, the forms of the future third person singular would be ; *hēba*, 'I shall become' ; *thiba*. 'I shall remain' ; *dēkhiba*, 'I shall see'.

The verbal nouns of the verb 'to see', are *dēkh-iba*, 'seeing' (in the future) ; *dēkh-ila*, 'seeing' (in the past) ; *dēkhā, dēkhan*, 'seeing' (in the present).

Present participle is formed by adding *-u* or *-ũ* and past participle by *-ī*. Thus, *dēkhu* or *dēkhũ*, 'seeing' ; *dēkhi*, 'having seen'.

Causal verbs are formed by adding *-ā* to the root, as *dēkhaẽ*, 'I cause to see'. Roots ending in *-ā* change that *ā* to *u*. Thus, *khāi*, 'I eat' ; *khuāi*, 'I cause to eat'.

The passive voice is formed by conjugating the present verbal noun in *a*, with *jiba-ra*, 'to go' ; thus, *dēkhā jāi*, 'I am seen'.

[LSI p. 381]

ORIYĀ OF JASHPUR STATE

361 Oṛiyā is the language of the south of the Jashpur State, where it borders on Gangpur. The northern portion of the state speaks, on the east, Nagpuriā, a form of the Bhojpurī dialect of Bihārī, and on the west, the Sargujiā form of Chhattisgaṛhī. Thus, Oṛiyā being subject to the influence of both these languages is somewhat impure, and presents peculiarities which are detailed below : [LSI p. 403]

Vowel *a* is sometimes used instead of *ō*. Thus, *mātē* instead of *mōtē*, 'to me'. *N* is substituted for *l*, as in *pāunē* for *pāulē*, 'if he had gone'. The two consonants, *ṛ* and *ḷ* are interconvertible as in *baṛuka* or *baḷuka*, 'but'.

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In the declensions of nouns there are several irregularities. Besides *-ku*, the suffix of the dative is sometimes *-ki*, as in *bhāi-ki*, 'to the brother'. The locative termination is often *-ra* instead of *rē*, thus resembling the genitive. Thus, *jabāba-ra*, 'in answer'.

In verbs, the habitual past, which is also used as a past, not a present conditional, in this agreeing with Bihārī, differs widely from the standard, and agrees more nearly with Bihārī. Thus, *karati*, 'I might have made (merry)' ; *balāt*, 'they used to say'. The conjunctive past participle with *kari* which is common in Bihārī, also frequently occurs. Thus, *jāi-kari*, 'having gone'. The potential passive, formed by adding *-ā* to the root, which is common in Bihārī, also occurs. Thus, *sunāy*, 'it can be heard'.

[LSI pp. 403-404]

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362 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES IN ORIYĀ

English	*Oṛiya* (standard of Puri)	*Bhatrī*
one	ēka	gōṭok
two	dui	dui gōṭā
three	tini	tin
four	chāri	chār
hand	hātā	hā̃th
foot	pāda	pā̃y
head	muṇḍa	mūṇḍ
a father	ēka bāpa	bābā
of a father	ēka bāpara	bāp-tsō
to a father	ēka bāpa-ku	bāp-tsō
two fathers	dui bāpa	duīg ōṭō bāp
I am	mũhuē, mũ achhi, āmbhē hēũ ~ āmbhē achhũ	mui āsē
thou art	tũ hua, achhu, tumbhē hua, achha	tui āsīs
he is	sē huē, achhi, huanti, achhanti	hun āsē
we are	ambhēmānē hēũ, achhũ	hami āchhū
you are	tumbhē mānē hua, achha	tumī āchhat
they are	sēmānē huanti, achhanti	hun āsē
I was	mũ thili	mui ralā
thou wast	tũ thilu	tui ralā
he was	sē thilā	hun ralā
we were	āmbhē mānē thilũ	hamī ralō
you were	tumbhēmānē thila	tumi ralā
they were	sēmānē thilē	hun-man ralō
I shall be	mũ hēbi	mui hōibi
I beat	mũ mārẽ, māri	mui mārᵃbi

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English	*Oṛiyā* (standard of Puri)	*Bhatrī*
thou beatest	tũ māru	tui mâr^{a}bī
he beats	sē mārē	hum mār^{a}sī
we beat	āmbhē mānē mārũ	hami mār^{a}bī
you beat	tumbhēmānē māra	tumī mār^{a}bīs
they beat	sēmānē māranti	hun-man mār^{a}sī
I beat (past)	mũ mārili	mui mār^{a}lī
thou beatest (past)	tũ mārilu	tui mār^{a}lī
he beat (past)	sē mārilā	hãy mār^{a}lī
we beat (past)	āmbhēmānē mārilũ	hamī mār^{a}lū
you beat (past)	tumbhēmānē mārila	tumī mār^{a}lū
they beat (past)	sēmānē mārilē	hãy mār^{a}las
I shall beat	mũ māribi	mui mār^{a}bi

[LSI pp. 441-449]

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VOL. VI

INDO-ARYAN FAMILY

MEDIATE GROUP

EASTERN HINDI

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EASTERN HINDI

INTRODUCTION

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गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय

363 The mediate group of Indo-Aryan Vernacular is a group of dialects, not of languages. It includes only one language, viz., Eastern Hindī.

This language, which includes three main dialects Awadhī, Baghēlī, and Chhattisgaṛhī. occupies parts of six provinces, viz., Oudh, the North-Western Provinces, Baghelkhand, Bundelkhand, Chota Nagpur, and the Central Provinces. It covers the whole of Oudh, except the district of Hardoi, and a small portion of Fyzabad. In the North-Western Provinces, it covers, roughly speaking, the country between Benares and Hamirpur in Bundelkhand. It occupies the whole of Baghelkhand, the north-west of Bundelkhand, the South-śone tract of the district of Mirzapur, the states of Chand Bhakār, Sarguja and Korea, and a portion of Jashpur, in Chota Nagpur. In the Central Provinces, it covers the districts of Jabalpur and Mandla, and the greater part of Chhattisgarh with its feudatory states.

The three dialects of Eastern Hindī closely resemble each other. Baghēlī is very near to Awadhī. Its separate existence has only been recognised in deference to popular prejudice. Chhattīsgaṛhī, under the influence of the neighbouring Marāṭhī and Oṛiyā, shows greater points of difference : but its close connection with Awadhī is nevertheless apparent.

These dialects of Eastern Hindi are the modern representatives of Ardha-Māgadhī. [LSI pp. 1-3]

The Mediate Group compared with the Eastern : The dialects of Mediate Group differ from the languages of the Eastern Group mainly in the conjugation of the verbs.

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In the pronunciation of vowel *a*, and also in the declension of nouns and pronouns, Eastern Hindī closely resembles western Bhojpurī. Both have the same tendency to use an oblique form in *-e* ; whereas the other languages of the Eastern Group invariably end in *-a*. The postpositions attached to the nouns are mostly the same, except that of the dative-accusative and locative, which end in *-kā* or *kã*, and *-mā* or *-mã* respectively, while in Bihārī they are *-kē* or *-kẽ* and *-mẽ*, respectively.

In regard to verbs, there are three main tenses of finite verbs which admit of comparison, the present conjunctive, the past, and the future. Of these, the present conjunctive, derived from Sanskrit present indicative is practically the same in nearly every Indo-Aryan language.

The past tense, on the other hand, presents striking differences. In all the Indo-Aryan languages this tense was originally a past participle passive. Thus from Sanskrit *māritaḥ*, there sprang the Śaurasēnī *māridō*, afterwards corrupted to mārīō, from which come the Braj Bhāshā *māryau*. In the languages derived from the Māgadhī Prakrit, the position is different. In the Śaurasēnī language the *t* of *māritaḥ* has altogether disappeared, but in māgadhī languages its place has been taken by *l*. Thus 'struck' in Bengali is *mārila*, and in Bihārī, *māral*. In languages of Eastern group the past tense is conjugated as if it was an ordinary active verb, and enclitic pronouns are added to the different forms, whereas in western languages the position is just the opposite. Eastern Hindi combines the peculiarities of the Śaurasēnī and of the Māgadhī languages. The typical sound of the past tense is Śaursēnī *i* or *y* and not Māgadhī *l*. On the other hand, the past participle cannot stand by itself but takes the same enclitic pronouns as those used by Bhojpurī. Thus, for 'I struck' we have the form *mār-e-ũ* in Eastern Hindī, and *mār-^{a}l-õ* in Bhojpurī.

The case of future tense is similar, but more complicated. In Sanskrit there are two ways of expressing 'he will go' one actively, *chalishyati*, and the other passively ,*chalitavyam*. The Śaurasēnī derived dialects use the first active form and the Eastern Group derived from Māgadhī use the form derived from the second. In Śaurasēnī the first became *chalissaī*, with the

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elision of *t* and then the two '*s*' s became changed to h, and we have *chalihaï*. This form has survived to the present day. Thus in the Braj Bhāshā, 1st person Sing. is *chalihaū*.

On the other hand in Bengali, which agrees with Assamese and Oṛiyā, the second form, which became *chalit*, through Prakrit *chaliavvaṁ*, is used, in future as in the case of past participle, by the addition of enclitic pronouns. Thus in Bengali 'I shall strike' would be *mār-ib-a*.

The remaining eastern language, Bihārī, uses the same principle in the first two persons of the future, but position about the third person is different. In Maithilī and Magahī it uses the present participle somewhat clumsily for this person, but Bhojpurī uses the *ih*-future, which we have just met in Śaurasēnī dialects. Thus, Bhojpurī forms of future in singular are ; *mār-^{a}b-t* 'I shall strike' ; *mār-^{a}b-ē*, *mārihē*.

Eastern Hindī goes still further in the same direction. Awadhī closely agrees with Bhojpurī. Its future forms in singular are : *mār-^{a}b-ũ*, 'I shall strike' *mār-^{a}b-es*, *mārihai*. But as we go in the Awadhī-speaking district of Unao pure *ih*-future forms are met with, as in Bojpurī. The other two dialects Baghēlī and Chhatisgaṛhī vary between these two extremes.

We thus see, that in the past and future tenses the Eastern Hindī occupies an intermediate position between that of māgadhī languages on the East, and that of the Śaurasēnī languages of the West. [LSI pp. 3-8]

AWADHĪ, KŌSALĪ OR BAISWĀRĪ

364 Awadhī is spoken throughout Oudh, except in the district of Hardoi, and in the eastern corner of the district of Fyzabad. North of Ganges, it is also spoken in the Western portion of the district of Jaunpur in the private domains of the Maharaja of Benares, which occupy a portion of the North-Gangetic area of Mirzapur, and in North Gangetic Allahabad. It is also the language of the South-Gangetic Allahabad, and of the whole of the district of Fatehpur except the country bordering on the Jamuna River.

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Awadhī is also largely spoken by Musalmāns, as their Vernacular language, over the greater portion of the area in which Bihārī is the vernacular of the main portion of the population.

Except in the border districts where it is effected by the neighbouring languages, taken as a whole, and considering the grammar only, Awadhī is a singularly homogeneous language, with hardly any local variations, which, as its literature shows, has scarcely changed from the form it possessed in the middle of sixteenth century. As regards vocabulary, it is also a uniform dialect. The only exception is the local dialect of Fatehpur, which being situated in the Doab approximates in regard to its vocabulary to the language of that part of country.

[LSI p. 9]

Pronunciation. As in Bihārī, there is a short *e* as well as a long one, and a short *o* as well as *ō*. Also a short *ăĭ* and a short *ăŭ*. In writing Awadhī the short *e* is often written and pronounced *ya*, and the short *o* written and pronounced *wa*, respectively. Similarly the long *ē* is written and pronounced *yā*, and the long *ō*, *wā*.

We find the same rule of shortening the antipenultimate which exists in Bihārī. [LSI p. 14]

Nouns. The nouns have three forms ; short, *ghōṛ*, 'a horse', long, *ghoṛ^{a}wā* ; redundant, *ghoṛauna*.

Number. Different suffixes are added to form the plural. The usual suffixes are, *-n*, *-an*, *-ne* and *-e* ; thus, from *ghoṛ^{a}wā*, 'a horse' we have, *ghoṛ^{a}wē*, *ghoṛ^{a}wane*, *ghoṛ^{a}wan*, 'horses' and from *nārī*, 'a woman', we have *nārin*, 'women'.

Case. Cases are formed by adding postpositions, which are ; *kā*, *kā ka*, 'to', also denotes accusative ; *barē*, 'for' ; *sē*, *sēnī*, *sen*, 'from, by' ; *kēr*, *kar*, *ke*, 'of' ; *mẽ*, *ma*, 'in' ; *par*, 'on'.

[LSI p. 16]

Adjectives. Adjectives change for gender. The change is, however, frequently neglected. [LSI p. 16]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of personal pronouns are ; *maĩ*, 'I' *ham*, 'we' ; *taĩ*, *tũ*, 'thou', *tum*, 'you' ; *āpu*, *āp*, 'your honour'.

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'This' is *ī*, *yū* ; 'that' is *ū*, *wai* ; 'who' is *kē*, *kawan*, *kaun*, and 'what ?' is *kā*, *kāw*. The pronouns have three forms, first, nominative, second, oblique and third genitive.

Verbs. The forms of auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive in the present and past tenses are given below, in the masculine gender. The present has two forms.

Present, 'I am', etc.

	Form I		Form II	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*bāṭyeũ*	*bāṭi*	*aheũ*	*ahī*
2.	*bāṭē*, *bēṭas* *bāṭes*, *bāṭ*	*bāṭew*, *bāṭyō*, *bāṭyẽ*	*ahē*, *ahas* *ahasi ahes*	*ahew*, *ahyō*, *aha*, *ahẽ*
3.	*bāṭai*	*bāṭẽ*	*ā*, *ahai*, *hai*, *āy*	*ahĩ*, *ahaĩ*

Past, 'I was', etc.

	Singular	Plural
1.	*raheũ*	*rahē*, *rahā*
2.	*rahes*, *rahis*	*raheu*, *rahā*
3.	*rahes*, *rahis*, *rahā*, *rahai*	*rahen*, *rahin*, *rahē*, *rahaĩ*

Finite verbs. The infinitive is formed by adding *-ab* ; thus, *dēkhab*. The present participle active is formed by adding *-at*, *-it*, and *-tā* ; thus, *dēkhat*, *dēkhit*, *dekhᵃta*. The past and future participles passive are formed by adding *-ā*, and *-ab*, respectively ; thus, *dēkhā*. *dēkhab*.

The present tense is formed by adding the form II of the present tense of auxiliary verbs to the present participle active form ; thus, *dēkhat aheũ*, 'I see'.

The conjugations of past and future tenses of the verb *dēkh* are given below, in masculine gender only.

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	Past, 'I saw', etc.		*Future*, 'I shall see', etc.	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*dēkheũ*	*dēkhā*, *dēkhan*, *dēkhen*	*dekhᵃbũ*	*dekhas*
2.	*dēkhas*, *dēkhis*	*dēkhau*, *dēkhā*	*dekhᵃbē*, *dekhᵃbes*	*dekhᵃbō*
3.	*dēkhes*, *dēkhis*, *dēkhisi*, *dēkhai*	*dēkhen*, *dēkhin*, *dēkhẽ*, *dēkhaĩ*	*dēkhē*, *dekihai*	*dekhihaĩ*

The above is the conjugation of transitive verbs. In the case of intransitive verbs, the past is conjugated like the auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive.

Verbs whose roots end in vowels generally take *w* not *y* as the junction sound. Thus, *banāwā*, not *banāyā* 'made'; *āb*, 'to come', has its past *ay*, 'he came'. Verbs whose roots end in *-ā*, often form the past in *-n*, as in *dayān*, 'he felt pity', *risiān*, 'he was angry'. [LSI pp. 16-17]

AWADHĪ OF LUCKNOW DISTRICT

365 The dialect of the south of Lucknow district, on the borders of Unao and Rae Bareli, differs from that spoken in rest of the district, which in turn, agrees on the whole with that spoken in eastern districts. Besides the following special points of grammar, it must be pointed out that it is much influenced by the Urdū of Lucknow City. The dialect of the district of Unao closely resembles this dialect.

There is a tendency to spell *ē* as *yā*, which is also found in neighbouring districts. Thus, *ēku* and *yak*, 'one', *khyat*, 'a field'. Similarly there is tendency to spell *ō* as *wā*, as in *mwar*, 'my'. There is a strong tendency to make a noun singular end in *-u*. Thus, *jaunu*, 'what'; *asᵃbāba*, 'property'.

Nouns substantive have an oblique form in *ai* or *ē*, which is also found in neighbouring districts. Thus, *bāpai-kē*, 'of the father'; *hāthē-mā̃*, 'on the hand'.

As regards verbs, the present participle ends in *ti*, as in *karati-haũ*, 'I am doing'; *rahati-hau*, 'you remain'. Note the

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typical Western Awadhī forms, *rahai*, 'he was', and *rahaĩ*, 'they were'. Note also, *āi*, 'it is', *hwāt-hai*, 'it is becoming'. [LSI p. 64]

BAGHĒLĪ, BAGHĒLKHAṆḌĪ, OR RĪWĀĪ

366 Baghēlī is spoken in the area covered by the present Baghelkhand Agency. It is also spoken with fair purity in the Chota Nagpur State of Chand Bhakār, and the British district of Mandla, which lies to the south of Rewa, and, with less correctness, in the South-Sone tract of the district of Mirzapur and Jabalpur, in which it gradually merges into Bihārī and Bundēlī, respectively. So also, in the British districts of Fatehpur, Banda, and Hamirpur a form of Baghēlī is spoken, which is more or less mixed with the latter language. Baghēlī also appears as the foundation of certain broken dialects spoken in the south and south-west of Mandla, which are more of less mixed with Marāṭhī and Bundēlī.

Baghēlī, as already stated, is scarcely worthy of being classed as a separate dialect from Awadhī. The two are practically the same. The only two important points in which Baghēlī differs are that it is fond of adding the enclitic word *tē* or *tai* to the present tenses of verbs, and that it has abandoned the sound *b*, which is typical of the first and second person of the future tense in Awadhī, and has taken *h* instead. Thus, while Awadhī has *dekhᵃbaũ*, 'I will see', Baghēlī has *dekhihaũ*. [LSI pp. 18-20]

Pronunciation. The short *e* is often written and pronounced *ya*, and the short *o*, *wa*. The long *ē* is often written and pronounced *yā*, and the long *o*, *wā*.

The usual rule of the shortening of the antepenultimate vowel obtains in Baghēlī. [LSI p. 20]

Nouns: Number. The plural is formed by adding different suffixes; two of which are *ẽ* and *aĩ*; thus, *ghwaṛ*. 'a horse'; *ghwāṛẽ*, *ghwaṛaĩ*, 'horses'.

Case. The cases are formed by adding postpositions, which are; *kā*, *kahã*, 'to' (also denotes accusative); *sē*, *tē*, *tar*, 'from'; *kar* {'of'; *ma*, 'in'. There is no agentive case. The genitive postposition does not change. [LSI p. 22]

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Adjectives. Adjectives do not seem to change for gender. [LSI p. 22]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of personal pronouns are ; *may*, 'I' ; *hamh.* 'we' ; *tõy*, 'thou' ; *tumh*, 'you' ; *ap^{a}nā*, 'your honour' ; *wah*, 'he' ; *õ*, *unh*, 'they'.

'who ?' is *kaũn* ; 'what ?' is *kāh* ; and 'anyone', 'someone' is *kaunõ*, *kõū*. The pronouns have three forms, one nominative, second oblique and third genitive. [LSI p. 22]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The conjugational forms of the auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive in the present, future and past tenses are as under :

	Present, 'I am', etc.		Future, 'I shall become', etc.	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hū ã̄*	*hai*	*hõwyeũ*	*hõw*, *hõwai*
2.	*hai*	*hau*, *ahen*	*hõihes*	*hõwā*
3.	*hai*, *ā*	*haĩ*, *ahen*, *ahẽ*, *ã̄*	3. *hõī*	*hõ̃yihaĩ*

Past, 'I was', etc.

	First form		Second form		'I become', etc.	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*raheũ*, *rahaye*	*rahen*	—	*tẽ̃*	*bhayo*	*bhayen*
2.	*rahā*, *rahẽ*	same	*tẽ*	same	*bhayes*	same
3.	*raha*	same	*tẽ*, *tõ*, *tā*	same	*bha*	same

Finite verbs. The past tenses of transitive verbs are conjugated actively. The infinitive, is formed by adding *ab* ; thus, *dẽkhab*, 'to see'. The present participle is formed by adding *-at*, and past participle by *-a* ; thus *dẽkhat*, 'seeing' ; *dẽkha*, 'seen'.

The conjugational forms of the verb *dẽkhab*, in the past in

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the masculine gender and future tenses are given below :

	Past, 'I saw', etc.		Future, 'I shall see', etc.	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*dēkh-ehũ*	*dēkh-en*	*dekhª-vyeũ*	*dēkh-ab*, *dēkh-ib*, *dēkhªbai*
2.	*dēkh-eh*	*dēkh-ẽh*	*dekh-ihes*, *dekh-ibes*	*dekhª-ibā*
3.	*dēkh-ī*	*dēkh-en*	*dēkhī*	*dekh-ihaĩ*

The present tense is formed by adding to the present participle form of finite verbs, the form of the auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive ; thus, *dēkhat hũ*, 'I see'.

The intransitive verbs are conjugated in the past tense like the past tense (*bhayõ* form) of the auxiliary verbs, and verbs substantive. [LSI pp. 22-23]

THE BROKEN DIALECTS OF THE WEST

367 Immediately to the west of Baghēlī, the language is Bundēlī, but between the two there are a number of border dialects which are a mixture of both languages. Although they lie to the west of Awadhī as well as of Baghēlī, they are all more nearly akin to the latter than the former ; in that, instead of the *b-* future, we have the one with *h*, and sometimes even meet the typical Baghēlī enclitic *tai*. One peculiarity of Eastern Hindi is very prominent in these languages, viz., the preference of *wa* for *o*, of *wā* for *ō*, of *ya*, for *e*, and of *yā* for *ē*. Their occurrence is more frequent in these dialects than in Awadhī and in Baghēlī. [LSI p. 132]

TIRHĀRĪ

368 In the districts of Fatehpur, Banda, and Hamirpur Baghēlī mixed with Bundēlī is spoken on the banks of Jamuna. It is known by the name Tirhārī.

In the district of Banda, the conjugation of the verbs is as in Awadhī, and so is the declension of nouns, except in one important point, viz., that before transitive nouns in the past tense the

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agentive case is used with the Western Hindī and Bundēlī suffix *-nē*. This occurs even before verbs which are conjugated in the Awadhī manner, in which, at the present day, the active, and not the passive, construction is usual.

In the district of Fatehpur the agentive case with *nē* is not used before the past tenses of transitive verbs. We still meet the *h-* future.

In the district of Hamirpur, the Tirhārī is more mixed with Bundēlī, than in the other two districts. Thus we not only have Baghēlī verbal past tenses, with the agentive case with *nē* preceding as the subject, but we also have in such cases instances of the true past tenses of the Bundēlī verbs. In fact in Hamirpur the verb seems to take the Baghēlī or the Bundēlī form at the caprice of the speaker. [LSI pp. 132-140]

GŌḌWĀNĪ OR MAṆḌLĀHĀ

369 Gōḍwānī spoken in Mandla district is a form of Eastern Hindī. It is more nearly related to Baghēlī, than to any other dialect of that language. In this dialect the typical sound of the first person singular of the future tense is *h*, as in Baghēlī and not, as in Awadhī *b*.

There is a strong infusion of Chhattīsgaṛhī in Gōḍwānī, and also a few traces of the Bundēlī, which are spoken in its immediate neighbourhood.

The following are the principal peculiarities of the dialect.

The suffix of the accusative - dative is *-kē* and also, as in Chattīsgaṛhī, *-lā*. The suffix of the locative is *-mẽ*, which belongs to Bundēlī. That of the genitive is *-kēr*, and of the instrumental is *-õ*, as in *bhūkhõ*, 'by hunger'.

Amongst the pronouns, we may note *toy*, 'you'; and a genitive plural used as an oblique base in *un-kar-mẽ-sē*, 'from among them'. 'what ?' is *kā*, and 'anyone', 'someone' is *kōī* or *kōhī*.

Amongst verbal forms we may notice, *hũ*, 'I am' *hai*, 'he is'. These are Bundēlī forms. The form *ḍarathũ*, 'I am afraid', is

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Chhattīsgaṛhī. For the future, we have the typical Baghēlī *jahũ*, 'I will go', and, irregular, *kahũ*, 'I will say', and others. For the past, *ṭarõ*, 'I disobeyed' ; *karē*, 'you made', and others. The past participles end in *-e* as in Chhattīsgaṛhī. Thus, *kare* 'done', and *gaye*, 'gone'. The infinitive, both direct and oblique ends in *-an*, as in *kahan lagis*, 'he began to say'. The sign of the conjunctive participle is *-ke*. It is also sometimes *-kēr*, as in *sun-kēr*, 'having heard' ; *dēkh-kēr* 'having seen'. This is an interesting example of the fact that, through all the Indo-Aryan vernaculars, the sign of the conjunctive participle is always related to one of the signs of the genitive. [LSI pp. 158-159]

CHHATTĪSGAṚHĪ, LARIĀ, OṚ KHALṬĀHĪ

370 Chhattīsgaṛhī is spoken in the districts of Raipur, and Bilaspur, and in the western portion of the Sambalpur district, in the north east of the Chanda district, and in the eastern portion of the Balaghat district, where it is known as Khalṭāhī. It is also spoken in the feudatory states of Kanker, Nandgaon, Khairagarh, Chuikhadan, Kawardha, Sakti, Jashpur and in part of Raigarh and Sarangarh. In the states of Korea, Sarguja and Udaipur and in western portion of Jashpur a sub-dialect of Chhattīsgaṛhī, called Surgujiā is spoken.

Chhattīsgaṛhī is also spoken in the neighbouring Oṛiyā speaking states and in Bastar state, in which the main Aryan language is the Halabī dialect of Marāṭhī, by the settlers from the Chhattīsgaṛhī country.

Six broken dialects are also spoken in Chhattīsgaṛh and the neighbouring feudatory states by aborigines who have forsaken their ancestral tongues, and try to speak the language of their Aryan speaking neighbours. [LSI pp. 24-25]

Pronunciation. The usual phonetic rules of Eastern Hindī regarding the shortening of the antepenultimate vowel apply to Chhattīsgaṛhī. [LSI p. 26]

Nouns : Number. The plural is formed by adding *-man* (often omitted). Thus, *manukh.* 'a man' ; *manukh-man*, 'men'. *Sab*, *sabō*, *sabbō*, *jamā*, or *jamma*, may also be prefixed with or without *man*. Thus, *jammā-putō-man*, 'the daughters-in-law.'

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Har is added to nouns for definiteness. Thus, *gar*, 'a neck', *gar-har*, 'the neck'.

Case. The postpositions which are added to the noun, which remains unchanged, are ; *kā*, 'to' (also denotes accusative), *lā*, 'for' (also denotes accusative) ; *bar*, 'for' ; *lē*, *sē*, 'by from' ; *ke* 'of' ; *mã̄*, 'in'. Thus, *laïkā*, 'a boy' ; *laïkā-ke*, 'of a boy', and so on. [LSI p. 28]

Adjectives. *Tadbhava* adjectives in *ā*, form the feminine in *ī*, e.g. *chhoṭ[a]kā bābū*, 'a little boy', *chhoṭ[a]kī nōnī*, 'a little girl'. This rule is, however, very arbitrarily followed. Other adjectives do not change for gender. [LSI p. 28]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the personal pronouns are ; *mã̄ maĩ*, 'I' ; *ham*, *ham-man*, 'we' ; *tẽ*, *taĩ*, 'thou' ; *tum*, *tum-man*, 'you' ; *tu*, *tuh*, 'your honour' ; *apan*, (sing.), *apan apan* (plur.) 'self'. *wō*. 'he' ; *un*, *wō-man*, 'they'.

'Who ?' is *kōn*, *haün* ; 'what ?' is *kā*, *kāya* : 'any one, someone' is *kōnō*, *kaüno*. The mutual reflexive pronoun is *āpus*, or *apasī*, 'each other'.

Verbs. The conjugations of auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive in the present and past tenses are as under :

Present, 'I am', etc.

	(a) Vulgar		*(b)* Polite	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hawaũ*	*hawan*	*haũ*, *ãw*	*ham*
2.	*hawas*	*hawan*	*has*	*hau*
3.	*hawai*	*hawaĩ*	*hai*, *ay*	*haĩ*

Past, 'I was', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*rahẽw*, *rahyaũ*	*rahen*
2.	*rahē*, *rahes*, *rahas*	*rahew*
3.	*rahis*, *rahai*, *rahay*	*rahin*, *rahaĩ*, *rahãy*

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Finite verbs. There is no difference between the conjugation of transitive and intransitive verbs. The construction of the past tense is always active, not passive.

The infinitive or verbal noun forms of the verbs *dēkh* are ; 1. *dēkh*, 'seeing', 2. *dēkhan*, 3. *dēkhab*, 'to see'.

The present participle is formed by adding *-ad*, *-tē* ; past participle by *-e* ; thus, *dēkhat*, *dekhᵃtē*, 'seeing' ; *dēkhe*, 'seen'.

The conjugation of verb *dēkh* in the future and past tenses is as under :

Future, 'I shall see' etc.

	(a) Vulgar		*(b)* Polite	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*dekhᵃhũ*	*dekhᵃbō*, *dekhᵃbōn*	*dekhihaũ*	*dekhihan*, *dēkhab*
2.	*dekhᵃbē*, *dekhibē*	*dekhᵃhū*	*dekhᵃbē*, *dekhibē*	*dekhihau*
3.	*dekhᵃhī*	*dekhᵃhĩ*	*dekhihai dēkhī*	*dekhihaĩ*

Past, 'I saw', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*dēkhẽw*, *dēkhyaũ*	*dēkhen*
2.	*dēkhē*, *dēkhas*	*dēkhew*
3.	*dekhis*	*dēkhin*

The word *hai* is often added to the past tense without changing the meaning, though this properly forms a perfect.

The passive voice is formed by conjugating past participle with *jān*. Thus, *dēkhe gayẽw*, 'I was seen'.

The causal verbs are formed as in standard Hindī.

[LSI pp. 28-29]

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SURGUJIĀ

371 In the states of Korea, Sarguja and Udaipur, and in the western half of Jashpur, a true sub-dialect is found, which is based in the main on Chhattīsgaṛhī, but which possesses many of the characteristics of Nagpuriā.

The following are the principal points in which the language differs from standard Chhatīsgaṛhī. It will be seen that they are all, at the same time, points of agreement with Nagpuriā.

Pronunciation. There is the same tendency, which we have noticed in Nagpuriā, to pronounce a final or unaccented short *i* in the preceding syllable. Thus. *bā̃ïṭ*, for *bā̃ṭi*, 'having divided'; *kūid*, for *kūdi*, 'having run'.

Nouns. Instead of *kā*, we have *kē* for the sign of the dative-accusative, as in *ō-kē*, 'to him'. The sign of the genitive is sometimes the Nagpuriā *kar*, instead of *ke*, as in *maïn^{a}sē-kar*, 'of a man'.

The nasal is often omitted in the locative postposition *-mā̃*, so that we have *mā*. We also find the Bhojpurī locative in *-ē*, which is used indifferently as an instrumental, or as a locative, as in *bhūkhē*, 'by hunger', *gharē*, 'in the house'.

Pronouns. 'We' is *hāmē-man*, with a long *ā* in the first syllable. So also, the word for 'own' is *āpan*, with a similar prolongation of the same syllable.

Verbs. The same tendency to lengthen the first syllable is seen in the verb substantive, the present tense of which is taken bodily from Nagpuriā, with a lengthening of the initial *ā*, as in *āhaũ*, 'I am'; *āhē*, 'he is'; *āhaĩ*, 'they are'. The finite verb is usually conjugated as in standard Chattīsgaṛhī, but there are isolated Nagpuriā forms as *kar^{a}lõ*, 'I did'; *hōe-l*, for *hōe-lā*, 'it becomes'. [LSI p. 212]

THE BAIGĀ DIALECTS

372 The dialects spoken by the Baigās a wild tribe mostly in Mandala, Balaghat and Bilaspur, are a jargon based on Chattīsgaṛhī, which differs as we go from place to place. But a dialect

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sufficiently different from the standard Aryan language of the locality may be named separately as 'Baigānī'.

[LSI pp. 231-234]

BAIGĀNĪ

373 Baigānī is a corrupt form of Chhattīsgaṛhī and is freely mixed up with words and idioms from Gōṇḍī and Bundēlī. From Gōṇḍī it borrows a portion of its vocabulary, and, from Bundēlī, the most noticeable idiom which is borrowed in the occasional use of the agentive case with *-nē* before a transitive verb in the past tense. Thus, *wah-nē pūchhē*, 'he asked'.

In another point it has borrowed from Gōṇḍī in rather a peculiar way. The termination of the first person singular of a verb in that language, in this agreeing with other Dravidian languages, end in *-nā* or *-n*. Baigānī has borrowed this *-nā* or *-n* and adds it indifferently to all persons of any verb. Thus, *hau-nā*, 'I am'; *jahō-nā*, 'I will go'; *hai-nā*, 'they were'; *kar-lē-nā*, 'make'.

Similarly, many cases of Gōṇḍī nouns end in a termination containing the nasal *n*, and these Baigānī seems to have borrowed here and there in a very capricious manner. The result is that the language of a Baigānī is full of the syllable *nā*, repeated over and over again as a kind of explosive. Thus, *hamār bāp-ke yaha-nā bahut-ō khatū̃-na wō-kar-lē jāda-nā banahiya-kē lānē chur^{a}thē-nā*, 'in my father's house. more than very much food is cooked for the hired servants'. [LSI p. 235]

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374 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES

English	*Awadhī* (Gonda)	*Baghēlī* (Rewa)
one	ēk	ēk
two	dō	dui
three	tīn	tīn
four	chār	chāri ; chār
hand	hath^{a}wā	hãth
foot	gōṛ	gōṛ, gwāṛ
head	mū̃ṛ, kapār	mū̃ṛ
a father	ēk bāp	bāp
of a father	ēk bāp, kā̃ĭ	bāp-kēr
to a father	ēk bāp-kā̃	bāp-kā
two fathers	dō bāp	dui bāp
I am	ham ha	maĭ haũ, maĭ āheõ
thou art	tū hai	taĭ hes, taĭ āhē
he is	ū hai	wā āy, wā hai
we are	ham han	ham han, ham āhen
you are	tum hau	tu ~ tum ha, tu ~ tum ahya
they are	wai sab haĭ	uĭ haĭ, uĭ ãy
I was	ham rahan	maĭ rahyaũ-tai
thou wast	tū rahē	taĭ rahē-has, taĭ rahē-tai
he was	ū rahā	wā rahā-tai
we were	ham sab rahai	ham rahen-hai, ham rahen-tai
you were	tum rahai	tū̃ rahyā hai, tū̃ rahyā tai
they were	wai rahai	uĭ rahē-haĭ, uĭ rahē-tai
I shall be	ham-hōb	maĭ hoihaũ
I beat	ham mārat-hai	maĭ mārat-haũ, maĭ mar^{a}tyaũ-hai

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IN VARIOUS DIALECTS OF EASTERN HINDĪ

Baghēlī Gōṇḍī (Rewa)	*Gōḍwānī* (Mandla)	*Chattīsgaṛhī* (Raipur)
ēk	ēkal	ēk
dui	dur^{a}bī	dui
tīn	trinam	tīn
chāri	char^{a}khē	chār
hāth	hãth	hāth
gōṛ	pãw	pãw, gōṛ
mūṛ	mũṛ	mūṛ
ēk dadā, ēk bāp	dādā	dadā
ēk bāp kar	dādā-kēr	dadā-ke
ēk bāp kā	dādā-lā	dadā-lā
dui bāp	dui-dādā	dō-dadā
mõy ahĕu	maĩ haũ, hãã, āhõ	maĩ ãw, haũ, hawaũ
taĩ ahi	tõy has, his, āhis	taĩ ās, has, hawas
ū āhē	u-hieh hai, hais, ahai	wō āy, hai hawai
ham ahī	ham hī, han, āhaĩ	ham-man ān, ham. hawan
toy ahe	tum-hich hō, āhō	tum-man āw, hau hawau
on āhĩ	unhī haĩ, hãhĩ, āhaĩ	wo-man ãy, haĩ, hawaĩ
mõy rahyõ	maĩ rahõ	maĩ rahĕw
tõy rahē	tõy rahes	tĕ rahē, rahes
ū rahisi	ū rahis	wō-har rahis
ham rahilī	ham rahē	ham-man rahen
tõy rahilī	tum rahē	tum-man rahew
on rah^{a}lī	un rahin	wō-man rahin
mõy hōi jab	maĩ hōt^{a}hũ	maĩ hōhaũ
mõy mār^{a}thõ	maĩ mār^{a}t-āhõ	maĩ mār^{a}t-aũ

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English	*Awadhī* (Gonda)	*Baghēlī* (Rewa)
thou beatest	tū mārat-hai	taĩ-mar^{a}tē-hai, taĩ mar^{a}tē-has
he beats	ū mārat-hai	wā mārat-hai
we beat	ham mārat-hai	ham mārat-hai, ham mārit-hai
you beat	tum mārat-han	tum mar^{a}tyā-hai
they beat	wai mārat-haĩ	uĩ mārat-haĩ
I beat (past)	maĩ mārũ	maĩ māreõ
thou beatest (past)	tū mārau	taĩ mārē
he beat (past)	un-nē-māris	wā māris
we beat (past)	ham māren	ham māren
you beat (past)	tum mārū	tũ māryā
they beat (past)	wai mārin	uĩ mārin
I shall beat	ham mārab	maĩ marihaũ

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Baghēlī Gōṇḍī (Rewa)	*Gōḍwānī* (Mandla)	*Chattīsgaṛhī* (Raipur)
tõy mārᵃthas	tõy mārat-ahīs	taĩ mārᵃthas
wohi mārath	ū mārᵃt-āhai	wō-har mārᵃthai
ham mārᵃthai	ham mārat-āhē	həm-man mārᵃthan
tõy mārᵃthai	tum mārat-āhō	tum-man mārᵃthō
on mārᵃthē	un mārat-āhaĩ	wō-man mārᵃthaĩ
mõy mārᵃlū	mõy māre-hõ	maĩ mārẽw
tõy mārᵃlī	tõy māre rahē	taĩ mārē, mārəs
ū mārᵃlisi	ū māris-rahē	wō māris
ham mārilī	ham māre-rahē	ham-man māren
tõy mārᵃlī	tum māre-rahō	tum-man mārew
on mārᵃlī	un mᵃrin rahaĩ	wō-man mārin
mõy mārūm	maĩ mārahũ	maĩ mārihaũ

[LSI pp. 260-277]

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VOL. VII

INDO-ARYAN FAMILY

SOUTHERN GROUP

MARĀṬHĪ LANGUAGE

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MARĀṬHĪ

375 Like the Mediate Group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars, the southern one is a group of dialects, and not of languages. It includes only one language, viz., Marāṭhī.

Marāṭhī with its sub-dialects occupies parts of three provinces, viz., the Bombay Presidency, Berar, and the Central Provinces, with numerous settlers in Central India and the Madras Presidency. It is the principal language of the north-western part of His Highness the Nizam's dominions and of Portuguese India.

376 *Dialects.* The dialectic differences within Marāṭhī area are comparatively small, and there is only one real dialect, viz., Kōṅkaṇī. There are, of course, everywhere local varieties, and these are usually honoured by a separate name. On the whole, however, Marāṭhī is a remarkably uniform language.

Three slightly different forms may conveniently be distinguished, the Marāṭhī of the Dekhan, the Marāṭhī of Berar and the Central Provinces, and the Marāṭhī of the central and northern Konkan.

In the southern part of the district of Ratnagiri the Konkan form of Marāṭhī gradually merges into Kōṅkaṇī, through several minor dialects.

Several broken dialects are spoken in various parts of the Marāṭhī territory. In the northern part of the coast strip, belonging to Marāṭhī we find some smaller dialects, such as Kāthōḍī, Vārlī, Vāḍ^{a}val, Phud^{a}gī, and Sāmvedī, which in several points agree with Gujarātī - Bhīlī. Further towards the east we find some broken dialects, such as Katiyā, Hal^{a}bī, Bhunjiā,

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Nāharī, and Kamārī, which have been so largely influenced by Marāṭhī that it has been found convenient to deal with them in this connection, though they are no true Marāṭhī dialects.

[LSI pp. 1-2]

377 *Place of Maraṭhī in Indo-Aryan vernaculars.* Marāṭhī is the only modern vernacular which has been derived from the old Māhārāshṭra Apabhraṁśa, which in turn was derived from Māhārāshṭrī Prākrit. The Māhārāshṭra Apabhraṁśa had a distinct character of its own. Though being of the same general kind as the eastern vernaculars, it differed from them in several points and sometimes agreed with Śaurasēnī, especially in the pronunciation of certain sounds. Marāṭhī also occupies a somewhat independent position, sometimes agreeing with the language of the outer and sometimes with those of the inner group. Moreover, the conservative character of Marāṭhī has tended to make this independence greater than it was, and at the present day Marāṭhī is a language with very well marked frontiers, and does not merge into any of the neighbouring forms of speech.

[LSI pp. 9-10]

378 *Relation of Marāṭhī to the inner group.* Marāṭhī in some points agrees with the languages of the inner group. It agrees with the inner group with regard to pronunciation generally. Marāṭhī has two *s*- sounds, a dental *s* and a palatal *ś*. Bengali has only *ś*, which has quite another origin. Some Marāṭhī dialects only know the dental *s*, *v* and *b* are distinguished as in Gujarātī, Pañjābī, Sindhi, and partly, in Rājasthānī. Marāṭhī has a cerebral *ḷ* like Rājasthānī, Gujarātī, Pañjābī, and also Oṛiyā.

Marāṭhī has three genders like Gujarātī and some other rural dialects of Western Hindī.

The nominative singular of strong masculine bases ends in *-ā* as in the east and some dialects of Western Hindī. The nominative plural ends in *-ē* in Western Hindī. None of these points is of sufficient importance to prove a closer connection between Marāṭhī and the languages of the inner group.

[LSI p. 10]

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379 *Relation of Marāṭhī to the outer group.* In some points Marāṭhī agrees with the language of the outer group, showing a close relationship with the languages of the east.

All weak *a*-bases in Marāṭhī have an oblique form ending in *-ā* ; thus. *bāp*, 'a father', dative *bāpā-lā*. The same form also occurs in the east.

The termination of the second person singular of verbal tenses ends in *-s* as in Bengali, Bihārī, and Eastern Hindī.

The past tense has different forms for the three persons, as in eastern dialects. The past tense is formed by adding an *-l-* infix as in the east. This feature pervades the whole conjugational system and gives a peculiar colour to the language which is entirely wanting in the inner group.

In many points Marāṭhī differs from all other Indo-Aryan vernaculars. We may mention the almost universal use by nouns of a distinct oblique base, the dative in *s*, the genitive suffix *tsā* ; the possessive pronouns *mādzhā*, *tuḍzhā*, 'they' ; the numeral *pannās*, 'fifty', the conjunctive participle ending in *-ūn*, and so on. [LSI pp. 10-12]

Pronunciation. The short *a* is pronounced like the *u* in English 'but'. In Kōṅkaṇī, however, it assumes the open sound of '*o*' in '*hot*', as is also the case in Bengali. Thus, *votsũ*, 'to go'.

Short and long *a* are often interchangeable with *ẽ*, more especially in the terminations *ẽ* of neuter bases, of the instrumental and of verbal nouns, and in the termination *ẽn* of the future. Thus, *bāpā-nẽ* and *bāpā-nã*, 'by the fathers'.

E is commonly pronounced as *yẽ* ; *yẽk* and *ẽk*, 'one'. This form is common every where with the exception of Poona and neighbourhood.

In Sanskrit words the anunāsika before *r*, *ś*, *sh*, *s*, and *h* is pronounced as a nasal *ṽ*, and before *y*, *l*, and *v* as a nasal *ỹ*, *l̃*, *ṽ*, respectively. Thus, *saṽsār*, 'the world', *saỹyōg*, 'junction'. The anunāsika is often dropped, or, when it is considered necessary to pronounce it distinctly, in order to distinguish between forms

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which would otherwise be confounded replaced by *n*. Thus, *gharāt*, 'in the house', *tyānlā*, 'to him' (honorific plur.).

The gutturals, dentals, and labials are pronounced as in Sanskrit. The palatals are pronounced as in Sanskrit in words borrowed from that language and from Hindōstānī, and in Marāṭhī words before *i*, *ī*, *ē*, and *y*; thus, *chaṇḍ*, 'fierce'; *chikhal*, 'mud'; *chār*, 'four'. In other cases the palatals are pronounced as *ts*, *tsh*, *dz*, *dzh*, respectively. Thus, *tsākar*, 'a servant'; *dzānẽ*, 'to go'. *Jñ* is pronounced as *dny*, or, in the Konkan, as *gy*; thus, *dnyān* or *gyān*, 'knowledge'. The cerebrals are usually pronounced as in Sanskrit. The cerebral *ḍ* after vowels is, however, pronounced as an *r* in the central and northern Konkan, and as an *ṛ* in some dialects in Berar and the Central Provinces, and probably elsewhere. Thus. *ghōḍā*. *ghōrā* and *ghōṛā*, 'a horse'.

Marāṭhī possesses a cerebral as well as a dental *l* sound. On the coast, from Thana to Rajpur, the cerebral *ḷ* has become dental, and in Berar and the Central Provinces it is often pronounced as an *r* or as *ay*. Thus, *māḷī*, *mālī*. *mārī*, and *māyī*, 'a gardener'. Before *i*, *ī*, and *ē*, a *v* has a tendency to be dropped. Thus, we find *istō*, and *vistav*, 'fire', *īs* and *vīs*, 'twenty'. Marāṭhī has two *s*-sounds, a dental *s* and a palatal *ś*. Dialectically every *ś* is changed to *s*. A cerebral *sh* only occurs in borrowed words such as *śēsh*, 'rest'. It is pronounced as *ś*. [LSI pp. 21-23]

Nouns : Gender. There are three genders. masculine, feminine, and neuter. The neuter is used to denote inanimate beings, and also animate beings in the plural where both the natural genders are included, or the gender is left undecided; thus, *māṇᵃsẽ*, 'people'.

Strong bases ending in *a* are, if they are not borrowed words, masculine. The corresponding feminine and neuter terminations are *-ī* and *-ẽ*, respectively; thus *mulᵃgā*, 'a boy'; *mulᵃgī*, 'a girl'; *muglᵃẽ*, 'a child'.

Number. There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. Of masculine nouns only those ending in *-ā*, which take *-ē* instead of *-ā*, change for the plural. Thus, *bāp*, 'father, fathers'; but *ghōḍā*, 'a horse', *ghōḍē*, 'horses'.

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Most feminine nouns add *-ā* in the plural ; thus, *jībh*, 'a tongue', plural *jibhā* ; *ghōḍī*, 'a mare', plural *ghōḍyā*.

Neuter nouns ending in *-ẽ* form their plural in *-ĩ*, all other neuter nouns add *ẽ* ; thus, *taḷẽ*, 'a tank', plural *taḷĩ*; *ghar*, 'a house', plural *gharẽ*.

Words ending in *-i* and *-u* do not change in the plural ; thus, *kavi*, 'a poet, poets'.

Case. Cases are formed by adding postpositions, not, however, to the base, but to a modification of it called the oblique base.

Some of the postpositions are ; agentive *nẽ*, plur. *nĩ*; instrumental *nẽ*, plur. *nĩ* and *śĩ*; dative *s*, *la*, plur. *s*, *la*, *na* ; ablative *hūn*, *ūn* ; genitive *tsā*, f. *chī*, n. *chẽ*. The accusative is usually the same as the nominative. The oblique base is used as a vocative ; thus, *bāpā*, 'a father'. [LSI pp. 24-25, 30]

Adjectives. Adjectives are not inflected unless they end in *-ā*, in which case they form their feminine in *ī*, and their neuter in *ẽ*. The plural then ends in *-ẽ*, fem. *-yā*, neu. *-ĩ*. Thus, *tsaṅgᵃlĩ mulẽ*, 'good children'. The suffix *tsā* is also used to form ordinary adjectives from nouns ; thus, *gharᵃtsā*, 'belonging to the house'. [LSI p. 25]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of personal pronouns are ; *mī*, *mĩ*, 'I', *āmlī*, 'we' ; *tũ*, 'thou', *tumhī*, 'you' ; *āpaṇ*, 'self', *tō*, 'he', *ti*, 'she' ; *tẽ*, 'it'. *āpaṇ* is also used as an honorific pronoun, and to denote the plural of the first person including the person addressed.

'Who ?' is *kōṇ*, 'what ?' is *kāy*, and 'how much' is *kitī*.

The pronouns are inflected for various cases. [LSI p. 30]

Verbs. Verbs are quoted in the form of the verbal nouns ending in *-ṇẽ* ; thus, *karᵃṇẽ*, 'to do'. The old present tense, which is used in poetry to denote all times, has developed into a habitual past ; thus *karĩ*, 'I used to do'. The imperative and the future are likewise old forms ; thus, *karin*, 'I shall do', *kar*, 'do'. All other tenses are formed from participles. The present participle

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is used in the formation of present tense, the past participle passive forms the past tense, and a present conjunctive is formed from the future participle passive, thus, *mī uṭh^{a}tõ*, 'I rise', *mī uṭh^{a}lõ*, 'I rose', *mī uṭhāvā* or *myā uṭhāvẽ*, 'I should, or may, rise'.

The tenses formed from the present participle are all active, and the subject of the sentence is also the subject of the varb and agrees with the latter in number, person and gender; thus, *tō kar^{a}tō*, 'he does', *tī kar^{a}tē*, 'she does'.

The past participle has an active meaning in intransitive and passive in transitive verbs. Thus, *gēlā*, Sanskrit *gata*, means, 'gone', 'having gone'. The past tense of intransitive verbs is accordingly used in active construction; *mī uṭh^{a}lõ*, 'I rose', but 'the boy read a book', must be expressed 'a book was read by the boy', *mul^{a}gyā-nẽ pōthī vāchilī*. Here the verb agrees in number, person, and gender with the object. In other cases the participle is put in the neuter gender, and the object of the verb is put in the neuter dative. Instead of 'I killed him' we thus say 'a killing was done by me with reference to him', *myā tyā-lā mārilẽ*.

The Marāṭhī verb is generally stated to have two conjugations. The first comprises intransitive verbs and such transitives as use the active construction, the second most transitives. Verbs ending in vowels and *h* form their present tense after the first conjugation. Verbs ending in *h* form their past tense after the second conjugation, while the past tense of vocalic roots is irregular.

Both conjugations agree in the formation of most tenses. They differ in the following particulars. In the present and past participles and in tenses formed from them an *i* is inserted between the base and the suffixes in the second conjugation, while verbs following the first insert an *a*. Thus, *mārīt*, 'striking'; *uṭhat*, 'arising'; *mārilā*, 'struck'; *uṭh^{a}lā*, 'arisen'. Similarly, the characteristic vowel of the habitual past and the future is *i* in the second, and *e*, or, dialectically, *ā*, in the first conjugation. Thus, *mī karīm*, 'I shall do', *mī uṭhēn*, or *uṭhān*, 'I shall arise'.

The two conjugations are, however, continually confounded, not only in poetry, but also in the current speech of the people, especially in Berar, the Central Provinces, and Konkan.

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The verbal nouns of the verb *uṭha^{a}nẽ*, 'to rise', are 1. *uṭh^{a}-ṇẽ*, 2. *uṭh-āyās, -yā -lā, -yā -chẽ*, 3. *uṭh-āv^{a}yās, -yā-lā, -ya-chẽ*, 4. *uṭh-^{a}lẽ*.

The present participle is formed by adding *-at* ; a past participle by adding *-^{a}lā*, *-^{a}lēlā* ; and future by adding *-^{a}ṇār* ; thus, *uṭhat, uṭh^{a}lā, uṭh^{a}lēlā, uṭh^{a}ṇār*.

The conjugation of the verb *uṭh^{a}nẽ*, in the present, past, and future tenses is given below :

	Present, 'I rise', etc.	*Past*, 'I rose', etc.	Future, 'I shall rise', etc.
Sing. 1.	*uṭh^{a}tõ*, f. *-tẽ*, n. *-tẽ*	*uṭh^{a}lõ*, f. *-lẽ*, n. *-lẽ*	*uṭhēn*
2.	*uṭh^{a}tōs*, f. *-tēs*, n. *-tẽs*	*uṭh^{a}las*, f. *-līs*, n. *-lẽ s*	*uṭh^{a}śīl*
3.	*uṭh^{a}tō*, f. *-tẽ*,	*uṭh^{a}la*, f. *-lī*, n. *-lẽ*	*uṭhēl*
Plur. 1.	*uṭht^{a}õ*	*uṭh^{a}lō*	*uṭhũ*
2.	*uṭh^{a}tã*	*uṭh^{a}lã*	*uṭhāl*
3.	*uth^{a}tat*	*uṭh^{a}lē*, f. *-lyā*, n. *-lĩ*	*uṭh^{a}tīl*

The conjugations of the auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive, are as under :

	Present, 'I am', etc.		Past, 'I was', etc.		
Sing. 1.	*hōy~hõy*	*āhẽ*	*hōtõ*,	f. *hōtẽ*,	n. *hōtẽ*
2.	*hōs*	*āhēs*	*hōtas*,	f. *hōtīs*,	n. *hōtẽs*
3.	*hōy*	*āhē*	*hōta*,	f. *hōtī*	n. *hōtẽ*
Plur. 1.	*vhõ*, *hõ*,~*hõũ*	*āhõ*	*hōtõ*		
2.	*vhã*	*āhã*	*hōtã*		
3.	*hōt*	*āhēt*	*hōtē*,	f. *hōtyā*,	n. *hōtĩ*

The second form of the present, *āhẽ*, etc., means 'to become' 'to exist', while *hōy*, etc., is the pure verb substantive.

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Causal verbs are formed by adding *-av*, *-āv*, or in roots ending in long vowels and *h*, *vav* and *avav*, respectively. Thus, *basᵃviṇẽ*, 'to cause to sit' ; *dēvᵃviṇē*, 'to cause to give'.

Several forms of the transitive verb are, as has already been pointed out, in reality passive. There is, accordingly, no necessity for a separate passive voice. Marāṭhī has further preserved many verbal doublets, the one being intransitive or an old passive, the other an active verb. Thus, *tsarᵃṇẽ*, 'to graze' ; *tsārᵃṇẽ*, 'to cause to graze, to feed'. In other cases the passive is expressed in a periphrastic way ; thus, *tyā-tsā uddhār hōīl*, 'he will be saved'.

[LSI pp. 25-28, 30-31]

KUḶVĀḌĪ

380 The Marāṭhī kuṇᵃbīs in the Dharwar and Kalghatgi Talukas in the west of the district bordering on Kanara are said to speak a dialect called Kuḷvāḍī.

The material available shows that the dialect in some points agrees with the form of Marāṭhī current in the Konkan. Thus, we find the present tense of the verb substantive formed as follows :

Sing.	Plur.
1. *hãvu*	1. *hay*
2. *hās*	2. *hay*
3. *hay*	3. *hat*

Similarly we find forms such as *tu- mārᵃtēs*, 'thou strikest' ; *tō mārᵃtay*, 'he strikes'. In the past tense we find forms such as *tyan-mārᵃlyan*, 'he struck' ; *tyaṇī mārᵃlyanī*, 'they struck', etc.

In future we may note such forms as *tumī marᵃśalī*, 'you will strike' ; *tyāṇī marᵃtyālī*, 'they will strike'.

In other respects Kuḷvāḍī does not seem to differ from the usual form of Marāṭhī spoken in the Dekhan. [LSI p. 52]

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KONKAN STANDARD

381 The Konkan standard is the principal language of Thana, Kolaba and northern part of Ratnagiri. It is not a dialect of Kōṅkaṇī, but a form of speech intermediary between that dialect and the standard form of Marāṭhī current in the Dekhan. The most typical form of the Konkan standard is spoken in Thana.

The Konkan standard has been returned under a bewildering mass of different names, partly denoting locality and partly caste or occupation. To the former class belong Bānkōṭī, Damaṇī, Ghāṭī, Māolī, and Saṅgamēśvarī, to the latter Āg^{a}rī, Bhaṇḍarī, Dhan^{a}garī, Karhāḍī, Kiristāv, Kōḷī, Kuṇ^{a}bī, Par^{a}bhī, and Ṭhāk^{a}rī. They are in reality the local forms of the Konkan standard.

[LSI pp. 61-65]

Pronunciation. An *a* is pronounced in many cases where the language of the Dekhan uses *ē*. This is especially the case in the neuter singular of strong bases, the neuter plural of weak bases, and the future of the first conjugation. Thus, *sōnã*, 'gold'; *ḍuk^{a}rã*, 'swine'; *bōlan*, 'I shall say'. *A* also corresponds to *ē* of the Dekhan in several pronominal adverbs, and occasionally, also elsewhere; *tavã*, 'there', *hōta*, 'they were'.

The anunāsika is very commonly dropped. Thus, *karũ* and *karu*, 'to do'. It is often, however, replaced by an *n*, and an *n*-sound is often inserted between a vowel and a following consonant. Thus, *mīn*, 'by me'; *kanthā* and *kathā*, 'story'.

The palatals are pronounced as *ts*, *dz*, not only in the same cases as in the Dekhan, but also before *ē*; thus, *d̲zē*, 'who (plur.)'; *tyā-t̲sē sok^{a}rē*, 'his sons'.

Cerebral consonants *ḍ* and *ḍh* after vowels become *r*; thus, *ghōrā*, 'a horse'. Cerebral *ṇ* becomes *n*; thus, *kōn*, 'who?'. Cerebral *ḷ* becomes *l*; thus, *sag^{a}lã*, 'all'; *ḍōla*, 'an eye'.

In other respects the pronunciation is mainly the same as in Dekhan. [LSI pp. 65-66]

Nouns. The oblique base is, in most cases, formed as in the Dekhan. Bases ending in *-ā* often change *ā* to *vā* in the olique form; thus, *-lẽ k^{a}rũ*, 'a child', obl. *lẽk^{a}rvā*.

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The agentive case usually ends in *-n*, *-na* or *-nī* ; thus, *bab̄a-na* and *bapās-nī*, 'by the father'. An ablative is often formed by adding *-dz̄un*, and the suffix *-sī̃* or *-śī* is very commonly used to form an ablative or instrumental.

The neuter gender is commonly used as in Kōṅkaṇī to denote young female beings ; thus, *ts̄eḍũ*, 'a girl'. [LSI p. 66]

Pronouns. The personal pronouns are the same as in the Dekhan, subject to the changes mentioned above under pronunciation.

The usual form for 'this' is *hō* or *ō*, but also *hā* and *ā*. In Saṅgamēśvarī we find *hā*, 'this', *tā*, 'that', and *dz̄ā*, 'which'. [LSI p. 66]

Verbs. The verb substantive is formed from the bases *as* and *hō* as in the Dekhan. The base *as* forms its present tense regularly *āsẽ̃*, 'I am', *āsēs*, 'thou art', etc. The present tense of the base *hō* is formed irregularly, the vowel *ō* being changed to *ā* ; thus, singular, 1. *hãy* ; 2. *hay^{a}s*, and *hās*, 3. *hay* ; plural. 1. *hãv*, 2. *hā* and *hāv*, 3. *hāt* and *hān*, occasionally also *hātīn*.

The past tense only differs from the usual Dekhan form in the first person singular feminine, which is *hōtĩ̃*, or *hōtyẽ̃*, and not *hōtẽ̃*.

The future is *āsan* and *hōīn*, 'I shall be'.

The present tense of finite verbs has only one form for all genders. Thus, *mī sōditãy*, 'I seek' ; 2. *sōditēs* ; 3. *sōditē* ; plural, 1. *sōditãv* ; 2. *sōditā*, 3. *sōditāt* and *sōditān*.

The past tense of transitive verbs differs from the Marāṭhī of the Dekhan in often agreeing with an inflected object, as is also the case in Kōṅkaṇī and Gujarātī. Thus, *tya-nā tya-lā paṭhāv^{a}lā*, 'he sent him', where *paṭhāv^{a}lā* has the form of the nominative masculine.

The future of the first conjugation ends in *-an*, thus, *mī bōlan*, 'I shall say'. The second person singular often ends in *-śī* ; thus, *mār^{a}śī*, 'thou wilt strike'.

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Dekhan forms are very commonly used in addition to the special Konkan forms.

The vocabulary is to some extent peculiar to the Konkan, and sometimes agrees with Gujarātī as against standard Marāṭhī. Thus, we find in the first specimen *sōkᵃrā*, 'a son'. *d̲zakᵃlã*, 'all' ; *bid̲zā*, 'other' ; and so on. [LSI pp. 66-67]

BROKEN DIALECTS OF THANA AND THE KONKAN

382 Kātharī or Kāthōḍī, Vārlī and three small dialects Vāḍᵃval, Phudᵃgī, and Sāmvēdī are spoken in Thana and neighbourhood. These are mixed forms of speeches. Originally they are Bhīl dialects, much influenced by Marāṭhī. [LSI p. 130]

KĀTHŌḌI OR KĀTKARĪ

383 The Kātkarīs are a forest tribe inhabiting the mountain fastness as in the Konkan and the Sahyadri Hills. Kāthōḍi has derived from a form of speech closely related to Khāndēśī. The influence of the surrounding Marāṭhī dialects has, on the other hand, been so strong that the speech of the Kātkarīs all over the Konkan now looks like a form of Marāṭhī.

The suffix of the genitive is *-nā* ; thus, *bāhas-nā*, 'of a father'. Here the oblique form *bāhas* corresponds to *bāpās* in the Maraṭhī of the Konkan, while the suffix agrees with Khāndēśī and Gujarātī. Similarly, we find *gharāmā* and *gharāt*, 'in the house', *tō*, 'that', and *yē* (*ghōḍa*), 'this (horse)'.

The verb substantive forms in the present tense are ; sing. 1. *ahã* ; 2. *āhās* ; 3. *ahã* ; plur. 1. *ahãv* ; 2. *āhã* ; 3. *āhāt* and *ahãt*. The past tense is, sing. 1. *hat* (*ā*), 2. *hatā* (*s*), 3. *hatā* ; plur., 1. *hatav* ; 2. *hatā* ; 3. *hatāt* or *hutāt*.

The verb substantive is very commonly added to the base or the present participle in order to form a periphrastic present ; thus, *mā d̲zahã*, *d̲zātā-hã*, 'I go' ; *mā marā-hã*, 'I die'. This seems to be the regular present tense.

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The past tense is formed as in Khāndēśī ; thus *gyā*, 'he went'; *ānā*, 'he came' ; *rahªnā-hā*, 'I die'.

Instances of the conjunctive participle are *khāī-nā̃*, 'having eaten' ; *vāṭīhīn*, 'having divided'. [LSI pp. 130-131]

VĀRLĪ

384 The vārlīs, the speakers of the dialect have a tendency to shorten the words ; thus, *kōṭ-dz̲ās*, instead of *kōṭhē̃ dz̲ātōs*, 'where are you going ?'

A is used as in the dialects of the Northern Konkan in many cases where Standard Marāṭhī has *ē* ; thus, *tatha*, 'there', *ḍukªra*, 'swine'.

In the inflection of nouns we find typical Konkan forms such *bās-lā*, 'to a father' ; *bhās*, 'a brother' ; *ḍukªra*, 'swine', etc. On the other hand, *ṇ*, *ḷ*, and *ḍ* are used as in the Dekhan. Thus, *māṇªsa-lā*, 'to a man' ; *dukūḷ*, 'famine' ; *paḍªlā*, 'he fell'.

The Gujarati element is chiefly seen in vocabulary. Cf. *bija*, 'another' ; *tya-nē*, 'his', *marēl*, 'dead', and so forth. [LSI p. 141]

VĀḌªVAḶ

385 The Vaḍªvaḷs are one of the sub-tribes of the Pāch Kaḷśi Kuṇªbīs, found in coast talukas of Bassein, Mahim, and Dahanu. They are supposed to have immigrated from Gujarat.

Their dialect is most intimately connected with the usual Marāṭhī of the Central and Northern Konkan.

The peculiar appearance of the dialect is due to some phonetical changes which Vāḍªvaḷ shares with several Bhīl dialects. The most important ones are :

Ch becomes *s* or *ś* ; thus, *sākar*, 'a servant' *sānd*, 'moon' ; *śār*, 'four'. *S* and *ś* become *h*, i.e., probably the sound of *ch* in 'lock'. Thus, *hōna*, 'gold' ; *bah*, 'sit'. *H* is regularly dropped ; thus, *ath*, 'a hand', *ay*, 'he is'. Forms such as *hāy*, 'he is', *hōtā*, 'he was', are, however, also met with.

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Most of the common characteristics of the current language of Thana occur in this dialect. Thus, we find *a* in many places where the dialects of the Dekhan have *ē* ; Cf. *dila*, 'it was given'; *lag^{a}la*, 'they began'. The agentive case usually end in *n* ; thus *bābān*, 'by the father', *tyān*, 'by him'.

The verb substantive is *hāy*, or *āy* in all persons of the singular ; the plural forms are 1. (*h*) *āt*, 2. *aha*, *āt*, 3. (*h*) *āt*. The past tense is, 1. (*h*) *ōtav*, *ōta*, 2. *hōtā*, 3. *hōtā* ; plural, *hōtē*.

The present tense of finite verbs is formed as in the neighbouring dialects ; thus, *mār^{a}tāy*, 'I strike', *mār^{a}tāv*, 'we strike'.

The past tense is regularly formed ; thus, sing. 1. *gēlāv* or *gēlā*, 'I went' ; 2,3. *gēlā* ; plur. 1. *gēlav*, 2,3. *gēlē*.

Future forms are *ahēn*, 'I shall be', *sāllan*, 'I shall go' ; *mārihīl*, 'thou wilt strike', etc.

Some forms and words are Gujarātī and not Marāṭhī ; thus, *sā*, i.e. *chha*, 'six' ; *mērē*, 'near' ; *bhukē*, 'with hunger'.

[LSI pp. 144-145]

SĀMVĒDĪ

386 The Sāmvēdīs live as husbandmen and gardeners in Bassein and Mahim. They speak a mixed dialect, the chief components of which are the current Marāṭhī of Thana and vulgar Gujarātī.

Ch has become *s* and *h* ; thus, *sākar*, a 'servant'. The suffix of the genitive is *hō*, *hā* or *ā* ; thus, *bāpa-hā*, 'of a father' ; *rāṇḍa-ā*, 'of prostitutes'. *S* becomes *h* ; thus, *dihāt*, 'in a day' ; *hēt*, 'a field'.

Strong masculine bases form their nominative as in Gujarātī and Kōṅkaṇī ; *hōk^{a}rō*, 'a son' ; *vaṭō*, 'a share'. The corresponding feminine plural also ends in *ō* ; thus, *rōṭhyō*, 'breeds'. The instrumental ends in *-ē*, *-hē*, and *-dē* ; thus, *nirbhayē*, 'without fear' ; *bhukē-dē*, 'with hunger'. The dative ends in *-dō* ; thus, *māh^{a}ṇā-dō*, 'to a man'.

The inflection of verbs mainly agrees with the Marāṭhī of Thana ; thus, *hā*, 'thou art' ; *hāy*, 'he is' ; *mar^{a}tē*, 'I die'. The

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third person masculine of the past tense usually ends in -ō ; thus, *bōilō*, 'he said' ; *gēlō*, 'he went'. The pluperfect is formed by adding the abbreviated verb substantive to the weak form of the past participle ; thus, *mēl-tō*, 'he had died'. [LSI p. 148]

MĀHĀRĪ

387 The dialects spoken by Māhārs in district of Thana, shows that it agrees in all essential points with Konkan Standard of Marāṭhī.

Ē and *ō* are commonly written *yā* and *vā*, respectively. Thus, *tyā*, standard *tē*, 'that' ; *ghvārā*, 'horse' ; *ghōrē*, 'horses'. Final *ē* commonly becomes *a* ; thus, *bhuka-no*, standard *bhukē-nē* , 'with hunger'.

There are no cerebral *ṇ*, *ḍ*, *ḷ*. Cf. *pānī*, 'water' ; *ghārvā*, 'horse' ; *dvālā*, 'eye'. *Ts* is often substituted for *s* ; thus, *hits-tsā*, 'share'. *V* is dropped before *ī* as usual ; thus, *īt*, 'twenty' ; *isto*, 'fire'.

The inflexional system is mainly regular. The neuter gender is on the road to disappearance, it being often replaced by masculine.

The inflexion of nouns shows the same peculiarities as in the case of other neighbouring dialects. Cf. *mahā*, *mādzhā*, and *mādzā*, 'my' ; *hāmi*, 'we' ; *tumī* and *tumhī*. 'you'.

The present tense of the verb substantive is inflected as follows :

	Singular	Plural.
1.	*hayē*	*havō*
2.	*hayēs*, *hayos*	*ha*
3.	*hayē*, *hāy*	*hayēt*, *hayēti*

Other verbal forms are regular. [LSI pp. 157-158]

KŌṄKAṆĪ

388 The Kōṅkaṇī language is spoken throughout the Konkan from Malwan in the north to Karwar in the south. The purest

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form is considered to be spoken in Tishwaḍa in Sashṭi, a province of Goa. In North Kanara, Kōṅkaṇī is the home tongue of higher caste Hindus, and partly also of the lower classes. It is the language of the native Christians of north and south Kanara. In Belgaum Kōṅkaṇī is spoken in the south-west of the district, on the frontier towards Sawantwadi, especially in Belgaum Taluka. It is also spoken in Sawantwadi.

Kōṅkaṇī is a Marāṭhī dialect, having branched off from the common parent Prakrit at a relatively early period. Kōṅkaṇī has, in many respects, preserved an older stage of phonetical development, and shows a greater variety of verbal forms than standard Marāṭhī. The reason for our calling this language Marāṭhī and not Kōṅkaṇī is that the national literature is written in a language which is mainly derived from the northern dialects of Poona and Satara, and not from those spoken in the Konkan.

[LSI pp. 163-164]

Dialects. Kōṅkaṇī varies according to locality and to the caste of the speakers. In the north, in Sawantwadi and Ratnagiri the spoken form gradually approaches standard Marāṭhī. In Goa the language is largely mixed up with Portuguese words. In Kanara the proportion of Dravidian words is greater, and it increases as we go southwards. All these differences do not, however, affect the general character of the language, and we need not split it up into sub-dialects. Somewhat different is the case with regard to caste dialects such as Dāldī and Chitpāvanī, and these as well as Kuḍāḷī will be separately dealt within the following pages.

[LSI p. 164]

Pronunciation. Kōṅkaṇī is usually described as a strongly nasal language. The nasalisation is carried to the extreme degree by the Ṣēṇvīs of Karwar. The anunāsika is much more strongly pronounced than is the case in standard Marāṭhī, and sometimes entirely supersedes a following sound ; thus, *paryau*, for *paryant*, 'until' ; *śetān* for *śetānt*, 'in the field'. In the extreme south, no word can end in a pure consonant, a short vowel sound being always added. Thus, *pūtᵘ*, 'son', *kēsᵘ*, 'hair'. The preservation of old final vowels in such dialects is probably due to the Kanarese influence.

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The accent usually rests on the final syllable, though never on the short vowel pronounced after a final consonant. Under the influence of stress a short vowel is often dropped in the penultimate ; thus, *dhā́*, standard *dohā*, 'ten'.

Short *a* becomes like *o* in 'hot' in the south, as in *boiṇ*, 'sister'. A long *ā* corresponds to standard Marāṭhī *ē* in the nominative plural of neuter nouns ; thus, *vorsā́*, standard *varshẽ*, 'year'. The short open *o*, is found in the nominative of strong masculine bases in the verbal forms agreeing with them, in which cases we find *ā* in standard Marāṭhī ; thus, *ghoḍo*, 'a horse'.

The consonants are, generally speaking pronounced as in standard Marāṭhī.

The aspirated consonants have a strong tendency to lose their aspiration. Thus, we find *boiṇ*, standard *bhaiṇ*, 'sister' ; *gēr*, standard *gharī*, 'at the house'. The common pronunciation of *jñ* is *gny* ; thus, *gnyān*, 'knowledge'. [LSI pp. 167-169]

Nouns : *Gender*. Gender is usually distinguished in the same way as in standard Marāṭhī. Nouns denoting women before puberty or marriage are, however, neuter, and the same gender is also used to denote women of inferior rank. Thus, *cheḍũ*, 'a daughter, a girl' ; *tẽ khaĩ gẽlẽ*, 'where did she (lit. it) go ?' In the case of animals the gender is sometimes distinguished by adding the adjective *dāḍlo*, 'male', and *bāilo*, 'female' ; *sunẽ*, 'dog' ; *bāil* or *bāilẽ śunẽ*, 'a bitch.

Number. The plural is formed as in standard Marāṭhī case. The oblique form is sometimes used for the genitive and even for the dative ; thus, *devā kurpā*, 'God's mercy' : *bāpay*, 'to the father'. The instrumental and agentive cases are found by adding *-n* and locative by adding *-r* to the oblique base. The genitive is formed as in the standard. [LSI pp. 169-170]

Adjectives. Adjectives ending *-o* have different forms for genders and numbers. Thus, *boro*, 'good', fem. *borī*, n. *borẽ*. Other adjectives do not change.

Pronouns. The nominative forms of first two personal pronouns are ; *hā̃v*, 'I' ; *āmĩ*, 'we' ; *tũ*, 'thou', *tumĩ*, 'you' ; *apuṇ*, 'self'.

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'Who ?' is *kõṇ* ; 'what ?' is *kitẽ* ; 'anyone' is *koṇ-i* and 'something' is *khāĩ*. [LSI p. 172]

Verbs : *Verbs substantive.* *āsũ*, 'to be', is conjugated as a regular verb. Only the present tense is irregular, and has two forms *āsã*, and *ahã*. Both are conjugated in the same way. Thus, *āsã*, 'I am', *āsāy*. 'thou art' ; *āsa*, 'he is' ; *āsãv*, 'we are', *āsāt*, 'you are, they are'.

The finite verb differs in some points from standard Marāṭhī.

The present tense differs from Marāṭhī in that it does not change for gender. Thus, we find *to*, *tī* and *tẽ nidªta*, 'he, she and it sleeps'. This tense is often used to denote future time, and a new future tense has been formed from it by adding *-lo* ; thus, *nidªtolõ*, 'I shall sleep'. The form ending in *-ān* or *-īn*, corresponding to standard *-ēn*, *-īn*, respectively, is also used but has commonly the sense of a contingent future ; thus, *nidān*, 'I may sleep', *mārīn*, 'I may strike'.

Kōṅkaṇī has developed a perfect as well as a past tense, the former being a contraction of the past participle and the verb substantive. Thus, *nidªlõ*, 'I slept' ; *nidªlã*, from *nidal ahã*, 'I have slept'.

The two forms of the past participle, Marāṭhī *nidªla* and *nidªlēla*, have been differentiated in their use in Kōṅkaṇī, the former being a past and the latter a pluperfect participle, from which a pluperfect tense is formed ; thus, *nidullõ* or *nidªlolõ*, 'I had slept' ; *gellõ*, 'I had gone'.

The causal verb is formed by adding *-āy* instead of standard *-āv* ; thus, *karāyalõ*, 'I caused to do'.

The negative verb is a characteristic feature of Kōṅkaṇī. The usual Marāṭhī forms often occur, but a new system of negative conjugation has also been developed. It is effected by adding the various forms of the negative verb to the base in the present and imperfect tenses ; thus, *nida-nā*, 'he does not sleep' ; *nida-nānt*, 'they do not sleep'. The past tense is often formed from the present by adding *dz̲alo*, 'because', thus, *vatsa-nādz̲alo*, 'he did not go'. More commonly, however, it is formed by

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adding the present tense of the verb substantive to the infinitive in *ũk* (*õk*) or *ũ* (*õ*), thus, *nidũk-nã*, 'I did not sleep'.

[LSI pp. 170-171, 173]

KŌṄKAṆĪ OF KARWAR

389 The Kōṅkaṇī dialect spoken by the Saraswat Brahmins of Karwar present several peculiarities of its own. They are said to speak very fast, and with a singing tone, and their language is rich in *tatsamas*, but comparatively free from Kanarese and Portuguese loan words.

The most characteristic feature of this dialect is the fact, that generally speaking, no word ends in a consonant. Thus, we find *pūtu* instead of *pūt*, 'son'.

The anunāsika seems to be rather strongly pronounced. Final vowels are frequently nasalised ; thus, *ānĩ*, 'and' ; *ammĩ*, 'we'.

Consonants are often doubled between vowels ; thus, *mākkā*, 'to me' ; *āssa*, 'is'.

Nouns. Weak bases end in vowels. The instrumental and agentive cases end in *-nẽ*; the enitive in *-gelẽ* and *-chẽ*; and locative in *-antũ* ; thus, *bapsu-nẽ*, 'by the father' ; *gavāntũ*, 'in the village'.

Pronouns. Some of the forms of personal pronouns are ; *hãvã*, 'I' ; *hãvẽ*, 'by me' ; *ammĩ*, 'we', 'who ?' is *kōṇũ*, and 'what ?' is *ittẽ*.

Verbs. The second person singular has the same form as the third person, and the third person plural is also used for the first and second persons. Thus, *vattõ*, 'I go' ; *vattā*, 'thou goest, he goes ;' *vattāti*, 'we go', or 'they go'. The first person singular of the second future ends in *-nã* : thus, *assanã*, 'I shall be'.

The second person imperative ends in *a* in the first, and in *i* in the second conjugation ; thus, *vatsa*, 'go' ; *baisa*, 'sit',

[LSI pp. 188-189]

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KUḌĀḶĪ

390 The principal dialect of Sawantwadi and of the southern part of Ratnagiri is also a Kōṅkaṇī sub-dialect usually called Kuḍāḷī. It is spoken from the Santarda River, in the south to Deogad, Kankoli, and Phonda Ghat in the north. The eastern and western boundaries are the Sahyadri Hills and the Arabian Sea, respectively. It is also spoken in Bombay Township and Island by settlers from Sawantwadi and Ratnagiri.

The chief points in which Kuḍāḷī differs from standard Kōṅkaṇī are as follows :

$\tilde{A}$ or *ã* is used for standard Marāṭhī $\tilde{e}$, not only in cases where it is so used in standard Kōṅkaṇī, but also elsewhere. Thus, *varsã*, 'years' ; *ḍuk^{a}rã*, 'pigs'.

There is a strong tendency to drop the anunāsika, a tendency which is also found in the Kōṅkaṇī of Belgaum and in the dialects of the central Konkan. Thus, *tyētullō* for *tyãtullō*, 'from among them' ; *teṇī* and *teṇĩ*, 'by him'.

V is often dropped before *i* and *ī* ; thus. *vīs* and *is*, 'twenty'.

The inflection of nouns agrees with standard Kōṅkaṇī.

The pronoun of the first person singular takes the form *mī* or *miyã* as in standard Marāṭhī, while Kōṅkaṇī has *hãv*. *Āpan* is used as the corresponding plural including the person addressed.

The verb substantive forms its present tense as follows : *mī āsãy* ; *tũ āsay*, or *āsas* ; *to āsā* ; *āmī āsãv* ; *tumī āsāt* ; *tē āsat*. In the second person singular we also find *has* or *ahas* and in the third *hā* or *ahā*. The past is sing., 1. *hōtõy* ; 2. *hōtay* ; 3. *kōto* ; plural, 1. *hōtãv* ; 2. *hōtyāt* ; 3. *hōtē*.

Other intransitive verbs are conjugated by means of the same suffixes. In the future the form in *-ān* is in common use ; thus, *mhaṇān*, 'I shall say'.

The past tense of transitive verbs agrees with standard Kōṅkaṇī. The corresponding perfect seems to be used in the same sense ; thus, *tũ mār^{a}lay*, or *mār^{a}las*, 'thou struckest' ; *teṇĩ-mar^{a}lyan*, 'he struck', *āmī mār^{a}lãv*, 'we struck', etc.

[LSI pp. 194-195]

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CHITPĀVANĪ

391 Chitpāvanī is the dialect spoken by Chitpāvans or Koṅkaṇastha, who are the chief Konkan Brahmans, as their home tongue. They understand and speak standard Marāṭhī in their dealings with outsiders. This dialect forms a connecting link between standard Marāṭhī and the dialects of Central Konkan.

Ã is used for *ẽ* in the same cases as in *Kuḍalī* ; thus, *ḍuk^{a}rã*, 'swine' ; *d̲zã madz̲dhã sētã sag^{a}lã tud̲zhã sē* 'what mine is that all thine is'.

Nouns. The inflection of nouns in many points agrees with standard Marāṭhī. The oblique form of strong feminine bases ends in *-ī* ; thus, *mul^{a}gī-t̲sã*, 'of a daughter'. The dative ends in *-lā* ; thus, *mān^{a}sā-lā*, 'to a man', etc.

Pronouns. Mē, 'I, by me' ; *mā-lā*, 'to me' ; *tēṇīn*, 'by' ; *kītã*, 'what ?' Other forms mainly agree wirh Kōṅkaṇī.

Verbs. The verb substantive is *sa-ṇā*, 'to be'. The forms of the past tense are ; *sõ*, 'I am' ; *sas*, 'thou art' ; *sē*, 'he is' ; *sõ* ; 'we are' ; *sã*, 'you are' ; *sat*, 'they are', The past tense is regularly formed ; thus, *tũ salōs*, 'thou wast'.

The finite verb forms its present from the participle in *tsō* ; thus, *mē mār^{a}t̲sã*, 'I strike'.

The past tense of intransitive verbs agrees with Kōṅkaṇī in the singular and with standard Marāṭhī in the plural. The second person singular, however, ends in *-s* and not in *-y* as in Kōṅkaṇī ; thus, *gēlõ*, 'I went' ; *gēlōs*, 'thou wentest' ; *gēlō*, 'he went' ; plural, *gēlõ*, *gēlã*, *gēlē*.

The past tense of transitive verbs ends in *-s* in the second person singular ; in *-n* in the third person singular ; and in *-t* in the second person plural.

The perfect, future and habitual past are formed as in standard Marāṭhī.

The verbal noun in *-ṇā*, corresponding to standard Marāṭhī *-ṇẽ* is common ; thus, *mār^{a}ṇa*, 'to strike' ; *khāṇa*, 'to eat'.

[LSI pp. 210-211]

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MARĀṬHĪ IN BERAR AND THE CENTRAL PROVINCES

392 The Marāṭhī of Berar is usually spoken of as Varhāḍī, or Bērārī, and Nāgpurī is the traditional name of the dialect spoken in the Central Provinces. This dialect is spoken partly or wholly in the districts of Amraoti, Akola, Ellichpur, Buldana, Wan, Basim, Seoni, Chhindwara, Wardha, Nagpur, Chanda, Bhandara, Balaghat and Raipur.

This form of Marāṭhī is closely related to the form which this language assumes in the Dekhan. The difference between the two forms of speech is slight, and they gradually merge into each other in Buldana. [LSI pp. 217-218]

Pronunciation. There is a strong tendency among the lower classes in Berar to substitute *ō* for *ava* and *avi*. Thus, *dz̲ōl* for *dz̲aval* 'near'; *uḍōlā* for *uḍavilā*, 'squandered'. As in the Koṅkaṇ, an *a* is very commonly used where the Dekhan form of the language has an *-ē*, especially in the termination *-ẽ* of neuter bases, in the suffix *-nẽ* of the instrumental, and in the future. Thus, *asa*, 'so'; *ḍuk^{a}ra*, 'swine', *bhukē-na*, 'with hunger'. An initial *ē* is commonly pronounced as a *yē*, as is also the case in the Koṅkaṇ; thus, *ēk* and *yēk*, 'one'.

The cerebral *ḍ*, when preceded by a vowel, is pronounced as an *ṛ* in the so-called Māhārī of Chhindwara. The same is probably also the case in the rustic dialects in other districts. *L* and *n* are continually interchanged in the future tense; thus, *mī mārīn* and *mārīl*, 'I shall strike'. *V* is very indistinctly sounded before *i*, *ī*, and *ē*, and it is often dropped altogether. Thus, *īstō*, 'fire'; *īs*, 'twenty'. [LSI pp. 219-220]

Nouns. The substitution of *a* for *ẽ* in neuter bases, together with the tendency to shorten long final vowels, has caused the distinction between the masculine and neuter genders to be weakened. Thus, the word *pōr^{a}ga*, 'a child', is constantly used in the sense of 'son'.

The plural is formed as in standard Marāṭhī. In the oblique form plural, however, *hī* or *ī* is often added; thus, *bāpahīs*, 'to fathers'.

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The case suffixes are the same as in the Dekhan. The dative, however, is formed by adding *-lē* and not *-lā* in most of the rustic dialects. Thus, *bāpā-lē*, 'to the fathers. [LSI pp. 220-221]

Pronouns. The agentive case of personal pronoun of the second person is *tyā*, 'by thee' ; 'my' is *māhā* ; and 'thy' is *tuhā*. The usual Dekhan forms, however, also occur. [LSI p. 221]

Verbs. There is only one conjugation ; thus, *mī-mar^{a}tō*, 'I die' ; *mī mhanīn*, 'I shall say' ; *mī-karīn*, 'I shall do'.

The second person singular has usually the same form as the third person ; thus, *tū āhē*, 'thou art', *tū gēlā*, 'thou wentest'. Similarly, the second person plural of the past tense coincides with the third person ; thus, *tumhī gēlē*, 'you went' ; *tē gēlē*, 'they went'. The verb substantive is, with the above exceptions, regular. In the first person singular of the present tense, however, we find *mī āhō* and *mī āhē*, 'I am'.

The present tense of finite verbs is often formed as in the Dekhan ; thus, *mī kar^{a}tō*, 'I do' ; *tū kar^{a}tō (s)*, 'thou dost'. Frequently, however, the second and third persons singular and the third person plurals are formed in the same way as in the verb substantive, in which case the verb does not change for gender ; thus, *tu rāh^{a}tē (s)*, 'thou livest' ; *tō yētē*, 'he comes'.

The past tense is formed as in the Dekhan ; thus, *myā mār^{a}la*, 'I struck' ; *tyā mār^{a}la*, 'thou struckest'. The past tense of intransitive verbs is used in the same way as in the Dekhan, the subject being put in the case of the agent, and the verb agreeing with the object in gender and number or being put in the neuter singular.

In the future forms such as *mī asal*, 'I shall be' ; *tū mār^{a}sīn*, 'thou wilt strike' ; *tē mār^{a}tīn*, 'they will strike'.

The verbal noun is formed as in the Dekhan. Thus, *ṯsārāyās*, 'in order to tend' ; *rākh^{a}nyās*, 'in order to keep'.

On the whole, however, grammar and vocabulary are the same as in the form of Marāṭhī current in the Dekhan.

[LSI pp. 221-222]

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GŌVĀRĪ

393 A small number of Gōvārs speak a dialect, which is not an unmixed form of speech, but has been influenced by the various broken dialects of the neighbourhood.

The anunāsika is usually dropped ; thus, *ātā*, 'now' ; *tavhā*, 'then'. The cerebral *ṭ* becomes *ṭh* ; thus, *pōṭh*, 'belly' ; *vāṭha*, 'share'. The cerebral *ḷ* is always distinguished from the corresponding dental sound. It is pronounced as every where in the Central Provinces ; thus ; *ḏzavaḷ* and *ḏzavar*, 'near' ; *mir^{a}lā*, 'he was found'.

The dative takes the suffix *-lē* ; thus, *bāpā-le*, 'to a father'. 'To him' is *tyā-lā* and *tyā-lē* ; 'their' is *tyāhi-ṯsā*. The suffix of the agent-instrumental is *-nē* or *-na* ; *bhukē-nē*, 'with hunger' ; *bāpā-na*, 'by the father'.

The verb substantive is *āhā* and *ahō*, 'I am' ; *āhē* and *ahēs*, 'thou art' ; *āhē* and *āhēt*, 'they are', etc.

The present tense of finite verbs is usually formed as in the common Marāṭhī of the district. Irregular forms are *mī ḏzātū*, 'I go' ; *mī mār^{a}ta*, 'I strike' ; *āmhī ḏzāhun*, 'we go'.

The past tense of transitive verbs is sometimes regularly formed. The first person singular, however, ends in *-lō*, the third person singular often in *-lan*, and the first person plural in *-lū* ; *mī pap kēlō*, 'I did sin'. *Āmhī mār^{a}lū*, 'we struck' ; *tyā-na tyā-lē dhāḍ^{a}lan*, 'him-by him it-was-sent'. It will be seen that the construction is sometimes active, and there is a distinct tendency to disregard the difference between the two conjugations.

[LSI p. 286]

MARHĒṬĪ

394 In the southern part of Belaghat, the lower classes, use a mixed form of speech, which is locally known as Marhēṭī, where the neighbouring dialects of Eastern Hindī have, to some extent, influenced the language.

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The pronunciation apparently mainly agrees with the dialects of Berar and Nagpur. Thus, the cerebral *ḷ* is always distinguished form the dental one, and it sounds like an *r* ; thus, *yēr*, 'time', *javar*, 'near'. *Ṉ* becomes *n* ; thus, *man^{a}la*, 'he said'. *V* is dropped before *i*, *ī*, and *ē* ; thus, *irudh*, 'against'. In some respects, however, the pronunciation differs. The pronunciation of the palatals is the same as in Hindī ; thus, *chākar*, 'a servant' ; *javar*, 'near'.

The neuter gender is constantly confounded with the masculine. Thus, *chāṅg^{a}lā-pāṅgh^{a}rūn*, 'a good cloth' ; *dōn lēk^{a}ra hōtē*. This confusion is especially apparent in the demonstrative pronouns. Thus, we find *hē bhāu*, 'this brother' ; *hākā hōy*, 'what is this ?'

The case suffixes are the same as in Nagpur. In the dative we find both *-lā* and *-lē* ; thus, *pōryā-lā* and *pōrā-lē*, 'to the sun'.

The inflexion of verbs is, on the whole, regular. In the past tense of transitive verbs, however, the verb usually agrees with the subject, though the subject is often put in the agent. Thus, *mī pāp kēlō*, 'I did sin' ; *pāpā-nē dayā kēla*, 'the father made compassion'. The regular passive construction, however, apparently also occurs ; thus, *tyā-nī dhan dilē*, 'he gave his property'.

To the influence of Eastern Hindī are due forms such as *bhukā*, 'hungry' ; *chālā*, 'gone' ; *pāṅgh^{a}rāv*. 'put on'.

[LSI p. 304]

NATAKĀNĪ

395 This dialect is spoken by a small number of people in the Sironcha Tahsil of the Chanda district, the principal language of which is Telugu. Its base is common Marāṭhī of the Central Provinces. The influence of the prevailing language of the neighbourhood has, however, to some extent changed the character of the dialect, so that it must be considered as a broken form of speech.

Short *a* is often pronounced as an open *o* ; thus, *na-kō* and *no-kō*, 'it is not proper'. Aspirated consonants very commonly lose their aspiration ; thus, *mājā*, and *mājhā*, 'my'.

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The various genders are no longer correctly distinguished. Thus, we find *tyā-lē dayā ālā*, 'him-to pity came' ; *tyā-lē rag āli*, 'him-to anger came'.

In the inflection of verbs several forms end in *-n* ; thus, *mi jātan* and *jyātō*, 'I go' ; *mi man tōn*, 'I say'.

The past tense of transitive verbs only occurs in the neuter form ending in *-lan* ; thus, *mi pāp kēlan*, 'I did sin' ; *tū pilu nahi dēlan*, 'thou didst not give a kid'.

Note also the forms, *khāunu*, 'we should eat' ; *pāyē*, 'see' ; *jyāy*, 'go'. [LSI p. 313]

KATIA OR KATIYĀĪ

396 This dialect is spoken by Katiās, an important caste of weavers and village watchmen in Chhindwara and Narsinghpur.

This dialect is a mechanical mixture of Marāṭhī and Hindī. The phonetic system is Hindī, and not Marāṭhī. The latter language has, however, so largely influenced the inflection of nouns and verbs.

The case suffixes are partly Marāṭhī and partly Hindī ; thus, *ghōṛyā-chā*, 'of a horse' ; *jhaḍ-kē*, 'of a tree' ; *ghar mẽ*, in the, house'.

The same is the case with personal pronouns ; thus, *mē*, *mī* and *maĩ*, 'I' ; *mājhā* and *māhā*, 'my' ; *ham* and *āmhī*, 'we' ; *tēn-chā*, 'their', etc.

The verb substantive usually takes the Marāṭhī form ; thus, *ahē*, 'he is' ; *hōtē*, 'they were'.

The past tense of finite verbs is usually formed by adding an *-l-* suffix ; thus, *gēlē*, 'he went', *kar^{a}lē*, 'I did'. A common form of the third person singular in Chhindwara ends in *-an* or *-tan* ; thus *bolan*, 'he said', *karan*, 'he did' ; *dētam*, 'he gave'. [LSI p. 319]

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BROKEN DIALECTS OF THE EAST

397 In the eastern part of Central Provinces Marāṭhī is surrounded by Chhattīsgaṛhī and other dialects of Eastern Hindī in the north, and by Gōṇḍī and other aboriginal forms of speech in the south.

Further to the east we find another Aryan language, Oṛiyā. A dialect of this language, Bhatrī, is spoken in the Bastar State, and forms a kind of connecting link between Oṛiyā and the language of the central portion of Bastar. This latter is known as Hal^{a}bī, and is a curious mixture of Oṛiyā, Ċhhattīsgaṛhī, and Marāṭhī. Some minor dialects in Raipur and Kankar, such as Bhunjiā, Nāharī, and Kamārī, have several points of analogy with Hal^{a}bī, of which language the two former may be considered as sub-dialects. These dialects are not organic links, but merely mechanical mixtures of all the Aryan languages which meet in the eastern part of the Central Provinces.

[LSI p. 330]

HAL^{A}BĪ

398 Hal^{a}bī, is the dialect of Halbas, and is spoken by them in the Bastar and Kankar States of Central Provinces.

Pronunciation. The short *a* is probably often pronounced as an *o*, and *a* and *ō* are therefore sometimes interchangeable ; thus *ballō* and *bōllō*, 'he said'.

The palatals are pronounced as in Hindī, and not as in Marāṭhī, thus, *mō-chō*, 'my' ; *puchh^{a}lō*, 'he asked'. The cerebral *ḍ* between vowels has usually the Marāṭhī sound of *ḍ*, but is sometimes also pronounced *ṛ* as in Chhattīsgaṛhī ; *baḍē dukāl paḍ^{a}lī*, 'a great famine arose' ; *kap^{a}ṛa*, 'cloth'. The cerebral *ḷ* sometimes becomes *r* ; thus, *parā*, 'run' ; *bērā*, 'at the time'. Hal^{a}bī uses *b* like Hindī, Oṛiyā, etc., where Marāṭhī has *v* ; thus, *bēr*, Marāṭhī *vēḷ* or *yēr*, 'time'.

[LSI pp. 331-332]

Nouns. Bīta, 'a person', is sometimes used as a kind of definite article. Thus, *bāp-bīta*, 'the father' ; *bēṭa-bīta-kē*, 'to the son'.

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Gender. There are only two genders, the masculine and the feminine, the former also corresponding to the neuter gender of Marāṭhī ; *lēkā*, 'a child, a son'.

Number. There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plural is formed as in Chhattīsgaṛhī by adding *-man* ; thus, *bābā-man*, 'fathers'. Often, however, no sign of the plural is added, or plurality is indicated by adding some word meaning 'many', 'all', etc.

Case. There is no oblique form, case suffixes being added immediately to the base, as is also the case in Chhattīsgaṛhī and Oṛiyā. The usual case suffixes are, —dative, *-kē*, *-kō* ; ablative, *-lē*, *-lagē-lē*, *-lō*, *-sē* ; genitive, *-chō*, *-kē* ; locative, *-mẽ*, *-nē*. There is no proper instrumental. Thus, 'with ropes' is translated *ḍōrī-saṅgē*. The genitive suffix *-chō* does not change for gender and number ; thus, *Bhagᵃwān-chō hukum*, 'God's command'; *tu-chō nāv*, 'thy name'. [LSI pp. 332-333]

Adjectives. Adjectives do not change for gender and number ; *baḍē*, or *baḍō bēṭā*, 'the elder son' ; *āplō dhan* 'your property'. [LSI p. 333]

Numerals. Some of the forms of personal pronouns are, *-mui*, *mui*, *mai*, *maĩ*, *mẽ*, 'I' ; *(h)amī*, *ham-man*, 'we' ; *tui*, *tuĩ*, *tū*, 'thou' ; *tum* (*ī*). 'you'.

Other pronouns are, *tō*, 'that'; *yē*, 'this' ; *jē*, *jō*, and *jaun*, 'who' ; *hōn* 'who ?' and *kāy*, 'what ?' [LSI p. 334]

Verbs. There is only one conjugation, and only the active construction is used. Verbs do not change for gender.

The present tense is formed by adding the verb substantive. The usual present tense of the verb substantive is inflected as follows :

	Singular	Plural
1.	*ase*	*asū*
2.	*asīs*	*asās*
3.	*asē*	*asat*

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Other forms are *āyē* and *hãy*, 'I am' ; *āyē* and *āy*, 'he is'.

The present tense will be seen to be more closely related to the usual forms in Marāṭhī than to those used in Chhattīsgaṛhī. The corresponding past tense is formed from the same base as in Chhattīsgaṛhī by adding the *-l-* suffix of Marāṭhī and Oṛiyā. The terminations of the various persons seem to be borrowed from all these languages. Thus,

	Singular	Plural
1.	*ralē* and *ralī*	*ralē*, *ralā* and *ralō*
2.	*ralā*, *ralē*, *ralī*	*ralās* and *ralē*
3.	*ralō*, *ralē*, *ralī*, and *rala*	*ralē*, *ralā*, *ralī*, and *ralō*.

The number of various forms is very great. It is not, however, possible to find any difference in the use of the forms given under each person.

The present tense of finite verbs is formed by adding the verbs substantive to the base, or to some participle form ; thus, *mui piyẽ-sē*, 'I drink' ; *ham jaũ-sē*, 'we go'.

The past tense has the same bewildering maze of various forms as in the case of the verbal substantive. Thus, *mai mārᵃlē*, *mārᵃlī* and *mārala*, 'I struck'.

Another past tense is formed by adding a *-b-* and not an *-l-* suffix. Thus, *maĩ karᵃbē-sē*, 'I have done' ; *mō-kē mārᵃbā-āsat*, 'they struck me, I am struck'.

The characteristic sign of the future is *-dē* or occasionally, *-tē* ; thus, *maĩ mārēn-dē*, 'I shall strike' ; *hundē-dē*, 'he will give'.

The present participle is sometimes formed as in Chhattīsgaṛhī and sometimes as in Oṛiyā. Thus, *karat*, 'doing' ; *jātē*, 'going' ; *mār-dē*, 'striking'. The past participle sometimes agrees with Marāṭhī and sometimes with Chhattīsgaṛhī ; thus, *gēlō*, 'gone', *bhukē*, 'hungry' ; *marā*, 'dead'.

The usual form of the verbal noun ends in *-tō*, genitive *-tōr* ; thus, *khatō*, 'to eat' ; *ētō-bakhat*, 'at the time of coming'. Several

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other forms are also used ; thus, *mārᵃnā*, 'to strike', *jaũk*, 'to 'go', etc.

Causals are formed as in Chhattīsgaṛhī and Oṛiyā by adding *-ā* ; thus, *charaũ-kē*,' in order to tend'. [LSI pp. 334-335]

HALᴬBĪ OF BERAR

399 Halᵃbī spoken by Halbas is not identical with that described above. It has much less points of analogy with Marāṭhī and more closely agrees with Eastern Hindī. On the other hand, it has characteristics in which it agrees with Gujarātī Bhīlī.

The pronunciation is mainly the same as in ordinary Halᵃbī.

The usual case suffixes are, agentive, *-na* ; dative, *-lā* ; genitive, *-kō*,*-kā* ; locative *-mā*. There are no separate forms for the oblique.

Strong masculine bases end in *-ā* ; thus, *pōryā*, 'son'. They do not change in plural.

Strong adjectives, including the genitive end in *-ō*, and only occasionally in *-ā*. Thus, *lāhā-nō pōryā*, 'the younger son'.

Some of the forms of the personal pronouns are, *-mī*. 'I' ; *tũ*, 'thou' ; *ō*, 'he' : *mōrō*, 'my' ; *tōrō*, 'thy' ; *ō-kō*, 'his', 'this' is *yō* and 'what ?' is *kāy*.

The verb substantive agrees with Marāṭhī in the present and with Bhīlī in the past tense. Thus, *āhũ*, 'I am' ; *āhās*, 'thou art' ; *āhā*, 'he is' ; past *hōtō* (and *hōtā*).

The present tense of finite verbs is formed from the present participle. Thus, *marᵃtu*, 'I die' ; *bhēṭᵃtē*, 'it is got'.

The past tense is formed in various ways. Different suffixes such as *-yō*, *-s*, and *-nu* or *-na* are used for the purpose. Thus, *gayō*, 'he went' ; *dēyēs*, (thou) gavest' ; *rahē-nu*, 'he stayed'.

The future is formed by adding an *h*-suffix. Thus, *balᵃhũ*, 'I shall say'. [LSI pp. 365-366]

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KAMĀRĪ OR KÃWĀRĪ

400 This is the language of an aboriginal tribe called Kamār or Kãwār, which resides in various parts of Central Provinces, more particularly in the district of Raipur.

Kamārī is a dialect of the same stamp as Hal^{a}bī. It agrees with some Aryan languages in some points, and with others in others. Forms and idioms belonging to Chhattīsgaṛhī, Oṛiyā and Marāṭhī are mechanically mixed together. There is even less of uniformity in Kamārī than in Hal^{a}bī, and the dialect has every appearance of having been adopted at a comparatively recent period. So little has it been assimilated that even the use of the various case-suffixes is vague and uncertain.

The phonetical system is the same as in Hal^{a}bī, and closely akin to Chattīsgaṛhī.

The inflection of nouns also agrees with Hal^{a}bī in so for as the oblique form does not differ from the base, and there does not exist a proper plural. Thus, *dēś-mẽ*, 'in a country', *majur-kō*, 'to the servants'.

The usual case suffixes are,—instrumental *-nē* ; dative *-kō* ; ablative *-sē* ; genitive *-kē*, *-kā*, *-dē* ; locative *-mẽ*. Thus, *abhār-kē ul^{a}ṭā*, 'against heaven', *nāchā-dē śabad*, 'the sound of dancing'.

The personal pronouns usually take the plural form ; thus, *am*, 'I'. 'He' is *hun* to which *har*, *ar*, or *ā* are usually added ; thus, *hun-har*, 'he'. *Har* is borrowed from Chhattīsgaṛhī.

The verb substantive is formed from the bases *hō* and *āchh* ; thus, *hō*, 'he is' ; *āchhē*, 'thou art', 'he is' and 'they are'. There are no real instances of a real past tense of this verb.

The suffix *-dē* which plays a great role in the conjugation of the finite verb in Hal^{a}bī is also frequent in Kamārī. Thus, *Karūndē*, 'I do' ; *marūndē*, 'I am dying'. Instead of *-dē* we also find *-dī* ; thus, *dēv-dī*, 'he gave'. It will be seen that such forms are used as a present, a past, and a future. They are all present participles.

The true past tense is sometimes formed by adding *-iyā*, and

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sometimes by adding *-lā* ; thus, *chumbīyā*, 'he kissed' ; *miviyō*, 'he was found'.

Future forms such as *khāvā̃*, 'I will eat' ; *bōlᵃvā̃*, 'I will say', also occur in Halᵃbī.

In the verbal noun and the conjunctive participle we find the same mixture of dialects. Thus, *khātō*, 'to eat (Halᵃbī)' ; *karũ*, 'to do (Marāṭhī)' ; *charaun*, 'In order to tend' (mixture of Chhattīsgaṛhī and Marāṭhī).

Causals are apparently formed as in Marāṭhī ; thus, *nisāvā*, 'cause him to put on'. [LSI pp. 387-388]

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401 STANDARD LIST OF SELECT WORDS AND SENTENCES

English	*Kōṅkaṇī* (Kanara)	*Chitpāvanī* (Ratnagiri)
one	yēk	ēk
two	dōn	dōn
three	tīn	tīn
four	chār	chār
hand	hāt	hāt
foot	pāyi	pāy
head	taklī	papāḷ, ḍākã
a father	pāpūi	ēk bāpūś
of a father	bāpāi-chẽ	bāp^{a}sā -ṯsō -chī, -ṯsã̄
to a father	bāpāi-kaḍūn	bāp^{a}sā-hārī̃, bāp^{a}sā-lā
two fathers	dōn bāpūi	dōn bāpūś
I am	hã̄v āsã̄	mē sã̄
thou art	tū̃ āsāi	tū̃ sas
he is	to āsā	tō sē
we are	āmī̃ āsã̄v	āmhī sȭ
you are	tumī̃ āsāt	tumhī sã̄
they are	te āsēt	tē sat
I was	hã̄v asullȭ	mē salȭ
thou wast	tū̃ ā sullōi	tū̃ salōs
he was	to ā sullo	tō salō
we were	āmī̃ āsulle	āmhī salȭ
you were	tumī̃ āsulle	tumhī salēt
they were	te āsulle	tē salē
I shall be	hã̄v urtolȭ	mē sēn
I beat	hã̄v mārtã̄	mē mār^{a}ṯsã̄
thou beatest	tū̃ mārtāi	tū̃ mār^{a}ṯsas
he beats	to mārtā	tō mār^{a}ṯsē
we beat	āmī̃ mārtāū	āmhī mār^{a}ṯsȭ

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IN THE VARIOUS DIALECTS OF MARĀṬHĪ

Maraṭhī (Poona)	*Nāgpurī* (Nagpur)	*Hab^{a}lī* (Bastar)
ēk	ēk	gōṭōk
dōn	dōn	dui-ṭhān
tīn	tīn	tīn
chār	chār	chār
hāt	hāt	hãth
pāy	pāy	pãy
ḍōkē, māthã	kapāl	mūṇḍ
ēk bāp	bāp	būbā
ēk bāpā-tsā	bāpā-tsā	būbā-chō
ēk bāpās	bāpās	būbā-kē
dōn bāp	dōn bāp	dui būbā
mī āhẽ	mī āhē, ~ āhō	mui āsē
tū̃ āhēs	tū āhē(s)	tui āsīs
tō āhē	tō āhē	hun āsē
āmhī āhō̃	amhī āhō	hamī āsū
tumhī āhã	tumhī āhā	tumī āsās
tē āhēt	tē āhēt	hunī asat, ~ āsē
mī hōtō̃	mī hōtō	mui ralē
tū̃ hōtās	tū hōtā	tui rala, ~ ralē
tō hōtā	tō hōtā	hun ralā, ralē ~ ralō
āmhī hōtō̃	āmhī hōtō	hamī ralē
tumhī hōtã	tumhī hōtē	tumī ralē ~ ralās
tē hōtē	tē hōtē	hun-man ralē
mī vhâvẽ	mī asīn	mui hōēndē
mī mār^{a}tō̃	mī mār^{a}tō	mui mūrẽ-sē
tū̃ mār^{a}tōs	tū mār^{a}tō	tui mār^{a}sis-
tō mār^{a}tō	tō mār^{a}tō	hun mārẽ-se
āmhī mār^{a}tō̃	amhī mār^{a}tō	hamī mārẽ-sē

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English	*Koṅkaṇī* (Kanara)	*Chitpāvanī* (Ratnagiri)
you beat	tumī̃ mārtāt	tumhī mārᵃtsã̄
they beat	to mārtāt	tē mārᵃtsat
I beat (past)	hāvẽ mārlẽ	mē mārᵃlã̄ ~ māyᵃrã̄
thou beatest (past)	tuvẽ mārlẽ, ~ -lẽy	tū̃ mārᵃlãs ~ māyᵃrãs
he beat (past)	tānẽ mārlẽ	tēṇīn mārᵃlān ~ māyᵃrã̄
we beat (past)	āmī̃ mārlẽ	āmhī mārᵃlã̄ ~ māyᵃrã̄
you beat (past)	tumī̃ mārlẽ	tumhī mārᵃlāt ~ māyᵃrãt
they beat (past)	tāṇī̃ mārlẽ	tyāṇī mārᵃlã̄ ~ māyᵃrã̄
I shall beat	hãv mārīn	mē mārīn

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Marathī (Poona)	*Nagpurī* (Nagpur)	*Habʰlī* (Bastar)
tumhī mārʰtã̄	tumhī mārʰtā	tumī mārʰsās
tē mārʰtāt	tē mārʰtēt	hunīmārẽ̄-sē, ~mārʰsat
mī mārʰlẽ̄	myā mārʰla	mai mārʰlē
tū̃ mārʰlẽ̄s	tyā mārʰla	tui mārʰlīs
tyā-nẽ̄ mārʰlẽ	tyā-no mārʰla	hun mārʰlā
āmhī mārʰlẽ̄	āmhī mārʰla	hamī mārʰlū
tumhī mārʰlẽ̄	tumhī mārʰla	tumī mārʰlās
tyā̃-nī̃ mārʰlẽ̄	tyā hā-na mārʰla	hun-man mārʰlā
mī mārīn	mī mārin	mui mārēndē

[LSI pp. 392-409]

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VOL. VIII, PART I

INDO-ARYAN FAMILY

NORTH-WESTERN GROUP

SINDHĪ AND LAHNDĀ

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THE NORTH-WESTERN GROUP

INTRODUCTION

402 The North-Western Group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars comprises two languages,—Sindhī and Lahndā, spoken in Panjab, west of about the 74th degree of east longitude, and south of Panjab, in Sindh and Cutch. It is bounded on the west, in the Panjab, by Afghanistan, and in Sindh, by Baluchistan ; but, in the latter country, Sindhī has over stepped the political frontier into Kachchhi Gandava and into Las Bela, both of which fall within the geographical boundaries of Baluchistan.

The whole Panjab is the meeting ground of two entirely distinct languages,—viz. the Dardic parent of Lahndā which expanded from the Indus Valley eastwards and the old Midland language, the parent of the modern Western Hindī, which expanded from the Jamna Valley eastwards. In the Panjab they overlapped. In the Eastern Panjab, the wave of old Lahndā had nearly exhausted itself, and old Western Hindī had the mastery, the resulting language being Pañjābī. In the Western Panjab, the old Western Hindī wave had nearly exhausted itself, and old Lahndā had the mastery, the resulting language being modern Lahndā. The latter language is therefore in the main of the Dardic origin, but bears traces of the old Western Hindī. Such traces are much more numerous, and of much greater importance in Pañjābī ; Lahndā may be described as a Dardic language infected by Western Hindī, while Pañjābī is a form of Western Hindī infected by Dardic.

Sindhī, on the contrary, shows a much more clear relationship to the Dardic languages, being protected from the east by the desert of Western Rajputana. While modern Lahndā, from its origin, merges imperceptibly into Pañjābī, Sindhī does not merge into Rājasthānī, but remains quite distinct from it.

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From the earliest times the area in which the North-Western Group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars is spoken has been frequently subjected to foreign influence, and it is extraordinary how little the speech of the people has been affected by it, except that under Musalman domination, the vocabulary has become largely mixed with Persian (including Arabic) word. [LSI pp. 1-4]

SINDHĪ

403 Sindhī is spoken in the province of Sindh and also beyond its frontiers in the adjoining areas in the north in Baluchistan and the Panjab, in the east in Rājputānā, in the south in Cutch and in the west in Las. [LSI p. 5]

Linguistic relationship. In the modern Dardic language little or no distinction is made between cerebral and dental letters. So in Sindhī, *t* and *d* very often becomes *ṭ* and *ḍ*, respectively, as *ṭāmō*, 'copper', *ḍḍiaṇ*^{u}, 'to give'.

Unlike the most Indo-Aryan vernaculars, excepting Lahndā and Pañjābī, Sindhī preserves the tendency of retaining intervocal *t*; thus, Sindhī, *pītō*, 'drunk', but Hindī *pīā*.

In the Dardic languages intervocalic *r* is often elided. Thus, in Bengalī *dāo* corresponds to the Sanskrit *dāru-*, 'wood'. In Kachchhī dialect of Sindhī we also find this tendency; thus, *kayṇ lagā*, for *karaṇ lagā*, 'they began to make'.

In Dardic languages and to some extent in Sindhī one of the double consonants derived from Prakrit is dropped, but unlike some other modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars there is no compensatory lengthening. Thus, Kāshmīrī has *bat*^{a}, and Sindhī has *bhat*^{u}'.

The plurals of the Sindhī personal pronouns are based on the same originals as those of the corresponding words in Lahndā and the Dardic languages. Thus, Sindhī, *asī*, 'we'; Kāshmīrī *as*^{i}; Sindhī, *tawhī*, 'you'; Kāshmīrī, *twah*^{i}, *tăoh*^{i}. The use of pronominal suffixes is extremely common in the Dardic languages as well as in Lahndā and Sindhī, as in the Kāshmīrī *môru-m*, Lahndā *mārеu-m*, Sindhī *maryn-m*^{e}, 'struck by me', i.e. 'I struck'.

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The termination of the infinitive in Sindhī closely agrees with the corresponding form in Kāshmīrī. Thus, Kāshmīrī *karun*, 'to do', represents an original *karanᵘ*, and in Sindhī we actually have *karaṇᵘ*.

In the formation of the passive voice, the Dardic language Shiṇā makes it by ading *-īj*, and Sindhī by *-ij* (with a short *i*) to the root. Thus, Shiṇā, *shid-īj-emus*, 'I am being struck'; Sindhī, *mār-ij-ē thō*, 'he is being struck'.

Sindhī has one important peculiarity, which it shares with only one or two other Indian languages, viz. that every word must end in a vowel, when it is short it is very lightly pronounced. In this respect Sindhī and Kāshmīrī agree; thus, Sindhī, *chhokarᵘ*, 'a boy'; Kāshmīrī, *gurᵘ*, 'a horse'. [LSI pp. 6-9]

Origin of Sindhī. According to Prakrit grammarian Mārkaṇḍēya the Apabhraṁśā Prakrit spoken in Sindh was called Vrāchaḍa. It is from this that Sindhī is derived. Mārkaṇḍēya gives a few particulars regarding this Apabhraṁśa. He says that at the beginning of a word *t* and *d* may optionally become *ṭ* and *ḍ*, respectively, as has been illustrated above in Sindhī. In Vrāchaḍa all sibilants were pronounced as *ś*. So, e.g. in Sindhī the Sanskrit *vishva-* becomes *viśᵘ*, 'the world', and the Sanskrit *simha-*, 'a lion', becomes *śĩhᵘ̃*. [LSI p. 9]

404 *Dialects.* Sindhī has five dialects, viz., the standard (or Vichōlī), Tharēlī, Lāṛī, Lāsī and Kachchhī. The so called Sirākaī Sindhī, that is the Sindhī spoken in the Upper Sindh differs from the standard Sindhī only in having a more clearly articulated pronunciation, and a slightly different vocabulary. This does not entitle it to be classed as a separate dialect.

The standard or Vichōlī dialect of Sindhī is spoken in the country round Hyderabad. This dialect is employed in literature and by educated people all over Sindh.

Tharēlī is spoken in Tharᵘ or Rēgistān, i.e. the desert on the eastern border of Sindh, separating it from the Marwar State of Rajputana.

To the south-west of Vichōlō, and separated from the district

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of Karachi by the hill country or Kohistan, lies the territory of the Jam of Las Bela. Here Sindhī, Brāhūī and Balōchī are spoken by various tribes. The Sindhī spoken here does not seriously differ from Vichōlī, but has some signs of the influence of the Lāṛī spoken in Karachi, and also has a few peculiarities of its own.

To the south of the Vichōlō is the Lāṛ^{u} or lower Sindh. Lāṛī, the dialect of this area, is quite distinct from Vichōlī. It retains certain prominent Dardic peculiarites that have been lost by Vichōlī.

South of Sindh lies the peninsula of Cutch. Here we have a meeting place of several forms of speech, Sindhī, Mārwāṛī, and at least three dialects of Gujarātī. The dialect of Sindhī is called Kachchhī, and it is spoken not only in Cutch, but also in the neighbouring peninsula of Kathiawar. [LSI pp. 9-11]

Pronunciation. In Sindhī, when the vowel *i* is preceded or followed by *h*, or when it is final or precedes a suffix commencing with a vowel, it is pronounced as a short *e*. Thus, *mehet^{e}* (for *mihit^{e}*), 'a mosque'. Also, every word must end in a vowel, and, when the vowel is short, it is pronounced very lightly, so as to be hardly audible, as *chhōkar^{u}*, 'a boy' ; but *chhōkar^{e}*, 'a girl'.

Peculiar to Sindhī are the consonants *bb, jj, ḍḍ*, and *gg*. They are pronounced with a certain stress, prolonging and somewhat strengthening the contact of the closed organ, and are, in fact, sounded as double consonants as pronounced in other parts of India, but occur even at the beginning of a word. Thus, *ḍubbal^{u}*, 'weak' ; *bbābbō*, 'a father's brother', but *bābō*, 'a father'. These are really the only double consonants in Sindhī. None of the surd mutes, *k, ch, ṭ, t* and *p*, and no aspirates are ever doubled. Sindhī is very fond of cerebral sounds, and often has them where often Indian languages have dentals. Thus, *ṭāmō* (*ṭrāmō*), Hindī tāṃbā, 'copper' ; *ḍḍiaṇ^{u}*, 'to give', Hindī, *dēnā*. Sindhī is also fond of inserting a short vowel between two contiguous consonants so as to aid the pronunciation. The vowel so inserted is usually *i*, or, when *h* follows or precedes *e*. Thus, *āsimān^{u}*, for *āsmān^{u}*, 'heaven' ; *chaṛehī*, for *chaṛhi*, 'having mounted'. [LSI pp. 22-23]

Nouns: Gender. There are only two genders, masculine and feminine. As all nouns must end in a vowel, the rules for gender

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in Sindhī are fairly simple. Nearly all nouns ending in ᵘ and all nouns ending in ō are masculine. Thus, *dāsᵘ*, 'a slave' ; *mathō*, 'a head'. All nouns ending in ᵃ, and nearly all those ending in ᵉ, are feminine. Thus, *sadhᵃ*, 'a wish' ; *ggālhᵉ*, 'a story'. Nouns ending in *ā*, *ī*, and *ū* are masculine when they signify males, and feminines when they signify females, inanimate things, or abstract qualities. Thus, *rāja*, 'a king' (masc.) ; *hachā*, 'murder' (fem.) ; *sāṇī*, 'a companion' (masc.) ; *rahākū*, 'an inhabitant' (masc.).

Number. There are two numbers, singular, and plural.

Case. The cases are generally formed by adding the post-positions to the oblique base. There is, however, an organic ablative, locative and vocative also. The oblique plurals end in *-anᵉ*, *inᵉ*, or *unᵉ*, when they are followed by a postposition, other-wise *-ẽ* or even *-ã* is added. Thus, *mēṛākē*, 'crowd' ; *mēṛākẽ*, *mēṛākanᵉ*. In the agentive case no postposition is added, the oblique case is used by itself. The accusative is either the same as the nominative or the same as the dative. Thus, in the form of nominative, *pāhᵉ̃ jō pēṭᵘ bharyã*, 'I may fill my belly' ; and in the form of dative, *hekiṛē bhānhē-khē kōṭhē*, 'having summoned a slave'. The postposition of the dative is *khē*, 'to' *laᵉ*, 'for'. The ablative either takes the termination *ã*, etc., or else the postposi-tion *khã*, *khõ*, or *khũ* is added. For 'from in' *mã* is added, for 'from on' *tã* is added, and for 'with' *sã* is added. Thus, *piᵘ-khã*, 'from a father' ; *bbaniᵃ-mã*, (returning) 'from in the field'. The postposition of genitive is *jō*. In Sindhī, as in Hindī and Pañjābī, the genitive is an adjective agreeing in gender, number, and case with the thing possessed. Organic locatives are formed by changing final ᵘ to ᵉ or the postposition *-mẽ* or *-mañjhᵉ* may be added. For 'on, upon' we have *-tē*. Thus, *sabhᵘ-kī-hathᵉ karē*, 'having made every thing in (his) hand' ; *samujhᵃ-mẽ achī*, 'having come into (his) senses'. For the locative usually *-õ* or *-ũ* are added ; thus, from *rāja*, 'a king', *rājā-ō* ; from *gōlī*, 'a slave girl', *gōliũ*. [LSI pp. 23-30]

Adjectives. An adjective agrees with the substantive it qualifies in gender, number, and case. As regards case, when the substantive is in any inflected case, the adjective is put into the oblique case, singular or plural, as may be required. In this point Sindhī differs from Indian languages like Hindustānī, in which an

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adjective agreeing with an inflected noun, either singular or plural is always put in the oblique singular. The Hindōstānī custom is however, optionally followed when the adjective may be in the oblique case singular, even when the substantive is in the plural. Thus. *kūṛan^{e} nabiun^{e}-khē* or *kūṛē nabiun^{e}-khē*, 'to false prophets'.

The comparative degree is formed by putting the noun with which comparison is made into the ablative case. Thus, *hi māṛhū hun^{a}-khō caṅō āhē*, 'this man is better than that'. For the superlative, *sabhinī-khā̃*, 'than all', is used; as in *hi^{u} māṛhū sabhinī-khā̃ caṅō āhē*, 'this man is the best of all'.

[LSI pp. 30-34]

Numerals. The syllable -ī, *ī̃*, *hī*, or *hī̃* may be added to any cardinal to indicate completeness. Thus, *bhaī*, or *bbēī*, 'all two, both'. [LSI p. 34]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the first two personal pronouns are, -*āū̃*, *ã̄*, *mã̄*, *mū̃*, 'I'; *asī̃*, 'we'; *tū̃*, 'thou'; *tavhī̃*, *tavī̃*, *tahī̃*, *taī*; *avhī̃*, *avī̃*, *ahī̃*, *ãī̃*, *ãī̃*, 'you'. The proximate and remote demonstrative pronouns are also used as pronouns of the third person. Each has two forms, a simple and an emphatic. The forms are, *hī*, *hē*, *hī^{u}*, *hi^{u}*, 'this'; *ihō*, *īho*, *īō*, *iō*, 'this very'; *hū*, *hō*, 'that'; *uhō*. *uō*, 'that very'. There are two other demonstrative pronouns, indicating that the person referred to is present. They are *ijhō*. 'this one present', and *ujhō*, 'that one present'.

The reflexive pronoun *pāṇ^{a}*, 'self', like the Hindī *āp*, refers to the subject of the sentence.

The relative and correlative pronouns are *jō*, 'who, what', and *sō*, 'that, he'.

'Who?' is *kēr^{u}*; 'what?' is *chhā*, *kōh^{u}*; 'anyone, someone' is *kō*, emphatic form *kōī*.

Pronominal suffixes. Sindhī shares with Kāshmīrī and Lahndā in the use of pronominal suffixes. In Kāshmīrī they are attached only to verbs, and in Lahndā apparently only to nouns and verbs; but in Sindhī they are attached not only to nouns and verbs, but also to postpositions. They are employed as in Persian or Hebrew, and can be used for any case. As an example of a pronominal suffix attached to a noun, we have *nēṇum^{e}*, 'my eye';

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attached to a verb, we have *māryum^{e}*, 'I struck' ; and attached to a postposition, we have *sandum^{e}*, 'of me, my'. These suffixes may be divided into three classes, viz. those (used with verbs only) referring to the nominative, those referring to any other case, and (use with verbs only), those referring to the agentive case. They are as follows :

A. *Suffixes of the nominative*

	Sing.	Plur.
1st person	s^{e}	$s\tilde{\imath}$, $s\tilde{u}$
2nd person	$\tilde{e}$ or (only fem.) $\tilde{a}$	same
3rd person	none	none

Thus, *māryus^{e}*, 'I was struck' ; *mārīnd$\tilde{e}$*, 'thou shalt strike'.

B. *Suffixes of the oblique cases except that of the agentive*

	Sing.	Plur.
1st person	m^{e}	$\tilde{u}$, $s\tilde{\imath}$, $s\tilde{u}$
2nd person	^{e}	w^{u}
3rd person	s^{e}	$n^{e}\sim n^{a}$

Of the above, the suffixes of the first person plural are never used with nouns, but only with postpositions and verbs. The others are used alike with nouns, postpositions, or verbs. Thus, *pium^{e}*, 'my father' ; *sāṇus^{e}*, 'with him' ; *ḍ ḍīm^{e}*, 'give to me'.

C. *Suffixes of the agentive*

For the first and second persons these are the same as in B., but the third person is different. The suffixes are :

	Sing.	Plur.
1st person	m^{e}	$\tilde{u}$, $s\tilde{\imath}$, $s\tilde{u}$
2nd person	^{e}	w^{a}
3rd person	$\tilde{a}\tilde{\imath}$	$\tilde{a}\tilde{u}$

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The suffixes, as representing the agentive case, are only used with the past tenses of transitive verbs. Examples are *māryāĩ*, 'he struck' ; *māryāū̃*, 'they struck'. [LSI pp. 35-45]

Verb. The Sindhī verb has three voices, the active, the passive, and the causal. Like Marāṭhī, it has two conjugations. Of one of these the characteristic vowel is *a*, while that of the other is *i*. The first, or *a*-, conjugation consists of all intransitive verbs and all verbs in the passive voice. It also includes about eighty transitive verbs. The second, or *i*-, conjugation consists of all other transitive verbs, including all verbs in the causal voice.

The following are the points in which the two conjugations differ from each other :

Present Participle. In the *a*- conjugation, this ends in *andō*, as in *hal-andō*, 'going' ; *haṇ-andō*, 'striking'.

In the *i*-, conjugation, the present participle ends in *-indō*, as in *mār-indō*, 'striking'.

Imperative. Verbs of the *a*- conjugation form the 2nd person singular imperative by adding ^{u} to the root, and the second plural by adding *-ō* or *-yō*. Thus, *mar-*^{u}, 'die thou' ; *mar-ō*, 'die ye' ; *dhō-*^{u}, 'wash thou' ; *dhō-yō*, 'wash ye'. Verbs of the *i*- conjugation form the 2nd sing. imperative by adding ^{e} to the root, and the 2nd plur. by adding *-yō* or *-iō*. Thus, *mār-*^{e}, 'strike thou' ; *mār-yō* or *mār-iō*, 'strike ye'.

Conjunctive participle. In the *a*- conjugation, this ends in *-ī*, but in the *i*- conjugation in *-ē*. Thus, *hal-ī*, 'having gone' ; *mār-ē*, 'having struck'.

Infinitive. In Upper Sindh, the infinitive of verbs of the *a*- conjugation is formed by adding *-aṇ*^{u} to the root, and that of the *i*- conjugation by adding *-iṇ*^{u}. Thus, *hal-aṇ*^{u}, 'to go' ; *mār-iṇ*^{u}, 'to strike'. But in Lower Sindh this distinction is not observed *-aṇ*^{u} being used in both cases.

The formation of participles : Present participle. In the *a*- conjugation, it is formed by adding *-andō* to the root, *w* being

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inserted if the root ends in *-a* or *-i*. Thus, *hal-andō*, 'going'; *pa-w-andō*, 'falling'. It is also used with verbs whose roots end in *-ā*. In the *ī*- conjugation it is formed by adding *-indō*, 'to the root, as in *mār-īndō*, 'striking'.

Past participle. The past participle is formed by adding *-yō* to the root. When the root ends in a consonant, *-iō* may be used instead of *-yō*. If the root ends in *-i* or *-ī*, the initial *y* of the termination is dropped. The same is usually the case if the root ends in *ch*, *chh*, *j* or *jh*. Thus, *mār*, 'strike'; *mār-yō* or *mār-iō*, 'struck'; *ni*, 'take'; *ni-ō*, 'took'.

As in other Indo-Aryan vernaculars, the past participle of a transitive verb is passive in meaning. Thus, *māryō*, 'struck', not 'having struck'. The number of irregular past participles in Sindhī is far more than any Indo-Aryan language more to the east.

A secondary form of past participle is obtained by changing the final *ō* of the participle to *al*^{u}. Thus, from *māryō*, 'struck', we get *māryal*^{u}, also meaning 'struck'. This form of past participle is used only as an adjective and is not employed in conjugation.

Future passive participle. This participle is formed from the infinitive by changing the final *-aṇ*^{u} (or *iṇ*^{u}) to *-iṇō*. Thus, root *mār*, 'strike', infinitive *mār-aṇ*^{u}, future passive participle, *mār-iṇō*.

Conjunctive participle. This has three forms, viz.,

1. The most common form is that made by adding *ī* to the roots of the verbs of *a*- conjugation and *ē* to the roots of *i*- conjugation. Thus, *hal-ī*, 'having gone'; *mār-ē*, 'having struck'.

2. The second form is formed by adding *-yō* or (*iō*) or *yū̃* to the root. Thus, *hal-yō* (or *hal-iō*) or *hal-yū̃*, 'having gone'.

3. The third form is formed by adding *-ijē* or *ijī* to the root, the former being used with transitive, whether belonging to the *a*- or *ī*- conjugation, and the latter with intransitive verbs; thus, *mār-ijē*, 'having struck'; *hal-ijī*, 'having gone'.

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Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. Most of the forms of the verb substantive are also used as auxiliaries in the conjugations of other verbs.

There are three verbs meaning 'to be' in Sindhī, all of which are used as auxiliary verbs. These are *thō*, 'I am' ; *ãhiyã*, 'I am' ; and *huaṇᵘ*, 'to be'. The first two occur only in the present tense. The third is conjugated throughout, *thō* does not change for person, but does change for gender and number, being thus exactly parallel to the Hindī, *thā*, which, however, means 'I was'. It is thus conjugated : Masc. Sing. *thō*, plur. *thā* ; fem. sing. *thī*, plur. *thiũ*. This verb is employed to form the present tense, and for this purpose, is either suffixed or prefixed to the old present.

The verb *ãhiyã* is used both as a verb substantive, meaning, 'I am', and also as an auxiliary verb. In the latter capacity, it is joined to the present participle to form a definite present, and to the past participle to form a perfect. Thus, present participle, *halandō* 'going' ; present definite, *halandō-ãhiyã*, 'I am going' ; past participle, *haliō*, 'gone' ; perfect, *haliō-ãhiyã*, 'I have gone'. It is thus conjugated :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ãhiyã* ~ *ãʰyã*, 'I am'	*ãhiyũ* ~ *ãhyã*
2.	*ãhẽ* ~ *ãhĩ*, 'thou art'	*āhiyō* ~ *ahyō*,
3.	*ahē* ~ *ãhᵉ*, 'he is'	*ãhinᵉ* ~ *ãhīnᵉ*,

The verb *huaṇᵘ*, 'to be, to exist,' is conjugated throughout. It is used as auxiliary in the old present, future and past tenses, conjugations of which are given below :

Old present, 'I may be', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*huã* ~ *hujã*	*hᵘ*, *hujũ*
2.	*huẽ*, *hujẽ*, *hūĩ*, *hujĩ*	*hō*, *huō*, *hujō*
3.	*huē*, *hujē*	*huanᵉ*, *hūnᵉ*, *hujanᵉ*

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Future, 'I shall be', etc.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
1.	*hūndus*^{e}	*hūndias*^{e}, *hūndyas*^{e}	*hūndāsĩ* (~*sũ*)	*hūndiũ sĩ*, *hūndyũsĩ* (~*sũ*)
2.	*hūndẽ*	*hūndi*^{ã}, *hūndiẽ*	*hūndau*, *hūndō*	*hūndiũ*, *hūndyũ*
3.	*hūndō*	*hūndī*	*hūndā*	*hūndiũ hūndyũ*

Past, 'I was', etc.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
1.	*hōs*^{e}	*huyas*^{e}	*huāsĩ*, *hāsĩ* (-*sũ*)	*huyũ sĩ* (-*sũ*)
2.	*huẽ*	*huyã*, *huyẽ*	*huan*, *huō*, *hō*	*huyũ*
3.	*huō*, *hō*	*huī*, *hī*	*huā*, *hā*	*huyũ*

There is also a verb substantive *thiaṇ*^{u}, 'to become', which is conjugated throughout.

The active verb. So far as finite tenses go, the conjugations differ only in the radical tenses, and in those formed from the present participle. The tenses formed from the past participle do not differ according to conjugation, but do differ according as the verb is intransitive or transitive.

Radical tenses. Three tenses are formed from the root, the imperative, the old present, and the present. Each of these is conjugated differently according as it belongs to the *a-* or the *i-* conjugation.

The imperative is conjugated as follows :

	a- conjugation	*i-* conjugation
Sing. 2	*hal*^{u}, 'go thou'	*mār*^{e}, 'strike thou'
Plur. 2	*halō*, 'go ye'	*mariō*, *māryo*, *māreho*, 'strike ye'

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The old present has the force of a present subjunctive. It sometimes has the force of a future indicative, as is always the case in Kāshmīrī. It is thus conjugated :

	a- conjugation 'I go, I may go', etc.		*i*- conjugation 'I strike, I may strike' etc.,	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*halã*	*halũ*	*māryã*	*māryũ*
2.	*halẽ*, *halĩ*	*halī*	*māryẽ*, *marẽ* *marĩ*	*māryō*
3.	*halē*	*halan*^{e}	*mārē*	*mārīn*^{e}, *mārin*^{e}

The present tense is formed by suffixing or prefixing the auxiliary verb *tho* to the appropriate person of the old present. *Tho* agrees with the subject of the verb in gender and number, but does not change for person.

Participle tenses. As in Hindī, the present participle and the past participle are both used. either with or without auxiliary verbs, to form participle tenses. But there is this difference. In Hindī, the present participle is used alone to form a past conditional, as in *maĩ chaltā*, '(if) I had gone', and the past participle is used alone to form a past indicative, as in *maĩ chalā*, 'I went'. In Sindhī the present participle, without any auxiliary, is used to form a future indicative. On the other hand, past participle alone is used, as in Hindī, to form a past tense. If we desire to use the past participle of a transitive verb actively, we must either put the subject into the agentive case or use the pronominal suffixes of the agentive case, as in *mũ māriō* or *māriu-m*^{e}, 'he (was) struck by me, i.e. I struck him'.

Tenses formed from the present participle. The future is formed by suffixing the pronominal suffixes of the nominative to the present participle. The latter varies according to conjugation, and also changes for number and gender. Thus, *halandus*^{e} 'I shall go' ; *halandī*, 'she shall go', etc.

The present definite is formed by conjugating the verb substantive *ãhiyã* with the present participle of the main verb. The

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participle of course changes for number and gender. Thus, *halandō ãhiyã*, 'I am going', etc.

The imperfect is formed by conjugating *hōs*^{e}, the past tense of *huaṇ*^{u}, 'to be', with the present participle. Thus, *halandō hōs*^{e}, 'I was going', etc.

The durative future is formed by conjugating *hūndus*^{e}, the future of *huaṇ*^{u}, with the present participle of the main verb. Thus, *halandō hūndus*^{e}, 'I shall be going', etc.

Tenses formed from the past participle. In the tenses formed from the past participle, there is no distinction made between verbs of the *a*- conjugation and those of the *i*- conjugation. On the other hand, owing to the fact that the past participles of transitive verbs are passive in meaning, when used in an active sense the subject of such verbs must in these tenses be put into the agentive case, exactly as in Hindī. Unlike Hindī, however, such past participles can also be used in their proper passive sense, and they are then conjugated exactly like intransitive verbs.

The past tense intransitive is formed by suffixing the pronominal suffixes of the nominative to the past participle. Thus, *halius*^{e}, 'I went'; *halī*, 'she went', and so on. If we have a transitive verb used passively, we have *mārius*^{e}, *mārias*^{e}, 'I was struck', and so on.

To use the past transitive, the subject is put in the agentive case and the object in the nominative, with which the past participle agrees in gender and number, as in *mũ chhōkirī mārī*, 'by me the girl was struck, i.e. I struck the girl'. Or we may put the object in the dative case, the past participle being then always left in the masculine singular. Thus, *mũ chhōkirī*^{a}*-khē mārīō*, 'by me with reference to the girl it was struck, i.e. I struck the girl'.

The habitual past is peculiar to Sindhī, and is formed by adding *thē*, the oblique form of the auxiliary verb *thō* to the past. Thus, *halius*^{e}*thē*, 'I used to go'.

The perfect is formed by conjugating the past participle with the auxiliary verb *ãhiyã*, 'I am'. The participle changes for gender

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and number, and the auxiliary is conjugated throughout. Thus, *haliō ãhiyã*, 'I have gone', and so on.

The pluperfect is formed by conjugating the past participle of the main verb with the past tense of the auxiliary verb *huaṇ*^{u}, 'to be'. The participle changes for gender and number, and the auxiliary for gender, number, and person. If the verb is transitive, and is conjugated actively, with the subject in the agentive case, without pronominal suffixes, it is always in third person. Thus, *haliō hōs*^{e}, 'I had gone'; *mũ mārīō hō*, 'had been struck by me or I had struck', and so on.

The future perfect, is formed by conjugating *hūndus*^{e}, the future of the auxiliary verb *huaṇ*^{u}, with the past participle of the main verb. Thus, *haliō hūndus*^{e}, 'I shall have gone'. So, for transitive verbs without pronominal suffixes, *mũ mārīō hūndō*, 'I shall (or may) have struck him', and so on.

The causal verb. In the causal voice, transitive verbs acquire a causal force, and intransitive verbs acquire transitive force. Thus, *ḍhōiṇ*^{u} (trans.), 'to carry', *ḍhōāiṇ*^{u}, 'to cause to carry'. Causals may also be formed from causals, making double causals. Thus, *virchaṇ*^{u}, to be weary', *virchāiṇ*^{u}, 'to weary', *virchārāiṇ*^{u}, 'to cause to weary'. The causal root is usually formed from the active root by adding *-ā*. If the root ends in *a*, *w* is inserted to avoid a hiatus. Thus, *waṭh*, 'take', *waṭhā*, 'cause to take'; *ma*, 'measure'; *ma-w-ā*, 'cause to measure'. A large number of intransitive verbs have corresponding transitives, which may be classed as irregular causals, e.g.

Intransitive	Transitive (causal)
bbujh, 'be heard'	*bhundh*, 'hear'
chhijj, 'be plucked'	*chhin*, 'pluck'
rajh, 'be boiled'	*randh*, 'boil'

The passive verb. For the passive voice, the root is formed by adding *-ij* to the active root. If the active root ends in a consonant, the *-i* of *-ij* may be dropped. Thus, active root *mār*, 'strike', passive root, *mārij* or *mārj*, 'be struck'. Not only can transitive active verbs form a passive, but also intransitive verbs.

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In the latter case, the passive voice may be used in either of two ways :

(*a*) In one case, the meaning of the active intransitive verb is not changed by putting it into the passive voice. Thus, *ã ḍḍakã thō* or *ã ḍḍakijã thō*, 'I tremble'.

(*b*) Very frequently the passive of an intransitive verb is used impersonally in the third person singular. Thus, instead of *ã ḍḍakã thō* or *ã ḍḍakijã thō*, 'I tremble', we may say *ḍḍakijē thō*, 'it is being trembled', i.e. '(I) tremble'.

The conjugation of the passive voice mainly follows that of the *a*- conjugation of intransitive active verbs like *halaṇ*ⁿ, 'to go'.

The verb with pronominal suffixes. A list of pronominal suffixes has been given under the head pronouns. As has been shown there they fall into three catagories.

A. Those representing pronouns in the nominative case. These are added to the present and past participles, to form the future and the past tense respectively. In the latter case, they are used only with intransitive (including passive) verbs.

B. Those representing personal pronouns in any other case, except the agentive. These suffixes can be added to any person of a verb, or to a participle, but they cannot be added when they represent the same person, as the subject of the verb, or, in the other words, when the reflexive pronoun would be used in their place if the sentences were expressed with the full pronouns. Thus, *māryã*, means 'I may strike' and we can add to it, e.g., *s*^{e}, the suffix of the third person singular, getting *māryã-s*^{e} (equivalent to *hun*^{a}*-khē māryã*), 'I may strike him', but we cannot say' *māryã-m*^{e} 'I may strike me' or *māryã-sũ* 'I may strike us'.

When the suffixes of the nominative are used alone with past participles, we get the passive past, as in *māriu*^{s}, 'I was struck'. The accusative-dative can be represented by the suffixes of this group, but the subject must either be represented by a suffix in the agentive case or must be omitted altogether, leaving the bare participle. Thus, *māriō*, 'struck', *māriu*^{e}, 'been struck with reference to thee i.e. struck thee.'

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C. Suffixes of the case of the agent. The suffixes of the third person are added only to participles. If it is necessary to add a suffix of the agent to a finite form of a verb, s^e and n^e, also forms belonging to group *B*, are added instead. Thus, we have *atha-*s^e or *atha-*n^e, not *atha-*$\tilde{\imath}$ and *atha-*$\tilde{\imath}\tilde{u}$, for 'he is by him' and 'he is by them', respectively. When either of these forms are added the participle does not change for gender or number ; thus *mārĭā-*$\tilde{\imath}$, means not only 'he was struck by him or her', but also 'she was struck by him or her'. These suffixes are used only with these tenses of transitive verbs that are formed from the past participle.

The verb with double suffixes. In the case of a transitive verb in one of the past participle tenses, the object direct or indirect can be further indicated by again adding a suffix of group *B*. *mārĭā* $\tilde{\imath}$ means 'he or she struck him, her, or them', and with a double suffix, *mārĭāĩ-mā* means, 'he or she struck him, her, or them, for me', or 'of me', or 'to me', etc. Again, *ḍḍināĩ-*m^e, 'he or she gave (it, etc.) to me'.

In tenses in which the first suffix is added to a participle, such as the past or the pluperfect, these second suffixes are most commonly added to verbal forms ending in the agent case of the third person (*mārĭāĩ*, *mārĭāĩ̃*) and occasionally to those ending in the agent case of the first person (*mārĭum*^{e}, *mārĭōsũ*), but they are not added to forms ending in the agent case of the second person (*mārĭu*^{e}, *mārĭuw*^{a}).

Compound verbs. As in other Indo-Aryan languages compound verbs are common in Sindhī.

A. Formed from the conjunctive participle in ī or ē ;

1. Intensives, formed by prefixing the conjunctive participle to another verb, such as *wañaṇ*^{u}, 'to go', *thi wañ aṇ*^{u}, 'to become' ; *vijhaṇ*^{u}, 'to cast', *mārē-vijhaṇ*^{u}, 'kill'.

2. Potentials are formed by conjugating *saghaṇ*^{u}, 'to be able', with the conjunctive participle of the main verb, as in *karē saghaṇ*^{u}, 'to be able to do' ; *mārē saghaṇ*^{u}. 'to be able to strike'.

3. Completives use the conjunctive participle with *rahaṇ*^{u}, 'to remain' ; *wathaṇ*^{u}, 'to take' ; *chukaṇ*^{u} 'to be complete', etc. Thus, *khāī rahaṇ*^{u}, 'to have finished eating'.

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B. Formed from the conjunctive participle in *iō* or *yō* are frequentatives. In this case the verb is repeated, - first in the form of the conjunctive participle, and then again in its conjugated form, as in *paṛhiō paṛhaṇ*^{u}, 'to keep on reading, to read over and over again'.

C. Formed form the present participle are continuatives. The verb *rahaṇ*^{u}, 'to remain', or *wataṇ*^{u}, 'to go about', is conjugated with the participle. Thus. *paṛhandō rahaṇ*^{u}, 'to continue reading'.

D. Inceptives are formed by conjugating *laggaṇ*^{u}, 'to come in contact with', with the oblique infinitive of the main verb, as in *karaṇ*^{a} *laggaṇ*^{u}, 'to begin to do'. [LSI pp. 15-93]

THARĒLĪ

405 In south-west Marwar-Mallani and in Thar and Parkar and in Jaisalmer a number of forms of speech are spoken, all mixtures of Marwāṛī and Sindhī in varying proportions. The mixtures of dialects is purely mechanical. The dialect spoken in Jaisalmer area more closely resembles standard Sindhī than those spoken in other areas. Some of the peculiarities of this dialect are as under :

The final short vowels, which are hardly audible in standard Sindhī, are often omitted, and when they sometimes appear one is inter-changed for the other. Thus, *ḍēh*^{a} for *ḍḍēh*^{e}, 'in a country'; *ḍukār*, for *ḍḍukār*^{u}, 'a famine'.

The peculiar Sindhī double sonant mutes appear only sporadically. Thus, *ba*, for *bba*, 'two' ; *diṭhō* and *ḍiṭhō*, for *ḍḍiṭhō*, 'seen'.

The personal pronouns *mah*, *mē* and *mu* are all used as the oblique form of *āũ*, 'I'. The nominative plural *apā*, 'we', is taken from Mārwāṛī. From *tũ*, 'thou', we have the oblique forms *tah*, *tō* and *ta*. 'Own' is *pãh-jō*, *pãh-jō*,*pā-jō* and *pān-jō*.

Present participle is formed irregularly we have *khaundō* for *khaindō*, 'eating' ; *chãwadō*, 'wishing'.

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For the verb substantive, we have *ahĩ*, 'I am', and 'thou art'; and *āhē* and *ahē*, 'he is'.

For the future, we have *kandāsĩ*, 'we shall make'; *chãwadus*, 'I will say'.

The forms *karĩ-hūnd*^{a}, 'I might have made'; *samhā-hundā*, 'if I had slept', *wahaē-hundā*, 'would have been caused to flow', are based on the Sindhī present participle of *huaṇ*^{u}.

The use of pronominal suffixes is restricted to the usual nominative forms used in conjugating the future indicative.

[LSI pp. 142-143, 147-148]

LĀSĪ

406 To the west of Sindh district of Karachi lies the state of Las Bela. Here the main language is a form of Sindhī called 'Lāsi'. Lāsī differs but little from standard Sindhī. It has some local forms, especially prominent in the declension of pronouns and in the conjugation of verb substantive.

There are some instances of the dropping of a final short vowel, so that the word apparently ends in a consonant. We have *bbār*, 'outside'; *bilkul*, 'entirely'; *tar* or *tar*^{a}, 'then'.

As regards the declension of nouns, the only general point to notice is that the oblique plural ends in the standard *ã* for masculine nouns, not in standard *an*^{e}. Thus, *chābukã-sẽ*, 'with stripes'.

The following postpositions may be noted: *gar*, 'to, near', sing. of the dative; *garã*, 'from', sign of the ablative, *nũ*, 'from', sing. of the ablative; *paḍḍ*^{e}, 'towards'; *sẽ*, 'with, in company with, by means of'.

As regards pronouns, the pronoun of the first person is *ã*, 'I', nom. plur. *asĩ*. For the second person, we have *tũ* 'thou', nom. plur. *aĩ*. The interrogative pronoun is *chho*, 'what?' for *chhā*, *chē-la*^{e} is 'why?'.

Pronominal suffixes are as in the standard, except that the suffixes of the first person becomes *sĩ*.

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The present tense of the verb substantive presents general features that are strange to standard Sindhī. Corresponding to Lahndā verb substantive *ē*, 'he is' which become *vē* after a vowel, we have in Lāsī, *way*^{a}, which becomes *ay*^{a} when following a consonant or half pronounced short vowel. There is a verb substantive corresponding to Gujarātī *chhē*, 'he is' and Kāshmīrī, *chhuh*, 'he is', which appears to be conjugated through out.

Corresponding to the standard *āhiyā*, etc., we have :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ahẽ*, *aẽ*	*ahiyā*
2.	*ahẽ*	*ahiya*
3.	*ahē*	*ahin*^{a}

It should be noted that the first person singular ends in *ẽ*, not in *ã*, and that the first person plural ends in *ã*, not in *ũ*. This runs right through the conjugation of every verb.

The past tense of the verb substantive is conjugated as follows :

'I was', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hōsĩ*	*huāsĩ*
2.	*huẽ*	*huā*, *huā*^{ẽ}
3.	*huō*	*huā*

The following is the conjugation of a verb of the *i*- conjugation in the future tense masculine :

'I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*kuṭindōsĩ*	*kuṭindasĩ*
2.	*kuṭindē*	*kuṭindō*
3.	*kuṭindō*	*kuṭinda*

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In attaching pronominal suffixes to verbs the usual rules are observed.

The passive is formed as in the standard. [LSI pp. 158-163]

LĀṚĪ

407 Lāṛī is spoken from near Hyderabad to the sea in the lower Sindh. This dialect differs from the standard Sindhī of the Vichōlō, or Central Sindh, and of the Sirō, or Upper Sindh, in several particulars, and is considered to be an impure form of the language. Lāṛī preserves ancient peculiarities that do not appear in the standard dialect. The most important of these are the disaspiration of sonant aspirates, and the frequent change of cerebral *ṛ* to dental *r*. In both these particulars Lāṛī shows its relationship with the Dardic languages of the North-West Frontier. [LSI p. 169]

The following are the points in which Lāṛī differs from the standard Sindhī :

Pronunciation. Contraction is very common. Thus, *pē*, for *piᵘ*, 'a father' ; *rūṇᵘ*, for *ruaṇᵘ*, 'to weep'. There is a strong tendency to drop final short vowels, except ᵃ. The latter is in general preserved, as in *garᵃ*, *puṭᵃ*. It is noteworthy that the change of *u* to *i* (i.e. to the letter that become ᵉ, when final) is not uncommon. Thus, *kukirᵉ*, for *kukuṛᵘ*, 'a cock' ; *mārīndis*, for *mārīndusᵉ*, 'I shall strike'. Final *ō* generally becomes *ā*. Thus, *baryā*, for *bharyō*, 'having filled' ; *babā* and *abā*, for *babō*, *abō*, 'father'.

As regards consonants *ṛ* is very often interchanged with *r*. Thus, *charīō*, for *chaṛhīō*, 'mounted'. *Chirᵃ*, for *chiṛᵃ*, 'anger'. *H* is often dropped. Thus, *ū* for *hū*, 'that' ; *bī*, for *behᵘ*, 'stand'. The aspirates *gh*, *jh*, *ḍh*, *dh*, and *bh* ; *rh*, *ṛh* and *vh* are always disaspirated, as *gar*, for *gharᵘ*, *kaḍ*, for *kaḍhᵘ*, 'draw' ; *marū*, for *maṛhū*, 'a man' ; *dīᵃ*, for *dhiᵘ*, 'a daughter' ; *maṇū̃*, for *maṇhū*, 'a man' ; *avī̃* for *avhī̃*, 'you'. [LSI pp. 169-171]

Nouns. The postpositions which are not met within the

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standard dialect are *sēṇ*^{u}, 'alongwith', and *kanā* or *kana*, used to indicate the ablative. [LSI p. 171]

Pronouns. The pronoun of the second person has its nominative plural *tavĩ̃*, *avĩ̃*, or *ãĩ̃*, and its oblique plural *tawā*, *awā* or *ā*. The demonstrative pronouns *hī*, 'this', and *hū* or *hō*, 'that', commonly, but not always, drop the initial *h*, so that we get *ī*, 'this', and *ū* or *ō*, 'that'. An optical form of *hī* is *i*^{u}, fem. *i*^{a}, 'this'.

The interrogative pronoun *kēō* is used for *kēhō*, meaning 'who ?, what ?, which ?'. [LSI p. 171]

Verbs. The present tense of the verb substantive has the following contracted forms :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ayã* (for *āhiyã*)	*ayũ̃* (for *āhiyũ̃*)
2.	*aĩ̃* (for *ahĩ̃*)	*ayō* (for *āhiyō*)
3.	*ahē*	*ahin* (for *ahin*^{e})

In the conjugation of verbs there are some past participles not found in the standard dialect. The verb *ggẽhaṇ*^{u}, 'to seize', is peculiar to Lāṛī, and makes its past participle *ggiṛō* or *ggidhō*. The verb *haṇaṇ*^{u}, 'to strike', in the standard dialect has its past participle *haṇiō*, but in Lāṛī it has *hāyō*.

In the conjugation of finite tenses, there are contractions, and also the tendency to elide final short vowels ; thus of the verb *wañaṇ*^{u}, 'to come', we have first person singular *vēs* (for *vius*^{e}), and the second person singular *vẽ̃* (for *viẽ̃*) of the standard dialect. Also *mārindis*, instead of *mārindus*^{e}, 'I shall strike', and *mārinda* instead of *mārindō*, 'you will strike'. [LSI pp. 171-172]

KACHCHHĪ

408 Kachchhī is spoken by Jāḍejās, Lōhaṇās, and Bhāṭiās and other Sindh tribes in Cutch. It is also spoken by the emigrants in the neighbouring district of Karachi and also in Bombay Town and Kathiawar in considerable number.

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Kachchhī falls into two sub-dialects, —Kachchhī proper and Kāyasthī. The latter is used by Kāyasths, and is a mixture of a true Kachchhī, Rājasthānī, and Gujarātī. Kachchhī is a dialect of Sindhī, and agrees with the language of Central Sindh, rather than with that of the Lāṛ^{u} or South Sindh. It exhibits few of the peculiarities of the Lāṛī dialect, but it also wants two of the special peculiarities of standard Sindhī, viz. the retention of short vowels at the end of a word, and the Sindhī double sonant consonants *gg*, *jj*, *dd*, and *bb*. On the other hand it follows the Sindhī habit of not doubling surd consonants, so that, e.g., we have *hath* 'a hand', —not *hatth*, as in Pañjābī, or *hāth*, as in Gujarātī. This dialect is largely mixed up with Gujarātī. The amount of admixture varies from place to place. The use of Gujarātī conjunctive participle in *inē* or *inẽ* is very common, as in *achinẽ*, 'having come', *karinē*, 'having made'. The Gujarātī emphatic suffix *j* is also in use in this dialect ; thus, *mũ̃-bhērō -j*, 'verily with me'. [LSI pp. 183-184]

Pronunciation. A few instances of aspiration of *b* and of disaspirating the verbal auxiliaries *thō* and *thē* are met with. Thus, *jabhābh*, 'an answer' ; *khõdh tē-viryō*, 'the trunk continued fighting.' As in Lāṛī, *h*, both initial and medial, is sometimes dropped ; thus, *hī*, or *ī*, 'this' ; *hū* or *ū*, 'that'. The *ṭ* or *ṭr* of Sindhī is not found in the Kachchhī. Thus, we have *putar*, 'a son', not *puṭ*^{u} or *puṭr*^{u}. A medial *r* is liable to elision, as in *chāyaṇ-lā*, for *chāraṇ-lā*, 'for grazing'. This is a typical peculiarity of the Dardic languages. [LSI p. 185]

Nouns. The declension of nouns closely follows that of standard, except that the oblique plural ends in *ẽ*, and not in an *an*^{a} or *ã* ; thus. *obl.* pl. of *ghōḍō*, 'a horse' is *ghōḍẽ*.

The following postpositions differ from standard Sindhī.

Accusative Dative *-kē*, as in *pē-kē*, 'to the father'. Dative, *-lā* or *lāy*, as in *chāyaṇ-lā* 'for feeding' ; *ku-lāy*, 'for what ? why ?'

Ablative *-nũ̃*, as in *tyã-nũ̃*, 'from there' ; *waṭã*, as in *hun-waṭã*, 'from him'. *-sẽ̃*, as in *jhāpaṭẽ̃-sẽ̃*, 'with stripes' ; *mañjhā* or *miñjha*, etc., 'from in, from among', as in *kuwē-mañjhā*, 'from in the well'.

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Locative, *-miñjh*, as in *mulaïẽ-miñjh*, 'among the servants'; *-waṭẽ*, as in *pẽ-waṭẽ*, 'to the father'; *-tẽ*, *ghōḍẽ-tẽ*, 'on the horse'. [LSI pp. 185-186]

Pronouns. The pronouns of the first and second persons are, *-ãũ* or *ãũ*, 'I'; *asĩ*, 'we'; *tũ*, 'thou'; *ãĩ*, 'you'. The Sindhī word for 'self', *pāṇ* is used to mean 'we, including the person addressed'.

The demonstrative pronouns are *hī* or *ī*, 'this', and *hū* or *ū*, 'that'. Both are used as personal pronouns of the third person. The reflexive pronoun is *piṇḍh*. 'self' corresponding to the South Sindh *piṇḍ*^{e}. The interrogative pronouns are *kēr*, 'who?' and *kurō*, 'what?'. [LSI pp. 186-188]

Verbs. The verb substantive is also used as an auxiliary verb. Its conjugation closely follows that of Lāṛī Sindhī. There is a negative verb substantive, *nãy*, used for all persons and both numbers, as in *ī-layak nãy*, 'I am not worthy of this'.

As in standard Sindhī there are an *a-* and an *i-* conjugation. The infinitive ends in *ṇ* or *ṇō*, as in *thīṇ* or *thīṇo*, 'to become'. The present participle ends in *-ndhō*. In the *a-* conjugation *n* is usually preceded by *a*, and in *i-* conjugation by the *ī*. If the root ends in a long vowel, the *n* of *-ndhō* becomes a simple nasalisation, as in *vikãdhō*, 'buying'; *mārĩdhō*, 'striking'. The regular past participle is formed, as in standard Sindhī by adding *-yō* to the root; thus, *bhar*, 'fill', past participle *bharyō*. The conjunctive participle, as in standard Sindhī, is formed by adding *ī*, to the root, as in *mārī*, 'having struck'. The Gujarātī conjunctive participle in *-īnẽ* is also common, as in *karīnẽ*, 'having done'.

The following is the conjugation of the old present (present subjunctive).

	a- conjugation 'I may go', etc.		*i-* conjugation 'I may strike,' etc.	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*viñã*	*viñũ, viñõ*	*maryã*	*maryũ, maryõ*
2.	*viñẽ*	*viñō*	*maryẽ*	*maryō*
3.	*viñe*	*viñan*	*marē*	*marīn*

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In Kachchhī the present is formed, as in Sindhī, but by prefixing *piō* (*pyō*) and *tō* (instead of *thō*) ; thus, *pyō-marã*, 'I am dying' ; *viñã-tō*, 'I go'.

The conjugation of the past tense follows the lines of standard Sindhī. Intransitive verbs add pronominal suffixes of the nominative to the past participle. Thus, *veōs*, *vyōs*, 'I went' ; *veō*, *vyō*, 'he went'.

The future is formed, as in standard Sindhī, by adding pronominal suffixes of the nominative to the present participle. In the third person, no suffixes are added. The second person singular is irregular. Instead of *mārī̃ dhẽ*, we have, *mārīnẽ* and *mārī̃ dhōs*.

The past of transitive verbs, agrees, as usual, with the object in gender and number, the subject being put in the case of the object. Thus, when the object is masculine singular, we have

'I struck him', etc.

	Subject sing.	Subject plur.
1.	*mũ*	*asã*
2.	*tō*, *māryō*	*ã* *māryō*
3.	*hun*	*hunī*

The habitual past is formed by prefixing or suffixing *tē* to the past. It is often practically equivalent in meaning to the imperfect. Thus, *khō̃dh te viṛyō*, 'the trunk continued fighting' ; *mũ māryō-tē*, 'I was striking'.

The passive is formed, as the Gujarātī, by adding *-ā* to the root, with shortening of the root-vowel ; thus, the passive root of the active root *mār* is *marā*.

The pronominal suffixes are commonly added to the verbs and are generally the same as in standard Sindhī.

[LSI pp. 189-196]

KĀYASTHĪ

409 Kāyasthī is a form of Kachchhī spoken by a small number of Kayasths is Cutch. It is a mixed form of speech, based on

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Kachchhī, but much mixed with the Mārwāṛī dialect of Rājasthānī and with Gujarātī. The only point in which Kāyasthī differs from these various forms of speech is the peculiar form of the suffix of the agentive case of the third person singular when added to the verbs,

As in Kachchhī, the verbal auxiliary *thō* becomes *tō*, as in *kaē-tō*, 'he says', and the medial *h* is liable to be dropped ; thus, *rã̆*, 'I may remain'.

In the declension of nouns, the postposition of the genitive is the Mārwāṛī rō (rā, rī), and of the dative-accusative is *nã̆*, which is a corruption of the Mārwāṛī *nã̆ī̃*.

In verbs, we have the Gujarātī infinitive in *wū̃*, as in *karā wē-sārū̃*, 'for causing to be made'. Similarly, we have future passive participle *ḍēwō*, fem. *dēvī*, 'it is to be given'.

The conjunctive participle imitates the Gujarātī form in *inē*, as in *nākhēnẽ*, 'having put'. The present participle again follows Gujarātī in taking the termination *tō*, as in *thītã̆*, 'on becoming'. As in that language, it is also used as a habitual past, as in *awᵃ tō* 'he used to come'.

For the old present, or present subjunctive, we have *rã̆*, 'I may remain'. The present takes the Kachchhī *tō* (Sindhī *thō*) as in *kã̆-tī*, 'I (fem.) say'. The past follows Kachchhī.

Kāyasthī has a peculiar form of the suffix of the agent case of the third person singular, equivalent to the Sindhī *ãī̃*. It varies according to gender, *ãdhē* being used for 'by him', and *ãdhī* for 'by her'. There does not appear to be any corresponding form of the third person plural. [LSI pp. 207-208]

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English	*Standard Sindhī (Hyderabad)*	*Lāsī*	*Lāṛī*	*Kachchhī*
one	hek[u]	hēkṛō	hek[e], hekirō,~(in counting) barkat[a], barkhat[u], or barkh[u]	hikḍō
two	bba	bba	bba	ba
three	ṭē (ṭrē)	ṭē	ṭē	trē
four	chār[e]	chār[e]	chār[e]	chār
hand	hath[u]	hath[u]	hath[e]	hath
foot	pēr[u]	pērō	pēr, pagg, pagulō	pag
head	math[a]	mathō	mathō	mathō
a father	pi[u]	pē	pē	pē, pēa
of a father	pi[u] -jō	pē-jō	pē-jō	pē-jō, pāy-yō
to a father	pi[u]-khē	pē-khē	pē-khē	pē-kē, pēy-kē
two fathers	bba piur[a]	bba piur[a]	bba pē	ba pē, ba pēa
I am	ãũ ahiyã	ã āē	āũ āyẽ	ãũ aïyã
thou art	tũ āhĩ	tũ, waĩ āhẽ	tũ āĩ	tũ aïyẽ

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he is	hū āhē	hū way[a], ay[a], āhē	ū āhē	hū ae, ay
we are	asī̃ āhiyū̃	asī̃ āhiyã̄	asī̃ āiyū̃	asī̃ aïyũ, ayū̃
you are	tavhī̃ āhiyē	aī̃ āhiyō	tavī̃ āyō	ãī̃ aïyō, ayō
they are	uhē āhin[e]	hū wan[e], āhin[e]	ū āhin	hū aïn
I was	āū̃ hōs[e]	a hōsī̃	āū̃ hōs	ãū̃ huwōs, hōs
thou wast	tū̃ huẽ	tū̃ huẽ	tū̃ huẽ, hōẽ	tũ hōẽ
he was	hū hō	hō huō	ū hō, hā	hū huō, hō
we were	asī̃ huasū̃	asī̃ huāsī̃	asī̃ huāsī̃	asī̃ huāū̃, hōāsī̃
you were	tavhī̃	aī̃ huā, huā[e]	tavī̃ huā	aī̃ huā, hōā
they were	uhē huā	hū huā	ū huā	hū huā, hōā
I shall be	āū̃ hūndus[e]	ã̄ hūndōsī̃	àū̃ hūndis, thindis	thī̃ndhōs
I beat	aū̃ māryã̄ thō	ã̄ kuṭẽ tō	āū̃ māryã̄ thō	ã̄ ũ māryã̄ tō
thou beatest	tū̃ mārī̃ thō	tū̃ kuṭẽ tō	tū̃ mārī̃ thō	tū̃ māryẽ tō
he beats	hū mārē thō	hō kuṭē tō	ū mārē thō	hū mārē tō
we beat	asī̃ māryū̃ thā	asī̃ kuṭyã̄ tā	asī̃ māriyã̄ thā	asī̃ māryū̃ tā
you beat	tavhī̃ māryō thā	aī̃ kuṭyō-tā	tavī̃ māriyō thā	ãī̃ māryō tā
they beat	uhē marin[e] thā	hū kuṭin[e] tā	ū mārīn thā	hū mārīn tā
I beat (past)	mū māriō	mã̄ kuṭiō	mū̃ māriō	mū̃ māryō

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English	*Standard Sindhī (Hyderabad)*	*Lāsī*	*Laṛī*	*Kachchhī*
thou beatest (past)	tō māriō	tō kuṭiō	tō māriō	tō māryō
he beat (past)	hun[a] māriō	hū[a] kuṭiō	un[a] māriō	hun māryō
we beat (past)	asã̄ māriō	asã̄ kuṭiō	asã̄ māriō	asã̄ māryō
you beat (past)	tavhã̄ mariō	awã̄ kuṭiō	tavã̄ māriō	ã̄ māryō
they beat (past)	unhan[e] mārō	hun[e] kuṭiō	unan māriō	hunī māryō
I shall beat (past)	āū̃ māryã̄	a kuṭīndōsī̃	aũ mārīndis	ãū̃ mārīdhōs

[LSI pp. 213-231]

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LAHNDĀ OR WESTERN PAÑJĀBĪ

411 Lahndā is the language of the Western Panjab. To its east it has Pañjābī spoken in the Central and Eastern Panjab, and it merges so gradually into that form of speech that it is impossible to fix any clear dividing line between the two. For our present purposes we may take a conventional line running north and south through the East-Central Panjab.

Towards the north, in the hill country, its eastern neighbours are Dōgrī Pañjābī of Jammu, and the Kāshmīrī dialects of the Upper Chinab valley. In the north it has Shiṇā and Kōhistānī and in the west Pashtō and Balōchī, and in south and south-east Sindhī and Rājasthānī, respectively. [LSI 233-234]

Position in regard to neighbouring dialects. In its northern section Lahndā is surrounded by languages of the Dardic type on three sides, east, north, and west. As regards the other languages Pañjābī with its dialect Ḍōgrī and Rājasthānī belong to Central Group of Indo-Aryan languages, and are therefore distinct from Lahndā which belongs to the North-Western Group. Sindhī, in the other hand, is closely connected with Lahndā. There are many analogies in the declension of nouns. In the conjugation of verbs also there is a close resemblance between Lahndā and Sindhī. It is noteworthy that both have an organic passive, as in Lahndā *mariwan*, Sindhī *mārijaṇ*^{u}, 'to be struck'.

Paṣhtō and Balōchī are Eranian languages, and in no way influence Lahndā, except perhaps in one mixed dialect called Khētrānī. There remain Dardic languages. Lahndā shows many traces of their influence, and indeed it may almost be said that its basis is Dardic. Its influence extends beyond Lahndā into Pañjābī. For example, most Indian languages drop a *t* when it comes between two vowels, while the Dardic languages usually preserve it. Thus, Sanskrit Kṛitaḥ appears in Hindostani as *kiā*, but in Kashmiri as *kit*^{u} or *kyut*^{u}, and in Lahndā and Pañjābī as

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kītā. Again, Dardic frequently uses dental consonants for cerebrals and *vice versâ*. So, in Thaḷī Lahndā the cerebral is continually used instead of a dental *d*. Dardic is fond of dropping an *r* between vowels. This occasionally occurs in Lahndā, as in *dārō* or *dāō*, 'from' (Dhannī). A marked feature of the Dardic languages is the tendency to epenthesis. Thus, in Kashmiri the *a* of *baḍ*^{u} 'great', under the influence of the following ^{u} becomes *o* and we have *boḍ*^{u}. Exactly the same occurs in Lahndā, where *kukkaṛu*, 'a cock', becomes *kukkuṛ*, *vāhaṛi* 'a heifer' becomes *vāhiṛ*.

The case of personal pronouns is very noteworthy. In all the Indo-Aryan languages, except Pañjābī, Lahndā and Sindhī, the words for 'we' and 'you' are *ham* and *tum* or some such form. But in these languages, we get different words which are closely related to Dardic forms. This will be evident from the following :

		we	*you*
Dardic	Kāshmīrī	*as*^{i}	*twah*^{i} (*tŏh*^{i})
	Kōhistānī	..	*tus*
Lahndā		*assī*	*tussī*
Pañjābī		*asī*	*tusī*
Sindhī		*asī*	*tawhī*

Dardic languages conjugate their verbs largely with the help of pronominal suffixes. Lahndā and Sindhī do exactly the same. Thus, Kāshmīrī, *môru-m*, 'he (was) beaten-by-me', Lahndā, *māre-um*, and Sindhī, *māryu-m*^{e}.

Finally, there are remarkable coincidences in vocabulary. The forms of the verb 'to go' will suffice as an example. In Pañjābī and the rest of India this is jāṇā, or some such form. In Kāshmīrī it is *gatsh-un*, and so in Northern Lahndā it is *gachh-ṇā*.

[LSI pp. 234-238]

412 *Dialects*. Lahndā has three main dialects, a southern, or standard, a north-eastern and a north-western. Each of these has several sub-dialects.

The form of Lahndā which has been taken as the standard is that spoken in the Doāb of the district of Shahpur. It is the typical form of the southern dialect, which covers the whole of

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the Lahndā area south of Salt Range. It has three sub-dialects, the standard proper, Multānī, and Thaḷī.

The north-western dialect is spoken in the districts of Western Jhelum, Eastern and North Attock, and Hazara. It is also spoken in Peshawar by scattered Hindus. This dialect possesses all the appearances of a mixed form of speech, partly agreeing with southern Lahndā and partly with north-eastern Lahndā.

The north-eastern dialect is spoken in two distinct tracts, separated from each other by the north-western dialect. There is, first, the true north-eastern dialect of the north-east, and there is, secondly, an overflow to the west covering the north of Shahpur, the south and centre of Attock, and crossing the Indus into Kohat. The dialects of these two tracts are very similar. They differ mainly in vocabulary, the western dialects showing a tendency to agree with the neighbouring southern dialect. This dialect differs from the southern in several important particulars. There are wide differences of vocabulary. Some of the differing words are actual shibboleths. Such are, *gachhṇā*, 'to go' ; *achhṇā* 'to come', of the north-eastern, *vañun* and *āwuṇ*, of the southern, and *jāṇā* and *āṇā* of the north-western. [LSI pp. 239-244]

Pronunciation. The language possesses many vowels which are unusual elsewhere in India. As in Kāshmīrī they are generally due to the epenthesis. These are *â*, pronounced like *a* in 'tell' ; *ä*, like the German *a* in 'wäre' or like *e* in 'these', and *ăĭ* the short sound of *ai*, something like the first *i* in 'mighty'.

In the south of the Lahndā area we find Sindhī sounds in force. There are double consonants *bb*, *jj*, *dd* and *gg*. These consonants are pronounced with a certain stress as if an attempt were made to double them at the beginning of a word. The preference for cerebral sounds is manifest in several parts of Lahndā area. The consonant *n* is always pronounced with extreme cerebralization, agreeing with neighbouring Eranian language, Paṣhtō. In the Thaḷ, and also to a less extent in the extreme south, almost every *d* is changed to *ḍ*, while in the two northern dialects *r* often becomes *ḍ*, as in *mäḍā* for *mērā*, 'my'. The cerebral *ḷ* is common over nearly the whole of the Lahndā tract.

The pronunciation of *h* is the same as in the western dialects

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of Pañjābī. When *h* commences a word, or precedes an accented syllable, it has a strong guttural sound resembling that of a somewhat strongly accented *ain* in Arabic. In other positions, i. e. when it is not at the beginning of a word or preceding the accented syllable, it is hardly audible or may be altogether inaudible, but it strongly raises the pitch of the preceding vowel, often altering the whole tone of the word. Thus, *lâh*, 'bring down', is very different in sound from *la*, 'attach', although the *h* in the former is quite often inaudible. The same remarks apply to the *h* shown in transliteration of soft aspirated consonants, but not in the case of hard aspirated consonants. Thus, *bhrā*, 'a brother', is pronounced *brā*. [LSI pp. 246-251]

Nouns : Gender. There are two genders, the masculine and feminine. Masculine nouns and adjectives ending in *-ā* and past participles in *-eā* with the *e* short, form the feminine in *-ī*. Thus, *ghoṛā*, 'a horse' ; fem. *ghoṛī* ; *mareā*, 'struck' ; fem. *marī*. Many masculine nouns ending in a consonant form the feminine by adding *-ī*, *-ṛī* or *-ṇī*. Thus, *lohār*, 'a blacksmith' ; fem., *lohārī* ; *bāl*, 'a boy', fem. *bāḷī*. Masculine nouns of more than one syllable, which end in *-u* followed by a consonant, form the feminine by changing *u* to *i*, and if the penultimate vowel is *â* they also change that to *-ă*. Thus, *kukuṛ*, 'a cock', fem. *kukkiṛ* ; *vâhur*, 'a young bull,' fem. *văhiṛ*.

Number. There are two numbers, the singular and the plural.

Declension. For the purpose of declension nouns can be divided into six patterns, three masculine and three feminine.

The first declension consists of masculine *tadbhaba* nouns whose nominative ends in *-ā*, forming the nominative plural by changing final *ā* to *ē*. Thus, *ghoṛā*, 'a horse', pl. *ghoṛē* ; *mareā*, 'struck', pl. *marē*.

The second declension consisting of masculine nouns of more than one syllable ending in the vowel *-u* followed by a consonant, form the plural by changing the *-u* of the syllable to *-a* and if the penultimate vowel be *â*, by further changing that to *ă*. Thus, *kukkuṛ*, 'a cock', pl. *kukkaṛ* ; *vâhuṛ* 'a young bull', pl. *văhaṛ*.

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The third declension consisting of all other masculine nouns, does not undergo any change to form the plural.

The fourth declension includes most of the feminine nouns which form their plural in *ã*, *bhän*, 'a sister', plur. *bhänã*.

Feminine nouns of the fifth declension form the plural by adding -*ĩ*. The nouns of this declension are nearly all either monosyllables, or else feminine nouns of more than one syllable ending in -*ī* followed by a consonant. Nouns of the latter kind drop the *i* of the singular in the plural. Thus, *akkh*, 'an eye' plur. *akkhĩ* ; *ga*, 'a cow' plur. *gaĩ* ; *chhōhir*, 'a girl', plur. *chōhrĩ*.

Feminine nouns of the sixth declension are mostly monosyllables, and form the plural by adding -*ũ*. Thus, *khumbh*, 'a mushroom' plur. *khumbhũ*.

Case. Including the nominative, there are six organic cases, the nominative, the general oblique case, the agent, the locative, the ablative and the vocative. The agent is always the same in form as the general oblique case. The general oblique case is that form of the noun to which postpositions are added to form other cases. To form these cases different terminations are added in the six declensions stated above.

Other cases are formed by adding terminations or postpositions to the oblique form.

The instrumental is generally the same as the organic locative, as *hatthẽ*, 'by the hand' *zorĩ*, 'by force'. Sometimes it is formed by postpositions, such as *nāḷ*, 'with', as in *chhillṛā-nāḷ*, 'with the husks'.

The dative is formed by suffixing the termination -*nũ*, 'to the oblique form. Thus, *ghōṛēnũ*, 'to the horse'.

The ablative has two forms. One is by origin organic like the locative, and ends in -*õ* or -*hõ* ; thus, *shaharõ*, 'from the village' It is appended to the oblique form of the noun and also very frequently to other postpositions. Thus. *vich*, 'in', *vichõ*, 'from inside'. Another form of the ablative is got by suffixing the

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postpositions *tũ*, *tõ*, *tō*, *thū*, *thõ*, *thāõ* or *lā* to the oblique form, as *ghōṛē-thũ*, 'from the horse'. The genitive termination is *-dā*, which, as in Pañjābī, is an adjective. Thus, *jaṇēdā ghōṛā*, 'the man's horse' ; *jaṇēdē ghōṛē-dā*, 'of the man's horse'. The locative is also formed by suffixing *-ich* or *vich* to the oblique form, as in *ghōṛēich* or *ghōṛēvich*, 'in the horse'. The accusative, when not definite is the same as the nominative and when definite it is the same as the dative. [LSI pp. 250-251]

Adjectives. An adjective agrees with the noun it qualifies in gender, number, and case. Thus, *chaṅgā ghōṛā*, 'a good horse' ; *chaṅgē ghōṛē dā*, 'of a good horse'. The formation of gender, and the declension of adjectives are the same as those of nouns substantive.

Comparison is generally made by putting the postpositions *nāḷõ* or *thõ* after the noun with which comparison is made, as in *e us-nāḷõ chaṅgā hē*, 'this is better than that' ; *e habbnã-thõ chaṅga hē*, 'this is better than all, this is the best'.

Numerals. Many of the numerals differ widely from the forms current in Pañjābī, and closely resemble those used in Sindhī.

Certain numerals have an oblique form, which they take before a noun in an oblique case, and have also an intensive form which they assume when standing by themselves without a noun. Thus, the ordinary oblique form of *dōẽ*, 'two', is *doã* and intensive, nominative *dohẽ*, oblique *dōhã*, 'both'. [LSI p. 259]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the personal pronouns are,—*mã*, 'I' ; *tũ*, 'thou' ; *assĩ*, *hassĩ*, 'we' ; *tussĩ*, 'you'. *E*, *eh* (proximate), 'he' ; *o*, *oh* (remote), 'he'. The personal pronouns of the third person are also used as demonstrative pronouns.

The relative pronoun 'who', is *jehrā*. The interrogative pronoun 'who ?' is *kâṇ*, and the indefinite pronoun 'anyone, someone' is *kōī*.

Pronominal Suffixes. Lahndā shares with Kāshmīrī and Sindhī, the use of the pronominal suffixes. In Kāshmīrī they are only attached to verbs, while in Lahndā and Sindhī they are attached

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to both nouns and verbs These are employed in exactly the same way as in Persian and Hebrew, and can be used for any case. In Lahndā these suffixes may be divided into two classes—those referring to the nominative case only, and those referring to any case including the nominative.

A. *Suffixes of the nominative*

	Singular	Plural
1.	*s*	*-s*
2.	*-ẽ*	—
3.	—	—

B. *Suffixes of any case*

	Singular	Plural
1.	*-m*	*sē, ahsē*
2.	*ī, ĩī, -ō, -õ*	*-nē, nihē, innhē*
3.	*-s*	*-nē*

These suffixes, although they may sometimes be translated as genitives, are really datives of possession. Thus, *kufrī gharam*, 'Kufri is my home', is, literally, 'Kufri is a home to me'. Another point is also worth noting, that in every instance, a verb substantive has to be supplied. Really, when these suffixes are attached to nouns, they often include the verb substantive. Thus, we have not only *gharam*, 'house-to-me', but also *gharhim*, in which *him* is the third person singular of the verb substantive with the suffix of the first person, *hē*, 'there is', *-m*, 'to me', and *hē*+*m* becomes *him*. [LSI pp. 259-262]

Verbs: Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present tense of the verbs substantive has three forms, a full form, a contracted form, and an emphatic form. Thus :

Present, 'I am', etc.

	Sing.			Plur.	
Full form	Contracted form	Emphatic form	Full form	contracted form	Emphatic form
1. *hă*	*ã*	*ahă*	*hă, haĩ*	*ãh*	*āhă*
2. *hẽ*	*ẽ*	*ihẽ*	*hō*	*ō*	*ehō*
3. *hē*	*ē* (*vē*)	*ihē*	*hin*	*in*	*ehin*

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The first person singular in *ã* is often contracted with a word ending in *a* to *ã*. Thus, *karēndā -hã* or *karēndã*, 'I am doing'. Similarly *in* of the third person plural is often contracted with a previous word ending in a vowel into *-ān*, *-ēn*, or *-in*. Thus, *tērīã*, *kitnīã ghoṛīān* (for *ghōṛīã in*) 'how many mares have you ?'

The past tense is conjugated as follows :

'I was,' etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*āhus*, *āhis*	*āhsse*
2.	*ahẽ*	*āhē*
3.	*āhā*, (fem.) *ahī*	*ahin*, (fem.) *ahiã* ~ *āhin*

There is also a negative verb substantive. It is thus conjugated :

Present, 'I am not', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*nīmhũ* ~ *nussũ*	*nissē*
2.	*nīhũ* ~ *nũh*	*nīhē*
3.	*nissū* ~ *nẵĩh*	*ninee* ~ *ninnhe*

The past tense negative is formed by prefixing *n* to the affirmative form. Thus, *nāhus*, 'I was not' ; *nāhā*, 'he was not', and so on.

Active verb. The active verb has three voices, the active, the passive and the causal.

Active Voice : Present participle. If the verb is an intransitive one, and the root ends in a consonant, the present participle is formed by adding *-dā* to the root. Thus, *mar*, 'die', present participle *mardā*. Intransitive verbs with roots ending in a vowel or *h* add *-ndā* to the root. Thus, *marī* 'be beaten', present participle, *marindā*. Most transitive verbs form the present participle by adding *-ēndā* to the root, with a weakening of the radical vowel if possible. Thus, *kar*, 'do', present participle, *Karēndā*.

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Past Participle. This is usually formed by adding *-eā* to the root. Thus, *māreā*, 'struck'. Some intransitive verbs add only *-ā*. Thus *chhuṭṭ*, 'escape' *buḍ* 'sink', past participle *buḍā*.

Infinitive. The infinitive is formed by adding *-un* to the root, or if the root ends in a vowel by adding *-wuṇ*. Thus, *mār-uṇ*, 'to strike' ; *dē-wuṇ*, 'to give'.

Verbal noun. This is formed by adding *ṇā* to the root. Thus, *vañ*, 'go', verbal noun *vañṇā*. If the root end in *-r* or *-l* the termination is *-ṇā*, and if it ends in any vowel except *ō*, the termination is *-uṇā*. Thus, *mārna*, 'the act of striking' ; *khā uṇā*, 'the act of eating'.

Radical tenses. Four tenses are formed from the root, the old present or present subjunctive, the imperative, the future, and the past conditional.

The old present has the force of the present indicative in proverbs and in poetry. Otherwise it has the force of a present subjunctive. It is thus conjugated :

Root *mār*, 'I strike, I may strike (if) I strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārā̃*	*marā̃h, mārā̃hā̃*
2.	*mārẽ*	*mārō*
3.	*mārē*	*mārēn*

If the root ends in a vowel, *w* is inserted ; thus, from the root *dē*, 'give', we have *dēwā̃*.

The imperative in the second person singular is the same as the root. Thus, *mār*, 'strike thou'. The second person plural is formed by adding *-ō* or *-hō* to the root. Thus, *mārō*, 'strike'. Respectful imperative is formed by adding to the root *-ī̃* for the singular and *-eāhē* for the plural. Thus, the respectful imperative sing., and plur. of the root *uṭṭh* are *uṭṭhī̃* and *uṭṭeāhē*, respectively.

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The characteristic sound of the future is *s*. The tense is thus conjugated :

Future, 'I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*marēsā̃*	*marsahā̃, mārsā̃h*
2.	*marēsẽ*	*merēsō*
3.	*marēsī*	*marēsin*

In transitive verbs, the root vowel is shortened (as above) before the *ē* of the second syllable. Intransitive verbs omit the *ē* in this tense, so that we have forms like *marsā̃*, 'I shall die'.

The past conditional is formed by adding *-hā* to the old present. Thus, *mārā̃ hā*, 'I should have struck', '(if) I had struck'.

The following are the principal participle tenses, including the second form of past conditional. Tenses of transitive verb formed from the past participle are, as usual, construed passively with the subject in the agentive case. Two examples for each of these tenses, are formed from *māreā*, the past tense of the transitive verb *mār*, 'strike', and the other formed from *gēā*, the past tense of the verb *vañ* 'go', are being given.

Past conditional — *marēndā*, '(he) would have struck, (if he) had struck'.

Present definite — *marēndā-hā̃* (*ā̃*), 'I am striking'.

Imperfect — *marēndā āhus*, 'I was striking'.

Past — *ō gēā*, 'he went'
us māreā, 'by him (he) was struck, he struck him'.

Perfect — *ō gēā-hē* (or *-ē*), 'he has gone'
us māreā-hē (or *ē*), 'by him (he) has been struck, he has struck him'.

Pluperfect — *ō gēā āhus*, 'he had gone'
us māreā-āhā, 'by him (he) had been struck, he had struck him'.

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Passive voice. A verbal root is made passive by adding *-ī* and shortening the vowel of the root. Thus, *mār*, 'strike', *marī*, 'be struck'. If the root ends in *-ā*, the *ā* is changed to *ī*. Thus, *parnā*, 'marry' *parnī*, 'be married'. Having got the passive root the verb is conjugated like an active verb. Thus, *marīsā̃*, 'I shall be struck'. Or the passive root may remain unchanged, and be prefixed to the various tenses of the verb *vañ*, 'go'. Thus, *marī vasā̃*, 'I shall be struck'.

Causal voice. The causal of a transitive verb has a causal meaning. Thus, *mār*, 'strike', *marā*, 'cause to strike'. The causal of an intransitive verb may have a causal meaning, as *bhajj*, 'run', *bhajā*, 'cause to run' ; or it may have a transitive meaning as *cha*, 'rise', *chā*, 'raise'. A root becomes causal (or transitive) by adding *-ā* (or, after a vowel, *wā*), and weakening the radical vowel if possible. If the root ends in a double consonant, the double consonant becomes a single one. A transitive verb, thus formed, may itself form a causal. Causal roots are conjugated exactly like active ones.

Pronominal suffixes. These are very frequently used with tenses, especially those formed from participles. A few examples may be noted. First person singular, nominative case *-ānḍus*, 'I would have come'. Agent case, *jutam jōṛā*, 'I yoked the pair'. Dative case *-je khār kundium, tā̃ ānḍus*, 'if there had been health to me (if I had been well), I should have come'. Third person plural, nominative case *-mā māreānē*,' I beat them'. Agentive case *-mänī̃ māreanē*, 'they beat me'. Sometimes a double pronominal suffix is used as in *rupăĭa dittēmus*, 'I gave a rupee to him'. Cf. the Kāshmīrī *dyut"mas*, 'I gave to him'.

[LSI pp. 262-271]

The Lahndā of Jhang-cum-Lyallpur

413 Immediately to the south-east of Shahpur lies the district of Jhang, to the east of which lies the district of Lyallpur. Except in a few minor points their dialects are the same as that of Shahpur.

The following are the main points in which the dialect of these two districts differs from that of Shahpur :

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In pronunciation, the verb 'go' seems to be universally pronounced *vanj*, and not *vañ* or *vany*, as we usually hear in Shahpur. The cerebral *ḷ* does not occur.

In verb substantive we have *āī* or *haī*, not *āha*, 'he was'; and *hain*, not *āhin*, 'they were'.

In the active verb, the first person singular of the present subjunctive of verbs whose roots end in *-ā* ends in *-ĩ*. Thus, *khiwāĩ*, 'I may give to eat'; *piwāĩ*, 'I may give to drink'. Other verbs take the form in *-ă*, as in Shahpur. Thus, *wanjă*, 'I may go'.

The past participle usually ends in *-iā* or *-iyā* not *-eā*. Thus, *ākhiyā*, 'said'.

The imperative is used in the first person in words such as *bahwiyē*, 'let us sit', *khāwiyē*, 'let us eat'. [LSI pp. 280-281]

MULTĀNĪ OF MULTAN

414 The language of the Multan district may be taken as the standard form of the Multānī dialect of Lahndā.

The following are the principal points in which the Multānī of the Multan district and the neighbouring district of Muzaffargarh differs from the Lahndā of Shahpur.

Nouns : Gender. As in Shahpur, a few masculine adjectives are rendered emphatic by the addition of *ō*. In Multānī this *ō* becomes *ā* in the feminine. Thus, *sabbhō*, 'all', fem. *sabbhā*, *īhō*, 'this very' fem. *īha*.

Declension. Towards the west especially in Muzaffargarh, nouns of the second declension, which in Shahpur have nominatives ending in a consonant preceded by a vowel *u* (which becomes *ą* in the oblique form), have *a*, not *u*, also in the nominative singular. Thus, *kukkaṛ* (not *kukkuṛ*), 'a cock'. It follows that in these cases the oblique singular and the nominative plural are the same as the nominative singular. Thus, *kukkaṛ-kũ*, 'to a cock'.

Some nouns, which in Shahpur Lahndā belong to the fourth declension, belong to the fifth in Multānī. Thus, in Shahpur

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bhāṇ, 'a sister' plural, *bhāṇā̃*, Multānī, *bhēṇ*, 'a sister' plural *bhēṇī̃*. In Muzaffargarh, however, the oblique plural of the first four declensions ends in *-ẽ*, thus, *ghōṛẽ*, *kukkṛẽ*, *gharẽ*, *dhīẽ*. In the fifth and sixth declensions, it is unchanged.

The other organic cases, as in Shahpur, are the agent, the locative, the ablative and the vocative. The agent is always the same as the oblique form.

The inorganic cases are formed as follows :

The genitive termination is *-dā*, etc. as in Shahpur. So also, the inorganic locative is formed by adding *-vich* or *-ich* and the inorganic ablative by adding *-thũ*. The dative postposition, however, is *-kū* or *-kũ*, not the termination *-nũ*. Thus, *ghōṛe-kũ*, 'to the horse'. [LSI pp. 301-302]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the personal pronouns are ; *-maĩ*, *mã̃*, 'I' ; *assã̃*, 'we' ; *tũ*, 'thou' ; *tussã̃*, 'you', *ē*, *ō*, 'he, she, it, they'. The pronouns of the third person are also used as demonstrative pronouns.

The pronominal suffixes agree, with one exception, with Shahpur Lahndā. In Shahpur, *-nē* or *-nihē* is employed for the 2nd and *-nē* for the third person plural. In Multānī, *-nē* is confined to the third person plural. Thus, we have :

Shahpur, *kisnũ māreā-nē*
Multānī, *kā-kũ māreā-hivvē* } 'whom did you beat ?'

The relative pronoun is *jō*, or *jerhā*, 'who' ; not *jehṛā*, as in Shahpur.

The interrogative pronouns are, *kaun*, 'who ?', *keā* or *chā*, 'what ?'.

The animate indefinite pronoun is *kōi*, 'anyone, someone'. [LSI pp. 303-304]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present tense of the verb substantive closely agrees with that of Shahpur,

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except that there does not appear to be any emphatic form. The past tense differs from that of Shahpur, viz :—

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ham, hāum, hāim, hāus*	*hāsē*
2.	*hãvẽ̃, haẽ̃*	*hāvē*
3.	*hā*, fem. *hāī*	*hāin, āhin*

Except in the 3rd person singular, the feminine is the same as the masculine. In Bhawalpur and Muzaffargarh *han* or *hin* means 'they were', as well as 'they are'.

The negative verb substantive also differs from that of Shahpur. It runs as follows :

Present, 'I am not', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*nīmhī*	*nīhsē, nissé*
2.	*nīhvī, nēhī*	*nēhē, nīhvē*
3.	*nīhsī, nãĭh, nahĩ*	*nīnnhẽ̃, nēhn*

Past, 'I was not', etc.

1.	*nāhim, nāhis*	*nāhssē*
2.	*nāhẽ̃*	*nāhvē*
3.	*nāhā*	*nāhin*

To signify 'become', two roots viz. *hō* and *thī* are used. Thus, *hōṇā* and *thiuṇā* mean 'existence', and *hōwaṇ, thīwaṇ* mean 'to be'.

The active verb. The conjugation of active verb is almost the same as in Shahpur.

The present participle is formed as in Shahpur.

In the east of Multan the infinitive is formed, as in Shahpur, by adding *-uṇ* to the root, and is then declined as a noun of the second declension, with an oblique form singular in *-aṇ*. In the west, however, especially in Muzaffargarh, the nominative ends in *-aṇ*, not *-uṇ*.

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Radical tenses. The old present differs slightly from that current in Shahpur. It is conjugated as follows :

I strike, I may strike, etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārð̃*	*mārũ̃*
2.	*mārẽ̃*	*mārõ*
3.	*mārē*	*mārin*

The imperative is formed as in Shahpur. The respectful imperative is formed by adding *-ĩ̃* for the singular as in Shahpur. In the plural the termination is *-āhē* or *-eāhē*, with the root vowel shortened. If the root ends in a vowel, *w* is inserted, and the singular may take *ẽ̃* instead of *ĩ̃*. Thus, of the root *a* 'come', the respectful imperative singular is *awĩ̃*, *awẽ̃*, and plural is *awāhē* or *aweāhē*.

The future, like the old present, differs slightly from the Shahpur forms. Thus,

I shall strike, etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*marēsð̃*	*marēsũ̃*
2.	*marēsẽ̃*	*marēsõ*
3.	*marēsī*	*marēsin*

The past conditional is formed as in Shahpur, by adding *hā* to the old present or by using the present participle.

The participle tenses are the same as in Shahpur.

In the present definite and perfect, the auxiliary verb is often compounded into one word (with certain contractions) with the participle. Thus, *marēnnað̃* or *marēnnð̃*, 'I am striking' ; *aeð̃* for *aea-hð̃*, 'I have come'.

Passive voice. A verbal root is made passive, as in Shahpur, by adding *-ī*, and shortening the root vowel. Thus, *mār*, 'strike' ;

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marī, 'be struck'. But in Multānī a *j* is often added after the ī. Thus, *marīj-ā̃*, 'I may be beaten'.

The past participle of a passive verb is formed by adding -*gēā*, 'gone', or -*pēā*, 'fallen', to the conjunctive participle. Thus, *marīj-gēā*, ~ *marīj-pēā*, 'been struck'.

Another form of the passive voice is obtained by adding the verb *vañ* 'go', or *pä*, 'be', to the passive root. Thus, *marī väsā̃*, or *marī päsā̃*, 'I shall be beaten'.

Causal verb. The regular causals are formed as in Shahpur.

The pronominal suffixes are used with verbs as in Shahpur.

[LSI pp. 304-310]

MULTĀNĪ OF MUZAFFARGARH

415 The Multānī of Muzaffargarh closely resembles that of Multan. The following are the points of difference between the dialects of these districts :

There is a great tendency to cerebralise an *r*. Thus, we find *bāhiṛ*, 'out' ; *paṛbhāt*, 'morning' ; *khabaṛ*, 'news'.

The nouns which belong to the second declension in Multānī, are members of the third declension in the dialect of this district, as their nominative singular ending in a consonant is preceded by *a* instead of *u*. Thus, *kukkaṛ* (not *kukkuṛ*) 'a cock' ; *vāhar* (not *vâhar*) 'a young bull'.

In verbs the oblique infinitive ends in -*aṇ* as in Multan, but its nominative also ends in -*aṇ*, not in -*uṇ*, as in that district.

In the verb substantive besides the Multānī forms, we have *nahī̃*, 'I am not', *hāī*, 'he was' ; *hāē* and *han*, 'they were'.

[LSI pp. 323-324]

HINDKĪ OF DERA GHAZI KHAN

416 The main language of Dera Ghazi Khan is, as in Muffargarh, Lahndā, but most of the Baloches speak Balōchī. The Lahndā of

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Dera Ghazi Khan goes by several names, such as Hindī, Hindkī, Jaṭkī, and Ḍērāwāl. The Hindkī of Dera Ghazi Khan, on the whole, belongs to the same group of dialects as Muzaffargarh Multānī, but it shows much greater affinities with Sindhī.

[LSI pp. 333-334]

Pronunciation. The vowels *ă*, *â* and *ăĭ*, which occur in Multānī, do not seem to occur in the dialect of this district. Where Multānī has *ă*, Hindkī generally has *a* ; where Multānī has *â*, Hindkī has *ā* or *a* ; and where it has *ăĭ*, Hindkī has *ē*. Thus, Multānī *vāhir*, 'a heifer' ; Hindkī, *vahiṛ*, Multānī, *băĭṭha*, 'seated' ; Hindkī, *bēṭhā*.

Most of the consonants are pronounced as in Hindustānī. Double consonants *bb*, *jj*, and *gg* also occur in the dialect. These are pronounced with a certain stress in prolonging and somewhat lengthening the contact of the respective closed organs, as if one tried to double (but not to repeat) the sound. These sounds are very common at the beginning of a word. *N* is pronounced as in Paṣḥtō i.e. almost like a nasalised *ṛ*. The cerebral *ḷ* which is common in other Lahndā dialects, does not occur. It is also wanting in Sindhī. This form of Lahndā, like Sindhī, is not fond of double consonants (except the four mentioned above) where other dialects have doubled consonants it usually has the single ones and without lengthening the preceding vowel in compensation. Thus, while Multānī has *Suttā*, 'slept', Hindkī has *sutā*. [LSI pp. 334-336]

Nouns : Gender. Gender is formed much as in Multānī.

Declension. This is nearly the same as in Multānī. Nearly all nouns which in Multānī end in *-u* followed by a consonant, and which belong to the second declension, in Hindkī change *u* to *a*, as in Muzaffargarh, and belong to the third declension.

Case. The oblique froms are derived by adding different terminations to the nominative form in all the five declensions. These forms are the same as those in use in Muzzafargarh.

The agentive case is always the same as the oblique form. The locative case is formed for a few nouns as in Multānī. Thus, *vēlō*, 'time' ; *vēlē*, 'at a time'. In nouns of the 3rd declension, the

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locative singular is the same as the nominative and the oblique form. Thus, *chãgã̃*, 'good', masc. obl. sing. *chãgẽ̃*, nom. and obl. plur. *chãgẽ̃*.

The comparison is effected as usual. [LSI p. 339]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of personal pronouns of 1st and 2nd persons are ; *maĩ*, 'I' ; *assã̃*, 'we' ; *tũ̃*, 'thou' ; *tussã̃* 'you'. The pronouns of third person are also used as demonstrative pronouns, as usual, which are, *ē* or *īh*, 'this', *ō* or *ūh* 'that'.

The relative pronoun is *jō* or *jerhā*. The interrogative pronouns are ; *kaũ̃*, *kõ̃* or *kērha*, 'who ?'. The indefinite pronouns are ; *kāī*, *kaī* ~ *kahĩ̃*, 'some, any' ; *kujh*, 'any thing'.

The pronouns are declined for case as usual.

Pronominal suffixes. The pronominal suffixes used in Hindkī are as under :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*-im*	*-sē*
2.	*-ē*	*-vē*
3.	*-is*, *-us*	*-ōnē*

Thus, *ē ggālh sundē hā-sē*, 'we are hearing these words'. [LSI pp. 341-342]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present tense has two forms, a full and a contracted. They closely follow Multānī, and are as follows :

I am, etc.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	full form	contracted form	full form	contracted form
1.	*hã̃*	*ã̃*	*haĩ*	*aĩ*
2.	*hĩ̃*	*ĩ̃*	*hō*	*ō*
3.	*hē*	*ē*	*hin*	*in*

The past tense is conjugated as follows :

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'I was', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hāim, ham, hāus, hāsū*	*hāsē, hasẽ*
2.	*hāwẽ*	*hāwē*
3.	*hā* (fem. *haī*)	*hāĩ, hon*

Active verb. The conjugation of regular verb is almost the same as in Multānī. We may note the following points :

In the formation of present participle the dissyllabic roots of which the vowel of the second syllable is *ō*, drop the *ō* in the same form of the present participle and insert *au* in the preceding syllable. Thus, *akhōṛ* 'take to pieces', present participle, *ukhṛẽ da.*

The past participles end in *-iā*, not *-eā* ; thus, *māriā*, not *māreā*, 'struck'.

The infinitive ends in *-aṇ*, as in Muzaffargarh, not in *-uṇ*, as in Multan. Thus, *māraṇ*, 'to strike'.

The regular passive is formed exactly as in Multānī. Thus, *marījaṇ*, 'to be struck'. The compound passive is formed nearly as in Multānī, the root of the active verb (not of the passive verb as in Multānī) being conjugated with the verb *vañaṇ*, 'to go'. Thus, *mār-vēsī*, 'he will be struck', corresponding to Multānī *mārī vasī.* [LSI pp. 342-348]

KHĒTRĀNĪ OR KHĒTRĀNKĪ AND JĀFIRĪ

417 This dialect is spoken by Khetrans, a tribe inhabiting Baluchistan to the east of Dera Ghazi Khan. The dialect is a form of Western Lahndā, akin to the Hindkī of Dera Ghazi Khan, but without the Sindhī double-consonants employed in that district. It uses a few Balōchī words, but there are hardly any traces of Pashtō. It is also worthy of notice that it shows several traces of connexion with the Dardic languages of Kāfiristān, Chitral, the Indus Kohistan, Gilgit, and Kashmir. Such are the tendency to drop the aspiration of a sonant aspirate consonant, as in *bātrīja* (not *bhā*), 'a nephew' ; the retention of *r* in a compound consonant, as in the *tr* in the same word, the

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tendency to aspirate a final surd consonant, as in *nakh*, 'nose', the substitution of cerebral for dental consonants, as in *siḍhā*, 'straight'. Compare also Khētrânī *baha*, 'brother', with Kōhistānī, *bhā* ; *thũ*, 'thou', with Shiṇā *thō*, 'they' ; the change of *ṭh* to *ch* to form a feminine (*uṭh*, fem. *uch*, 'a camel') ; and the system of counting by twenties and not by tens. [LSI p. 372]

THE THAḶ DIALECTS, DERĀWĀL, AND HINDKŌ

418 Thaḷī is spoken in the parts of districts of Mianwali, Jhelum, Shahpur, Jhang and Muzaffargarh. It is also spoken across the Indus in Dera Ismail Khan and Bannu. It is practically a uniform dialect, and closely agrees with Multānī.

A brief general sketch of the points in which Thaḷī differs from the standard Lahndā of Shahpur Dōāb, and also showing when in these cases it agrees with Multānī is being given.

As in Multānī, Thaḷī shows a strong preference for the cerebral *ḍ*. Thus, Shahpur, *dāda*, 'a grand father', Thaḷī, *ḍaḍa* ; Shahpur, *de*, 'give' ; Thaḷī, *ḍe*.

The vocabulary often differs, and when it does, generally agrees with Multānī.

The declension of nouns is as in Shahpur Dōābī and Multānī. We may note that, *bēa*, 'other', makes its feminine *bă̆ĭī*, and its masculine plural *bäē* or *bēē*. *Zāl*, 'a woman', has its plural *zālī*. In the ablative, the termination *ñ* is preferred to *õ*. Thus, *kōlũ*, 'away from' not *kōlõ*, as in Shahpur. For the dative, we have the Multānī postposition *kñ* as well as the Shahpur Dōābī *nñ*.

Pronouns follow Multānī when they differ from Shahpur Dōābī. Thus, Shahpur Dōābī, *tussĩ*, Thaḷī, *tussă*, Multānī, *tussă*, 'you'. Shahpur Dōābī, *isda*, Thaḷī, *ĩndā* ; Multānī, *indā*, 'of this'.

In the conjugation of verbs, the present participle often ends in *-andā* or *-ĩndā*, where, in Shahpur, and Multānī it ends in *-ēndā* or *-dā*, thus, *karĩndā*, *vichĩnda*.

In the Shahpur Dōāb, the organic passive forms its past parti-

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ciple by adding *-gēā*. Thus, *marī-gēā*, 'been struck'. In Multānī a *-j-* is inserted, as in *marīj-gēā*. In Thaḷī *-j-* or *-ch-* is sometimes inserted, as *patīj-gēā*, 'been torn up'; *marīch-gēā*, 'been struck'.

In Thaḷī the verb substantive closely follows Shahpur Dōābī. Only the following few forms differ :

		Shahpur Dōābī	Thaḷī
Present Plur.	1.	*hã*	*hãẽ*, *hāĩ*, 'we are'
	3.	*hin*	*hinu*, 'they are'
Past Sing.	1.	*āhus*	*āhis*, *āhim*, 'I was'
	1.	*āhsse*	*āsse*, 'we were'.

The negative verb substantive is quite independent. Thus, (present) :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*nãh*, *nahã*	*nisē*, *nahẽ*
2,	*nihã*. *neīh*	*nihē*, *nīhyē*, *nīhē*
3.	*nahẽ*, *nahẽ*, *nahnẽ*	*nahĩ*, *nīh*

The past agrees with Shahpur Dōābī except that the first person singular is *nāhis* (not *nāhus*), and the first person plural is *nāssē* (not *nāhssē*).

In conjugating the active verb, the personal terminations are the same as in Shahpur Dōābī except in the first person plural. This is *āhã* or *āhẽ* (not *ãh*) in the present subjunctive, and *sahẽ*, (not *sãh* or *sāhã*) in the future.

The above remarks will show that Thaḷī is a border dialect between Multānī and Shahpur Dōābī, but agrees more closely with the former than the latter. [LSI pp. 381-386]

JAṬKĪ AND ḌERĀWĀL OF DERA ISMAIL KHAN

419 The Lahndā of Dera Ismail Khan is called indifferently Hindkī and Jaṭkī. As spoken in the town of Dera Ismail Khan and its suburbs it is called Dērāwāl, but except that it is considered more polished than the other, this is the same dialect.

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This dialect is the same as the Thaḷī of Shahpur. There are slight variations of pronunciation. Soft aspirates, such as *bh* and *jh*, show a tendency to lose their aspiration. Thus, we have *bukkh*, not *bhukkh*, 'hunger'. The Shahpur termination *-ea* is here written *-iā* or *-iyā*, as in *ākhiā*, 'said' ; *giyā*, 'gone'.

In the declension of nouns, there are two new postpositions of the dative. One is *dō*, 'to', as in *piū-dō laggā vañā̃*, 'I will go to my father'. Here *dō* represents an old locative of which the nominative appears in the Pañjābī *dā*, 'of'. The other dative postposition is *kitē*, 'for', as in *charāwaṇ kītē*, 'for grazing'.

In the declension of pronouns, the oblique singular of *e*, 'this', is *ĩ*, and of *o*, 'that' *ũ*, as in Multānī.

In the verb substantive, *hāī* is 'he was', not *āhā*, and, as in Multānī, *hāin*, 'they were'. For 'becomes' both *hō* and *thī* are used. *Thaī* is 'she became'. *Nā̃* is 'I am not'.

The first person plural of the present subjunctive ends in *ũ*, as in *khaũ*, 'we may eat' ; *karˇ*, 'we may make'. [LSI p. 398]

HINDKŌ OR MULKĪ OF MIANWALI AND BANNU

420 The language of Mianwali and Bannu is practically the same as the Thaḷī of Shahpur.

There is the usual tendency to pronounce *d* as *ḍ*. Thus, the Shahpur standard, *sadduṇ*, 'to call', becomes *suḍḍeṇ*.

The oblique plural of masculine nouns in *-ā*, ends in *-ā̃*, not *-eā̃*. Thus, *varhā̃*, obl. plur. of *varhā*, 'a year'.

In the pronouns, note *assā̃*, not *assĩ*, 'we', and *tā̃*, not *tũ*, 'by thee'. The relative pronoun is *jēṛā*, or in the north *jērā*, instead of *jehṛā*.

As for verbs, note *han* (as in Multānī) instead of *hin*, 'they are' ; and *āhī*, 'he was', instead of *āhā*.

The first person singular, especially in the south, ends in *-ĩ*, instead of *-ā̃*, as in *ḍassĩ*, 'I may divulge', but we have also *vāsā̃*, 'I will go', and *ākh sā̃*, instead of *akhēsā̃*, 'I will say'. For the passive we have in the north *saḍāwā̃*, and in the south *saḍaĩ*, 'I may be called'. Note too that the passive in this case is formed by adding *-ā*, not *-ī*. The standard of Shahpur would be *saḍīwā̃*. [LSI p. 404]

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English	*Lahndā* (Shahpur Dōāb)	*Multānī* of Multan	*Hindkī* of Dera Ghazi Khan	*Thaḷī* of Shahpur
One	hikk, hekk	hikk, hekk	hik	hikk
two	dōẽ	ḍũ	ḍḍũ	ḍũ
three	trä, trāẽ	trāe	trāē	traē
four	chār	chār	chār	chār
hand	hatth	hatth	hath	hatth
foot	pär	pēr, pär	pēr	pär
head	sir	sir	wāl	vāl
a father	peō	piū	piū	peō
of a father	piūdā	piūdā	piūdā	piūdā
to a father	piūnũ ~ piū-dhir	piū-kũ	piū-kũ	piūnũ
two fathers	dōẽ peō	ḍũ piū	ḍḍũ piū	dũ peō
I am	mãẽ hã	mãẽ hã, ã	maĩ hã	mã hã, ã, āhã
thou art	tũ hẽ	tũ hẽ, ẽ	tũ hĩ	tũ, hẽ, ẽ, ihẽ
he is	oh hē	ōhē, ē	ō hẽ	oh, hē, ē, ihē

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English	*Lahndā* (Shahpur Dōāb)	*Multānī* of Multan	*Hindkī* of Dera Ghazi Khan	*Thaḷī* of Shahpur
we are	assī̃ hã̄	assã̄ haĩ, aĩ	assã̄ haĩ	assã̄ hãẽ, haĩ
you are	tussī̃ hō	tussã̄ hō, ō	tussã̄ hō	tussã̄ hō, ō, ē hō
they are	oh hīn	ō hin, han, in	ō hin	oh hinn, inn, ēhinn
I was	mã̄ āhus	mã̄ ham, hāum, hāim, hāns	maĩ ham	mã̄ āhis, āhim
thou wast	tū̃ āhẽ	tū hãvẽ, haẽ	tū̃ hāwẽ	tū̃ āhẽ
he was	oh āhā	ō hā (*fem.* hāī)	ō hā	oh āhā, (*fem.* āhī)
we were	assī̃ āhssē	assã̄ hāsē	assã̄ hāsē	assã̄ āssē
you were	tussī̃ āhe	tussã̄ hāvē	tussã̄ hāwē	tussã̄ āhē
they were	oh āhin	ō hāin, āhin	ō han	ōh āhin, (*fem.* āhiã̄, āhin)
I shall be	mã̄ hōsã̄	mã̄ thīwã̄	maĩ thīsã̄, hāsã̄	mã̄ thīsã̄
I beat	mã̄ marēndā-hã̄	mã̄ marēnnã̄	maĩ marẽdã̄	mã̄ marīndā hã̄, marīnã̄
thou beatest	tū̃ marēndā-hẽ	tū̃ marēnnē	tū̃ marẽdī̃	tū̃ marīndā hẽ, marīnẽ
he beats	oh marēndā-hē	ō marēnnē	ō marẽdē	oh marīndā hē
we beat	assī̃ marēndē-hã̄	assã̄ marēnneã̄	assã̄ marẽdū̃	assã̄ marīndē hãẽ
you beat	tussī̃ marēndē-hō	tussã̄ marēnneō	tussã̄ marẽdē-hō	tū̃ssā marīndē hō

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they beat	oh marēndē-hin	ō marēnnen	ō marēdin	oh marindē hinn
I beat (past)	mã̃ māreā	mã̃ mareā	maĩ māriā	mã̃ marĕā
thou beatest (past)	tũ māreā	tã̃ māreā	taŭ māriā	tũ mārĕā
he beat (past)	us māreā	ũ māreā	u māriā	us mārĕā
we beat (past)	assã̃ māreā	assã̃ māreā	assã̃ māriā	assĩ̃ mārĕā
you beat (past)	tussã̃ māreā	tussã̃ māreā	tussã̃ māriā	tussĩ̃ mārĕā
they beat (past)	unhã̃ māreā	unhã̃ māreā	unhẽ̃ māriā	unhã̃ mārĕā
I shall beat	mã̃ marēsã̃	mã̃ marēsã̃	maĩ marēsã̃	mã̃ marēsã̃

[LSI pp. 412-429]

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NORTH-EASTERN LAHNDĀ

422 As already stated the northern dialects fall into two groups, a North-Western and a North-Eastern. The two are closely connected. We here briefly describe the main points of difference between them and between both and the dialect of the south. Between the south and the north there are considerable variations of vocabulary. Some of the most important words are quite different. Thus we generally find *jul* instead of *chal*, 'move'; *ghinn*, for *lĕ*, 'take'; *hag* for *sak*, 'be able'. Most noteworthy are the changes of the verbs signifying 'to go' and 'to come'. For the former southern Lahndā has *vañj* or *vañ*. In the north we find *gachh*, but sometimes *jā*. Similarly, the southern word for 'come' is *ā*, but in the north-east it is *achh*. In the south, the oblique form singular of masculine nouns ending in a consonant, is the same as the nominative. Thus, *ghar-dā*, 'of a house'. But in the north, such words add *-ē* in the oblique case singular. Thus (North-East) *gharē-nā*, (North-West) *gharē-dā*, 'of a house'. In the south the termination of the dative is *-nh̃*, but in the north it is almost always *-ã* or some connected form. The termination of the genitive in the south and the north-west is *-dā*, while the north-east always has *-nā*. The same is the case with present participle. In the south and north-west it ends in *-dā*, while in the north-east it ends in *-nā*.

Dialects. First there is the dialect of western Salt Range itself, and closely connected with it are the Awānkārī of Southern Attock, and the Ghēbī of Central Attock. Across the Indus in Kohat, a form of Awānkārī is also spoken by Hindus and Awāṇs scattered all over the district. The next dialect is Pōṭhwārī, spoken in East Jhelum and over the plains portion of Rawalpindi. The other dialects are Pahāṛī, Pōṭhwārī, Dhuṇḍī, Chibhālī and Punchhī. [LSI pp. 431-432]

LAHNDĀ OF THE SALT RANGE

423 Owing to the fact that the north-eastern dialect is continued to the west, leaping over the wedge of the north-western dialect,

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into the Shahpur Salt Range, it is most probable that the Range was once entirely occupied by speakers of the north-eastern type, who became split into two sections by later immigrants who now speak the north-western dialect.

It will be most convenient to consider first of all the western extension of the dialect into Shahpur, Attock and Kohat, so as to leave the way clear for the consideration of the true north-eastern dialect of the Pōṭhwār tract and Kashmir.

[LSI pp. 433-434]

The following are the points in which the dialect of the Western Salt Range differs from the standard of the Shahpur Dōāb.

Pronunciation. In Pronunciation the consonants *r* and *l* are occasionally interchanged, as in the word *lahūṛā* or *rahūṛā*, 'the name of a certain tree'. There is a strong tendency to change the standard *ṇ* to *r*, as in *kor* for *kâṇ*, 'who ?'. The dialect is fond of nasal sounds, and long vowels especially at the end of a word, are nasalised almost *ad libitum*. Thus, we have, *mārea* or *mārẽ*, 'struck' ; *tusī* or *tusī̃*, 'you'. [LSI p. 436]

Nouns : Gender. The feminine gender is formed from the masculine as in the standard.

Declension. There is an important difference in the formation of the oblique case of nouns. Masculine nouns ending in a consonant often add *-e* to form the oblique case singular. Thus, *ghar*, 'a house', obl. case sing., *ghare*. The final-*e* is often nasalised, as in *gharẽ*. The word *bhirā*, 'a brother', has its oblique singular *bhiāū*, and its oblique plural *bhirāwã*. Similarly, feminine nouns ending in a consonant often form the oblique case by adding-*i* or-*u*. Thus, *akkh*, 'the eye' ; obl. case sing. *akkhi* ; *gall*, 'a word', obl. case sing. *gallu*. The plural of all nouns, both nominative and oblique, is formed as in the standard.

The postpositions and case-terminations are the same as in the standard with the following exceptions :

The termination of the genitive is *-nā* or *-nã̄*, instead of-*dā* ; thus, *jaṇẽnẽ̃ ghoṛẽnã̄*, 'of the man's horse'. The postposition of the dative is-*hã̄* or-*ãh* instead of-*nã̄*. Thus, *ghoṛẽ-hã̄*, 'to the

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horse'. The postposition of the ablative is *thaõ̃* as in *ghare-thaõ̃*, 'from a house'. [LSI pp. 436-439]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of personal pronouns of first and second person are ; *maĩ̃*, *mã̃ä*, 'I' ; *tũ̃*, 'thou' ; *asī*, *asĩ̃*, 'we' ; *tusī*, *tusĩ̃*, 'you'. The demonstrative pronouns, also used as pronouns of the third person, which are, *ē*, 'he, she, it, this' ; *õ*. 'he, she, it, that'.

The word for 'who ?' is *kōr*, not *kâṇ*, as in the standard.

In other respects the pronouns in the Salt Range follow the standard. [LSI pp. 439-440]

Verbs. As in the standard, there are three forms of the present of the verb substantive, a full form, a contracted form, and an emphatic form. In other respects, however, it differs. Thus :

Present, 'I am', etc.

Singular

	Full Form	Contracted Form	Emphatic Form
1.	*ãh*	*ã̃*	*ehwã̃*
2.	*ẽ̃h*, *ẽ̃h*, *ã̃h*	*ẽ̃*	—
3.	*eh*, *äh*	*ē*	—

Plural

	Full Form	Contracted Form	Emphatic Form
1.	*ãh*	*ã̃*	—
2.	—	*õ*	*ahõ*
3.	—	*in*, *an*	*āhin*, *ähin*

Probably the missing forms also exist, but they have not been noted.

The past tense also differs from the standard. Thus :

Singular

	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*ã̃hus*, *áhs*, *hã̃us*	*ã̃hus*, *áhs*
2.	*ähũ̃*, *ahũ̃*, *hãũ̃*	*ähĩ̃*, *ahĩ̃*
3.	*ähā*, *ah*, *häa*	*ähi*, *ahī*

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Plural

	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*ähã̆, ahã̄, hã̆, âhsē*	*ähiã̆, āhiã̆, âhsē*
2.	*ähō, ahō, häō*	*ähiō, āhiō, hāō*
3.	*ähē, ahē, häē*	*āhiã̆, äh*

In the conjugation of the active verb, the present participle ends in *nā* or *nã̆*, instead of the standard *da*. Thus, *bachnā*, 'escaping' ; *ṭurnã̆*, 'going'. The other participles and the various verbal nouns are as in the standard.

The future is the same as in the standard, except that the third person plural ends in *san*, not in *sin*. Thus, *marēsan*, not *marēsin*, 'they will strike'.

In other respects the conjugation of verbs is the same as in the standard. [LSI pp. 440-441]

AWĀṆKĀRĪ OR AWĀṆKĪ

424 Awaṇkārī, the language of Awāṇs, is spoken in the district of Attock and also by Hindus in the district of Kohat, who are scattered all over the district, the main language of the being Paṣḥtō.

The language closely resembles that of the Salt Range.

Pronunciation. Nasalization is as frequent as in the Salt Range. Nearly every long vowel can optionally be nasalised.

There is a tendency to omit the aspiration of sonant aspirates. Thus, *bhī*, even becomes *bī*. [LSI p. 450]

Nouns : Declension. In the declension of nouns, those nouns which in the Dōāb end in *-ur*, like *puttur*, 'a son', and *chhōhur*, 'a boy', often drop the *u*, becoming, e.g., *puttr* and *chhōhr*. Similarly, the corresponding *i* of the feminine is also liable to be dropped, so that we have *chhōhr*, for *chhōhir*, 'a girl'.

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Masculine nouns optionally add *-e* to form the oblique form singular.

The postposition of the dative is usually *-ã̃*, instead of *-ãh* or *-hã̃*. Thus, *piū-ã̃*, 'to the father'. Another postposition of the dative is *-dāĩ̃*, 'to', in the sense of direction to.

[LSI pp. 450-451]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the first two personal pronouns are ; *mã̈*, 'I' ; *asĩ̃*, 'we' ; *tũ̈*, 'thou' ; *tusĩ̃*, 'you'. The demonstrative pronouns, *eh*, *ē*, or *hē*, 'this' ; *oh*, *ō*, *hō*, 'that', are also used for the third person. The interrogative pronoun is *kōr*, as in the Salt Range. [LSI p. 451]

Verbs. There are several forms of the verb substantive.

In the present and the past tenses in masculine it is conjugated as under :

Present

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ãh. ã*	*ãh, ã, äyã*
2.	*ãh̃*	*hō, ō, äyō*
3.	*äh, äyē, ē, wē*	*ähn, äyan*

Past

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ähõ̃*	*ähõ̃*
2.	*ähõ*	*ähō*
3.	*ähā*	*äh, ähē*

The conjugation of active verb presents few peculiarities. We may note the present participle *khänã*, 'eating'. The future of *ākhuṇ*, 'to say', is *akhsã*, not *akhēsã*, 'I will say'. Similarly, we have *akhsẽ̃*, 'thou wilt say'. The present tense of *karuṇ*, 'to do', is *karēnã*, 'I am doing', and also *karnẽ̃n*, 'they are doing'.

[LSI pp. 451-452]

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HINDKŌ OF KOHAT

425 The main language of the district of Kohat is Paṣhtō. There are, however, scattered over the district numerous immigrants from Jhelum, Attock, and Rawalpindi districts who speak mixture of various Lahndā dialects, amongst which the Awāṇkārī of the Salt Range predominates. [LSI p. 458]

The following is the account of those particulars in which the Hindkō of Kohat differs from the standard Lahndā of Shahpur.

The vocabulary is full of Paṣhtō words.

Nouns. The declension of nouns closely follows Awāṇkārī.

The usual postpositions and case-terminations are *-nẵ*, etc., 'of'; *-ẵ*, *-kō* and *-doĩ*, 'to'; *-kōḷ*, 'near'; *-kōḷō*, 'from near'; *vichchõ*, 'from within'. It will be observed that the termination *-ō* or *-õ* gives an ablative signification. [LSI pp. 458-459]

Pronouns. Some of the forms of pronouns are; *mã̃ẵ*. 'I'; *assī*, 'we'; *tũ̃*, 'thou'; *tussī*, 'you'; *ē*, 'this'; *ō*, 'that'; *jē* or *jēṛā*, 'who'; *kōī*, 'who?'; *kẽ̃ḍā*, 'whose?': *kē*, 'what?'. [LSI p. 459]

Verbs. For the verb substantive we have:

Present, 'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ẵ*, *ẽ̃*	*ẵ*
2.	*ẽ̃*	*ō*
3.	*ē*, *wē*, *hēwē*	*ad*, *hēwan*

Past, 'I was', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hăẵ*, *hãõ̃*	*hăẵ*
2.	*hãõ̃*	*hãō*
3.	*hãa*	*haē*

The above are the masculine forms.

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The active verb has a few unexpected forms.

The infinitive ends either in *-uṇ* (oblique *-aṇ*) or in *-ṇā*, oblique *-ṇe*. Thus, *māruṇ*, obl. *māraṇ*, 'to strike'; *karaṇlagge*, 'they began to make'.

The present participle ends in *-nā*, as in *mārnā*, 'striking'. As usual the final vowel is often nasalised, as in *mārnã*, etc.

The past participle ends in *-ā*, not *-eā*. Thus, *mārā*, 'struck', *ākhā*, 'said'.

For the old present, now used both as a present subjunctive and as a future, the forms noted are; 1st sing. *bharã*, 'I may fill'; 1st plur. *karã*, 'we may do'; 3rd plur. *hōwan*, 'they may be'.

The present and future are conjugated as under:

	Present, 'I strike', etc.		*Future*, 'I shall strike', etc.	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārnā-ẽ*	*mārnē-ã*	*mārsã*	*mārsã*
2.	*mārna-ẽ*	*mārnē-ō*	*mārsẽ*	*mārsō*
3.	*mārnā-e*	*marnēn*	*mārsī*	*mārsan*

As regards tenses formed from the past participle we may note the following:

'I went', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*geã*	*gayã*
2.	*gcō̃*	*gayō*
3.	*geā* (fem. *gaī*)	*gaē* (fem. *gaīã*)

Transitive verbs do not change.

Causal roots are often formed by adding *-l*. Thus, *khawālun*, 'to give to eat'. [LSI pp. 459-461]

GHĒBĪ

426 In the Pindi Gheb Tahsil of Attock district, the local form of Lahndā is called Ghēbī. It is practically the same as the

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Lahndā of the Western Salt Range, agreeing with dialect where it differs from Awāṇkārī.

There are a few slight variations of pronunciation, Such as *viñāṇā*, as well as *vañānā*, to cause to go' and *ghīṇā*, instead of ghinnā, 'to take'.

As elsewhere there are variations of the form of verb substantive. Besides the regular Salt Range forms we have also :

	Present, I am, etc.		*Past*, 'I was', etc.	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ãh*	*ãh*	*aheã*	*aheã*
2.	*ẽh*	—	*aheã*	*aheō, ahyō*
3.	*äh, ähē*	*ähn*	*aheā, āhā*	*ahē, ahyē, ähē*

[LSI pp. 468-469]

PŌṬHWĀRĪ

427 Pōṭhwārī is spoken over whole of the district of Rawalpindi except in the hill country to the north. In Jhelum it is spoken in the Jhelum Tahsil, in the eastern part of the Chakwal Tahsil, and in the eastern half of the Salt Range in the Pind Dadan Khan Tahsil. It is also spoken in the north-west corner of the district of Gujrat across the Jhelum.

Pōṭhwārī is closely connected with the dialect spoken in the Shahpur Salt Range. Thus, it has *-nā* for the genitive termination, and masculine nouns ending in a consonant have an oblique form in *-ē*. So also with the other typical peculiarities of the Western Salt Range dialects. Besides the genitive in *nā*, the shibboleths of the dialect are ; *achhṇā*, 'to come' ; *gachhṇā*, 'to go' ; *mãḍā*, 'my' ; *tãḍā*, 'they'. [LSI p. 477]

Pronunciation. The diphthong *ai* is almost always pronounced like *ä*, again as in the Salt Range and Awāṇkārī, as in *hä* for *hai*, 'is' ; *mã* for *maĩ*, 'I'.

As regards consonants *chh* is often pronounced *sh* ; thus,

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'I will strike', etc.

Sing.	Plur.
kuṭṭsã	*kuṭṭsã*
kuṭṭsẽ	*kuṭṭsō*
kuṭṭsī	*kuṭṭsan*

The tenses formed from the past participles are formed as usual. The past tense is very frequently used with pronominal suffixes. The junction vowel is usually *ā* in Rawalpindi and *u* in Jhelum. Thus, we have *āeās*, 'came to him' ; *ākheās*, 'he said' ; *suṇīs*, 'was heard by him'.

Compound verbs. Intensive compounds are frequent and are formed on the usual lines. *Chā* is usually prefixed to a verb to imply quickness, suddenness, or unreasonableness. Thus, *chā-dēh*, 'up and give' ; *chā-ghinn*. 'up and take'. [LSI pp. 481-485]

Order of words. It is worth noting that in the compound tenses of verbs, the auxiliary in Jhelum sometimes precedes the participle, as in Kāshmīrī, instead of following it, as in most Indian languages. Thus, *bahũ dihāṛē nahĩ suṇ laṅghthē*, 'many days had not passed'. [LSI p. 478]

LAHNDĀ OF THE HILL COUNTRY
ḌHŪṆḌĪ—KAIṚĀLĪ

428 Ḍhūṇḍī-Kaiṛālī is spoken in the east of Hazara district and the northern or hill portion of Rawalpindi.

This dialect is really the same as the Pōṭhwārī of Rawalpindi plains. It will be sufficient to draw attention to the few points of difference.

The declension of nouns is the same as in Pōṭhwārī and calls for few remarks, except that the masculine nouns ending in a consonant take *a* in the oblique case, instead of *ī* ; thus, *ādmīā-kī*, 'to a man'.

In regard to pronouns, the demonstrative pronouns *ēh*, 'this'

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and *ōh*, 'that', have, in the nominative singular, feminine forms, *yah*, 'this', and *wah*, 'that'.

Verbs. The verb substantive is thus conjugated :

	Present		Past	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ã, eã*	*ã, eã*	*aseã*	*aseã*
2.	*ẽ, ãẽ*	*ō, eō*	*asaĩ*	*aseō*
3.	*ā* (fem. *ī*), *ä*	*ē* (fem. *eiã*), *dē*	*asā* (fem. *asī*)	*asē* (fem. *asīã*)

As regards the conjugation of the active verb few remarks are necessary. The following is the conjugation of the old present, now chiefly used as a present subjunctive.

'I may beat', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārã*	*mārã*
2.	*mārẽ*	*mārō*
3.	*mārē*	*māran*

In the future the third person plural is *mārsun*, as well as *mārsan*. [LSI pp. 495-497]

CHIBHĀLĪ AND PUNCHHĪ

429 The dialect derives its name from Chibhs, the most important tribe of the tract. It is spoken in the Bhimbar district and Punch Jagir of the Jammu Province and in the Muzaffarabad district of Kashmir province of the Kashmir State. The Chibhālī spoken in Punch area, due to the strong Kāshmīrī element in the population, shows many traces of the influence of the Kāshmīrī language and has a special name of its own-Punchī.

[LSI pp. 505-506]

In the following grammatical sketch Punchī has been taken as basis, while Chibhālī has also been referred to where it differs

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from it. This dialect closely resembles the hill dialect of Muree, and the Pōṭhwārī of Rawalpindi. There are, however, traces of Kāshmīrī both in vocabulary and pronunciation.

Pronunciation. As regards the vowel prnounciation, that of Chibhālī is much the same as that of Pōṭhwārī. Where Lahndā has *ē*, the Chibhālī shows a strong tendency to change that vowel to *ai*, which as usual, is pronounced *ä*. Thus, Pōthwārī *naukarē-kī*, but Chibhālī *naukarä-kī*. As in Kāshmīrī *ĕ* and *i* are sometimes interchangeable. Thus, Chibhālī *hīkk*, Punchhī *hĕkk*, 'one'. In Punchhī there is a great tendency to pronounce long *ā* as *ô* (like the English *aw*). Thus, *gēnô*, for *gēnā*, 'going'. *sônô*, for *sōnā*, 'gold'. Very similarly the vowel *a* is optionally pronounced like *ŏ* in 'hot' ; thus, *kŏnn*, for *kann*, 'the ear.'

As regards consonants, there is almost total absence of cerebral *ṇ* and *ḷ*, both of which are common elsewhere in Lahndā and in Pañjābī. The dental *n* and *l* are almost always substituted for these consonants and this also is the case in Kāshmīrī.

[LSI pp. 506-507]

Nouns : Declension. The declension of nouns in Chibhālī closely follows that of Pōṭhwārī and the Muree hills. Masculine nouns ending in a consonant have an oblique singular in ä (for *ē*). Thus, *naukar*, 'a servant', obl. sing. *naukarä* ; nom. plur. *naukar*, obl. pl. *naukarā̃*.

Punchhī differs in the declension of masculine nouns ending in a consonant. The agent singular ends in *-ē̃*, the obl. sing. in *-ā̃* (not *-ä*), and the obl. plur. in *-ē̃* (not *-ã̄*).

The postpositions and terminations indicating case are as elsewhere. The accusative-dative add *-kī*, and also the Pañjābī *-nū̃*. The vowel *-õ* or *-ū̃* added to a word, indicates 'from', as in *gharõ*, 'from a house'. In the case of the agentive case, the Pañjābī-Ḍōgrī form with *-nē* is occasionally found. This is most common in Punchhī. Thus, *nikkē puttrē-nē ākheā*, 'the younger son said'.

[LSI pp. 507-508]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of first two personal pronouns are ; *mē*, *mẽ̄h*, 'I' ; *as*, 'we' ; *tū̃*, 'thou' ; *tus*, 'you'.

The demonstrative pronouns are ; *yē*, *ēh*, 'this' ; *ōh* 'that'.

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The relative pronoun is *jō* or *jehṛā* ; *kun* or *kehṛā*, 'who, which ?', *kāh*, *kä*, or *kai*, 'what ?'. [LSI p. 509]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. There are a great many forms of the present tense of the verb substantive, which may be grouped as follows :

'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ēs* (Ch. *ẵ*)	*ẵ*
2.	*ī̃* (Ch. *ã̃*)	*a* (Ch. *aõ*)
3.	*a* (Ch. *ä*)	*ē*

The second form is made by prefixing *-nā* to the first form ; thus 1st per. sing. *nā-ēs*.

The third form prefixes *dā* to the first one. The first and second person plurals have not been noted.

The fourth form means 'I am (in a place)', 'I exist', rather than merely 'I am'. It is as under :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*thēs*	*thēẵ*
2.	*thī̃*	*thēa*
3.	*thēa* (f. *thī*)	*thaē* (f. *thīẵ*)

In the above forms, the Punchhī termination of the 2nd person plural, *a* instead of *o*, should be noted. The same termination occurs in the Western Pahāṛī of Chambā and the neighbourhood, but not in Ḍōgrī.

There are similarly three forms of the past tense, viz. ;

'I was', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*asēs*	*aseẵ* (*asẽõ*)
2.	*asī̃*	*asea*
3.	*asa* (f. *asī*)	*asē*

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This form has not been noted in Chibhālī. With *asẽs*, compare the Kāshmīrī *ôsus*.

In the second form, occurring in Punchhī the initial *a* of the first form disappears. In Chibhālī the forms are somewhat different. Except the second and third person sing. forms which are *sẽ* and *sā* (f. *sī*), only *sã* is used in other places.

The third form prefixes *nā* to the first form as in the present tense. The forms of 2nd and 3rd persons sing. have not been noted.

The active verb. This presents few points worthy of special notice, except in the future, which entirely differs from the ordinary Lahndā forms. Throughout the verbs, the forms in *ā* are often pronounced as ending in -ô.

The future in Punchhī has a conjugation which is quite peculiar. It is as under :

'I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārsã*	*mārneõ*
2.	*mārnô*	*mārlea*
3.	*mārsī*	*mārlẽ*

The only forms noted in Chibhālī are *mārsã* 'I shall strike', and *mārsī*, 'he will strike'. The consonant *l* as a sign of the future is common in the Western Pahāṛī dialects from Bhadrawāhī eastwards.

In Punchhī the passive voice is not formed with the past participle as elsewhere in Pōṭhwārī, with a form apparently allied to the infinitive. Thus, *ōh mārnō na*, 'he is being struck'. When a past participle is used attributively, it optionally takes the postposition of the genitive. Thus, *palea*, 'kept', but *paleāna baihṛā*, 'the kept (i. e. fatted) 'calf'. The same idiom is common in all the Pahāṛī languages, from Nepal, westwards.

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The pronominal suffixes of the third person are freely used. Those of the second person have not been noted. There are a few instances of the use of the suffix of the first person, and it is then the same as in Kāshmīrī. Thus, we have *ē-s*, 'I am'; and *nai-s*, 'I am not'. Compare Kāshmīrī *chhu-s*, 'I am'. All these belong to Punchhī. Examples of the third person are; *akheā-su*, 'he said', ; *chhoṛē-s*, 'he left'. [LSI pp. 509-513]

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430 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES

English	*Salt Range* (Shahpur)	*Awāṇkārī* (Attock)
one	hikk	hikk
two	dōẽ	dõ
three	trä, trāē	trä
four	chār	chār
hand	hatth	hatth
foot	pär	pär
head	sir	sir
a father	peō	piū
of a father	piūnã	piūnã
to a father	piū-hã	piū-dāĩ
two fathers	dōẽ peō	dõ piū
I am	maĩ ãh, ã, ēhwã	mãĩ ãh, ã
thou art	tū ẽh, ẽh ãh, ẽ	tũ ãh
he is	ō eh, äh, ē	oh äh, äyē, ē,-wē
we are	asĩ ãh. ã	asĩ ãh, ã, äyä
you are	tusĩ ahō, ō	tusĩ hō, ō, äyō
they are	un ähin, ahin, in, an	unnh ähn, äyan
I was	maĩ ãhus. âhs, hãus	mãĩ ähõ
thou wast	tũ ähũ, āhũ, hãĩ ũ	tũ ähõ
he was	ō ähā, āh, häā	oh ähā
we were	asĩ ähã, āhã, hã, âhse	asĩ ähõ
you were	tusĩ ähō, āhō, häō	tusĩ ähō
they were	un ähe, āhē, häē	unnh äh, āhē
I shall be	maĩ thīsã	mã hōsã
I beat	maĩ marēnã-ãh, marēnã	mãĩ marēnã-ãh
thou beatest	tũ marēnã-ãh	tũ marēnã-ãh

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IN NORTH-EASTERN LAHNDĀ

Pōṭhwārī	*Chibhālī* (Kashmir)	*Puncchī*
hikk	hikk	hikk
dō	dō	dō
trä	trä	trā
chār	chār	chār
hatth	hatth	hatth
pär	pär	pär
sir	sir	sir
peō	ajī	pēō
piūnā (-nã̄)	ajīnā	piūnā
piū-kī, -nū̃	ajīnū̃	piūnū̃
do piū	dō ajī	dō pērē
mã̄ä, ã̄, hã̄	mã̄ ã̄	mẽ ēs, nā-ēs, dā-es-thēs
tū̃ ẽ, hẽ, ã̄, hã̄	tū̃h ã̄	tū̃ ī̃, nā-ī̃, dī̃, thī̃
(oh ē, hē, ä, hä, äh, -wē)	ōh ä	(ōh ā, nā (*f.* nī), dā (*f.* dī), thēā (*f.* thī)
asī̃ ã̄, hã̄	as ã̄	as ã̄, nēỗ, thēã̄
tusī̃ ō, hō	tus aō	tus ā, nēā, thēā
oh an, han, hã̄, -n	ōh nē	ōh ē, nē, dē, thē (*f.* thiã̄) hän
mã̄ äã̄, sã̄	mã̄ sã̄	mẽ asēs, nā-asēs, sēs
tū̃ ã̄, sã̄	tū̃h sã̄	tū̃ asī̃ sī̃,
oh ähā, sā	ōh sā (*f.* sī)	ōh asa (*f.* asī) sa (*f.* sī)
asī̃ äã̄, sã̄	as sã̄	as aseỗ, nĕ-seỗ, seỗ
tusī̃ ähō, sō	tus sã̄	tus aseā, nĕ-seā, seā
oh ähē, sē	ōh sã̄	ōh asē, nĕ-sē, sē
mã̄ hōsã̄	mã̄ hōsã̄	mẽ hōsã̄
mã̄ kuṭṭṇã̄ tūkuṭṭṇã̄-ã̄	mã̄ māreā tū̃h mārṇa-ã̄	mẽ mārnā-ēs tū̃ mārnā-ī̃

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English	*Salt Range* (Shāhpur)	*Awāṇkārī* (Attock)
he beats	ō marēnä-āh	ō marēnã̄-ã̄h
we beat	asī̃ marēnẽ̄-ãh	asī̃ marēnẽ̄-ã̄
you beat	tusī̃ marēnẽ̄-ō	tusī̃ marēnẽ̄-ō
you beat	tusī̃ marēnẽ̄-ō	tusī̃ marēn~-ō
they beat	un marēnẽ̄n	unnh mar-ēnẽ̄n
I beat (past)	maĩ māreā	mä māreā
thou beatest (past)	tuddh māreā	tuddh māreā
he beat (past)	us māreā	us (~ hus) māreā
we beat (past)	asã̄ māreā	asã̄ māreā
you beat (past)	tusã̄ māreā	tusã̄ māreā
they beat (past)	unhã̄ māreā	unnhã̄-māreā
I shall beat	maĩ marēsã̄	mã̄ māresã̄

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Poṭhwarī	*Chibhalī* (Kashmir)	*Puncchī*
oh kuṭṭnä, kuṭṭnã̄-ä	ōh mārnā-ä	ōh mārnā-ā
asī̃ kuṭṭṇẽ̄-ã̄	as mārnē-ã̄	as mārnē-ã̄
tusī̃ kuṭṭṇã̄-ō	tus mārnē-aō	tus mārnē-nēā
oh kuṭṭṇẽ̄	ōh mārnē-nē	ōh mārnē-ē
mã̄ kuṭṭeā	mã̄ māreā	mẽ̄ māreā
tũ̄ kuṭṭeā	tũ̄h māreā	tũ̄ māreā
us kuṭṭeā	us-nē-māreā	unī māreā
asã̄ kuṭṭeā	asã̄ māreā	asẽ̄ māreā
tusã̄ kuṭṭeā	tusã̄ māreā	tusẽ̄ māreā
unã̄ kuṭṭeā	unã̄ māreā	unhẽ̄ māreā
mã̄ kuṭṭsã̄	mã̄ mārsã̄	mẽ̄ mārsã̄

[LSI pp. 522-540]

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NORTH-WESTERN LAHNDĀ

431 The north-western dialects occupy a comparatively small area, they commence in the south of the Pind Dadan Khan, cross the Salt Range, and cover the whole of the Chakwal Tahsil of the Jhelum district. In this district it is locally known as Dhannī. North of Chakwal lies the Fatteḥjang Tahsil of Attock district. Here the local dialect is called Sawain, which is said to be mixed with the north-eastern Ghēbī. In parts of Attock Tahsil of this district Lahndā of north western type is spoken, which is probably akin to the Sawain of Fatteḥjang, but is mixed with Peshāwarī. In Peshawar the main language is Paṣhtō, but north-western Lahndā called Hindkō or Peshāwarī is also spoken by the Hindus. It is also spoken in district of Haẓara, locally known as Hindkō. Another dialect of this speech known as Tināulī is also spoken in this district. As materials regarding Sawain and the dialect of the Tahsil of Attock are not available their grammatical sketches are not being given. [LSI p. 541]

DHANNĪ

432 *Pronunciation.* The vowel *ä* is pronounced between something like the *ai* in 'aisle' and an ordinary long *ē* (the *a* in 'tale'). Dhannī is very fond of nasalizing vowels, in this agreeing with the dialects of the Salt Range. Thus, we have *usə̃ah*, not *usä* or *usah*, 'to him'.

On the other hand Dhannī has a distinct tendency to substitute *ḍ* for *r*, in this agreeing with north-eastern Lahndā and Thaḷī. Thus, we have *mə̃ḍā* instead of Shahpur Lahndā and Pañjābī *mērā*, 'my'. There is a tendency to double the final consonant of a monosyllable containing a short vowel. Thus, *dill*, not *dil*, 'a heart'. [LSI p. 543]

Nouns. The oblique form of masculine nouns ending in *ā* (like *ghōṛā*, 'a horse') ends in *-a* or *-ē*. The two seem to be quite

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interchangeable. Thus, the oblique form of *-ghoṛa* is *ghoṛā* or *ghoṛē*. The nominative plural, as usual, takes the same form. The above applies equally in the case of nouns ending in a consonant.

This oblique form can be used by itself either for the agentive or for the locative case. Thus, *puttrē ākhea*, 'by the son it was said'. Some nouns take an oblique form, or locative in *-ī* or *-ī̃*. The commonest is *hikk*, 'one' ; oblique *hikkī*.

The termination of the genitive is *-dā*. This is typical of north-western Lahndā. [LSI pp. 543-544]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the pronouns of 1st and 2nd persons are ; *mã̃ā*, 'I' ; *assī̃*, *asī̃*, 'we' ; *tū̃*, 'thou' ; *tussī̃*, *tusī̃*, 'ye'.

The demonstrative pronouns are also used as the pronouns of the third person. which are, *-oh, uh, hoh, huh*, 'he, she, it, that' ; *eh, ih, heh, hih*, 'this'.

Pronominal suffixes as a whole are as in the standard Lahndā. [LSI pp. 544-545]

Verbs. The auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive are conjugated as under :

Present, 'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ã̃, ãh*	*ã̃, ãhã̃*
2.	*ã̃h*	*õ, ahiõ*
3.	*ä, äh*	*ahn, an*

Past, 'I was', etc.

	Sing.	Plu.
1.	*āhs*	*ahsā*
2.	*āhẽ*	*āhõ*
3.	*āh* (f. *āhī*)	*āhẽ*

The active verb calls for few remarks. [LSI pp. 545-546]

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HINDKŌ OF PESHAWAR

433 In the city of Peshawar due to the mixture of people speaking various languages, such as Paṣhtō, Hindkō, Pañjābī and Hindūstānī, Hindkō has assumed a corrupt form, in which we find not only very free use of Persian and Arabic words, but even of Hindustānī idioms. As an example of the Persian idiom we have *ghaṃ maḥshar-dē-nē* for *maḥshar-dē-ghaṃ-mē*, an order of words entirely un-Indian.

The postposition of the ablative is the Hindūstānī *sē*, as in *salā̃-sē*, *mukh-sē*. We also find the use *ǟsa*, 'of this kind' and *kuchh* instead of *kujjh*. 'anything'.

In verbs, the infinitive ends in *-ṇa* or *-nā*, as in Pañjābī (not in *-uṇ*), its oblique form ending in *-ṇē* (*-nē*) (not in *-aṇ*) as in *karnē laggē*, 'they began to do'.

Some of the pronominal forms, which occur are ; *mã̃*, 'I' ; *tū* or *tũ*, 'thou' ; *tussã̃*, 'you' ; *assã̃*, 'we' ; *eh*, *ē*, 'this, these' : *woh*, *oh* *ō*, 'he, they'.

The present tense of the verb substantive is conjugated as follows :

I am, etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hũ̃*, *hã̃*, *wã̃*, *ã̃*	*hã̃*, *ã̃*, *wã̃*
2.	*hã̃*, *wã̃*, *ã̃*, *hẽ̃*, *wẽ̃*, *ẽ̃*,	*hō*, *ō*
3.	*hä*, *wä*, *ä*, *hē*, *wē*, *ē*	*hã̃*, *ã̃*, *han*, *an*

It will be seen that it differs from the standard in the third person plural.

The past tense is quite different from the standard. It is *aya*, 'was', plur. *aē* ; fem. sing. and plur. *aī*. It will be observed that it is identical in form with *aya*, 'he came'.

In the active verb, the chief departure from the standard are in the future and present definite tenses, which are thus conjugated :

'I will strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārsă*	*mārsīă, mārsă*
2.	*mārsẽ*	*mārsō*
3.	*mārsī̃*	*mārsan*

'I am striking, I strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārnă, mārna, ă, -wă*	*mārnē-ă, mārnē-wă*
2.	*mārnẽ, mārna-ẽ, wẽ*	*mārdē-ō*
3.	*mārdā, mārda-ē, -wē*	*mārdē -ã̄*

It will be observed that both the north-eastern (mārna) and north-western (mārdā) forms of the present participle are employed. [LSI pp. 554-556]

HINDKĪ OF HAZARA

434 The vocabulary occasionally follows Hindōstānī or Pañjābī. Thus, we have *dēkhuṇ*, not *vēkhuṇ*, 'to see', *dauṛuṇ*, not *bhajjaṇ*, 'to run'.

The declension of nouns follows Pañjābī and the Hindkō of Peshawar in using the postposition *nē* for the agentive case. This postposition is also used in the north-western Lahndā of the Muree Hills and of the Chibhal Country. As in Awānkārī the postposition of the dative is *-ă* ; thus, *mulkē-ă*, '(went) to a country'. It is in frequent use.

Most of the nouns optionally add *-ē* to the base to form the oblique form ; thus, *mulkē-ă*, and *mulk-vich*.

Some of the forms of pronouns are ; *mã̄*, 'I' ; *assī*, 'we' ; *tū̃*, *thou*' ; *ē*, 'this' ; *ō*, 'he, that, they'.

In the conjugation of active verb the standard is closely followed. The infinitive ends in *-uṇ*, with an oblique form in *aṇ*. Thus, *hōwaṇ lagga*, 'he began to be'. The present participle ends in *-dā*, not in *-nā*, as in the north-eastern dialects.

[LSI p.p. 565-566]

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TINĀULĪ

435 The Tināulīs, the speakers of the dialect, reside in the tract on the west of Hazara now known as the Tanāwal Hills.

The vocabulary of the dialect closely follows that of the standard Lahndā of Shahpur.

The oblique form of masculine nouns ending in consonants is generally formed by adding *ā* or *-ē*. Thus, *mālada*, 'of the property' ; *duradē mulk*, 'to a distant country'.

The agentive case is formed as in standard Lahndā, and does not take *nē* as in Hindkī. In other words it is the same as the oblique form ; thus *puttrā* or *puttrē*, from *puttur*. As in Hindī dialects, this case is sometimes used to indicate the subject of an intransitive verb. Thus, *nikṛē puttrā duradē mulk ṭur-giā*, 'by the younger son it was departed to a far country'.

Some of the postpositions are ; *-kō* or *-k*, of the dative-accusative, *thī̃*, 'from', *bichch*, 'in' ; *bichchō̃* or *chō̃* 'from in'.

Some of the forms of pronouns are ; *mē̃*, 'I' ; *asī̃*, 'we' ; *tū̃*, 'thou' ; *tusī̃*, 'you' ; *ēh*, 'this' ; *ōh*, 'he, that, they, those' ; *jō*, 'who' ; *kōṇ*, 'who ?' *kē*, 'what ?'.

Pronominal suffixes are not met within the dialect.

The verb substantive is thus conjugated :

Present, 'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hẵ, ẵ*	*hẵ, ẵ*
2.	*hã̃, hẽ̃, ã̃, ẽ̃*	*hō, ō*
3.	*ä, ë*	*hã̃, hẽ̃, ã̃, ẽ̃*

Past, 'I was', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*asẵ, āsẵ*	*asĕẵ, asẵ, āsẵ*
2.	*asã̃, āsẽ̃*	*asĕō, āsĕō*
3.	*asā, āsā* (fem. *-ī*)	*asē, āsē*, (fem. *-īẵ*)

So far as the active verb is concerned, the infinitive usually ends, as in Pañjābī, in *ṇā* or *nā*, thus, *hoṇa*, 'to become' ; *mārna*, 'to beat'.

The present participle is usually formed by adding *-dā*, as in the standard, and sometimes *-nā*, as in the north-eastern dialects ; thus, *kardā*, 'doing' ; *chārnā*, 'grazing'.

The past participle has its termination *-ia*, as in *ākhia*, 'said'.

For the old present we have :

'I may strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārā̃*	*mārā̃*
2.	*mārẽ*	*mārō*
3.	*mārē*	*māran*

For the future we have :

'I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārsā̃*	*mārsā̃*
2.	*mārsã̄*, *mārsē*	*mārsau*
3.	*mārsī*	*mārsun*, *mārsan*

The past tenses are formed as in the standard.

Causal verbs sometimes insert an *l*, as in *charālnā*, for *charāṇā*, 'to graze (cattle)'. [LSI pp. 570-572]

English	*Dhannī* of Jhelum	*Hindkō* of Peshawar	*Tinaulī*
one	hikk (*obl. sg.* hikkī)	ikk, hík	hikk
two	dō	dō	dō
three	trāē, taraí	trē	trä
four	chār	chār	chār
hand	hatth	hatth	hatth
foot	pār	pär	pär
head	sir	sir	sir
a father	piō	piū	addhā
of a father	piōdā	piūdā	addhēdā
to a father	piōnū, piōdār	piūnū̃	addhē-kō
two fathers	dō piō	dō piū	dō addhē
I am	mã̃ ã̃, ã̃h	mã̃ hū̃, ã̃, wã̃	mẽ̃ hã̃, ã̃
thou art	tū̃ ã̃h	tū hū̃, ẽ̃, ã̃, wẽ̃	tū̃ hã̃, hẽ̃, ã̃, ẽ̃
he is	oh āh, ā	woh hē, ē, ä, wä	ōh hä, hē, ä, ē

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we are	asĩ ãh, ãhã	assī hã, ã, wã	asĩ hã, ã
you are	tusĩ ō, ahau, ahiō	tussī hō, ō	tusĩ hō, ō
they are	oh ahn, an	ō hã, ã, an	ōh hã, hẽ, ã, ã
I was	mã ãhs	mã ayā	mẽ asã, āsã
thou wast	tũ ãhẽ	tū āyā	tũ asã, āsã
he was	oh āh	woh āyā	ōh asā, āsā
we were	asĩ āhsä	assī āē	asĩ asĕã, asã, āsã
you were	tusĩ āhō	tussī āē	tussĩ asĕō, āsĕō
they were	oh āhē	ō āē	ōh asē, āsē
I shall be	mã hōsã	mã hōsã	mẽ hōsã
I beat	mã marēnã	mã mārnà, -ã, mārnā-wã	mẽ mārã, mārnā-ã
thou beatest	tũ marenã	tū mārnā-ẽ, mārnā, wẽ	tũ mārẽ, mārnā-ã
he beats	oh marẽdā	woh mārdā-wē, -ē, mārdä	ōh mārē, -mārnā-ä
we beat	asĩ marēniã	assī mārnẽ-ã, mārnē-wã	asĩ mārã, mārnē-ã
you beat	tusĩ marẽ-diō	tussī mārdē-ō	tusĩ mārō, mārnē-ō
they beat	oh marẽdēn	ō mārdē-ẽ	ōh māran, mārnē-ã

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English	*Dhannī* of Jhelum	*Hindkō* of Peshawar	*Tinaulī*
I beat (past)	mã̄ māreā	manē māriā	mẽ māriā
thou beatest (past)	tuddh māreā	tanē māriā	tũ māriā
he beat (past)	us māreā	us-nē-māriā	us māriā
we beat (past)	asã̄ māreā	assã̄-nē māriā	asã̄ māriā
you beat (past)	tusã̄ māreā	tussã̄-nē māriā	tusã̄ māriā
they beat (past)	uhnã̄ māreā	unã̄-nē māriā	unhã̄ māriā
I shall beat	mã̄ marēsã̄	mã̄ mārsã̄	mẽ marsã̄

[LSI pp. 576-584]

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VOL. VIII, PART II

INDO-ARYAN FAMILY

DARDIC OR PIŚĀCHA LANGUAGES

(INCLUDING KĀSHMĪRĪ)

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THE DARDIC OR PIŚĀCHA LANGUAGES

INTRODUCTION

437 The word 'Dard' has a long history, and the people bearing the name are a very ancient tribe. They are mentioned by Herodotus, though not by name, and are the Daradrai of Ptolemy, the Derdai of Strabo, and the Dardæ of Pliny and Nonnus. In Sanskrit literature they are spoken of as 'Dārada' or 'Darada'. Kalhaṇa in *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* mentions 'Dāradas' or 'Darads' as inhabiting the country where we now find *Shiṇs* who at the present day are still called Dards. To the greek and Roman writers the word had a wider signification and included not only the predecessors of the *Shiṇs*, but the people included in the tract between the Hindūkush and the frontiers of India proper. Accordingly, at the present day this tract is known as 'Dardistan'. This tract was once inhabited by tribes whom Sanskrit writers grouped together under the title of Piśācha. Clear traces of the language of these tribes are to be found in the modern languages of the area. [LSI p. 1]

438 *The Dardic languages.* This dardic, or Piśācha, sub-family of Aryan languages is spoken on the North-Western Frontier. It includes the following languages :

A. Kāfir Group,— 1. Bashgalī, 2. Wai-alā, 3. Wasī-Veri or versou 4. Ashkund, 5. Kalāshā-Pashai Sub-group, viz.—a. Kalāshā b. Gawar-bati or Narsātī. c. Pashai, Laghmānī, or Dēhgānī. d. Dirī. e. Tirāhī.

B.—Khō-wār, Chitrālī, or Arniyā.

C.—Dard Group, i. e. the Dard languages, proper,—

1. Shiṇā, 2. Kāshmīrī, 3. Kōhistānī. [LSI p. 2]

Kafir Group. The first four languages of the Kāfir Group are all spoken in Kafiristan. Bashgalī and Wai-alā are closely

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connected, while Wasī-veri shows important points of difference from these two. As for the languages of the Kalāṣḫā-Paṣḫai Sub-group, they have certain points of agreement amongst themselves, and with the other known Kāfir languages, but they have all fallen under the influence of their respective neighbours. Paṣḫai, spoken immediately to the south of Kāfiristan, is affected by Paṣḥtō, and Kalāshā by the Khō-wār immediately to its east. Gawar-Bati spoken further south, is not only affected by Khō-wār, but also by the neighbouring Kōhistānī.

Khō-wār. Khō-wār is the language of the Chitral country and of the neighbourhood. While in all respects a most typical Dardic language, Khō-wār has a somewhat independent position in regard to others, although it has some points in common with the Dard languages. Of the Dardic languages, it is the one most nearly related to the Eranian Ġhalchah language spoken north of the Hindukush.

Ṣḫiṇā. Ṣḫiṇā is the truest example of the Dard languages proper. Its standard form may be assumed to be that spoken round Gilgit, but it has several dialects, including these of Astor, Girez, and Chilas, and the so-called 'Brōkpa' of Dras and Ḍah Hanū.

Kāshmīrī. Kāshmīrī is the language of Kashmir valley and neighbouring valleys. Although it has a Dard basis, it has come to a large extent under the influence of the Indo-Aryan languages spoken to its south.

Kōhistānī. Kōhistānī spoken by scattered tribes, is divided into several dialects, of which Gārwī, Tōrwālī, Chilīs, and Maiyā are described in this survey. These dialects are closely connected with Ṣḫiṇā, but are much mixed with Paṣḥtō and Indian forms, and are now no longer pure examples of Dard speech.

The country in which the Dardic languages are vernacular has Eranian languages (especially Paṣḥtō and Ġhalchah) to its north-west and south-west, Indo-Aryan (i.e. Sanskrit) languages to the south and south-east, various forms of Tibetan to its east, and to its north-east the isolated unclassed non-Aryan

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Burushaskī of Hunza-Nagar. Over whole of Dardistan there is an, under-layer of Burushaskī words, such as those for 'iron', 'ass', 'woman's hair', and so on These words are found in localities far from the present habitat of Burushaskī, and the inference is that, before the arrival of the Piśāchas, the whole of Dardistan was once inhabited by the ancestors of the present owners of Hunza and Nagar.

Pashtō, Ghalchah and the neighbouring Indian languages are all of Aryan stock, the first two belonging to the Eranian and the third to the Indian branch of that family. The Dardic languages are also of Aryan stock, but form a separate third branch by themselves. The position may be explained as under.

In prehistoric times a branch of Aryans, who spoke a language, known as Aryan, entered the plains of India and settled there, through the western passes of Hindukush and the valley of Kabul river. The Aryans who remained behind on the north of Hindukush spread eastwards and west-wards. Those who migrated to the east occupied the Pamirs and now speak Ghalchah. Those who went westwards occupied Merv, Persia and Balochistan and their descendants now speak those languages which together with Ghalchah languages are called Eranian. From that time onward the languages spoken by these people developed on different lines, and at the present day the Eranian languages are very different from those of India.

The Dardic languages possess many characteristics which are peculiar to themselves, while in some other respects they agree with Indo-Aryan, and in yet in other respects with Eranian languages. They do not possess all the characteristics either of Indo-Aryan or of Eranian. We must assume that at the time when they issued from the Aryan language, the Indo-Aryan language had already branched forth from it, and that the Aryan language had by that time developed further on its own lines in the direction of the Eranian ; but that development had not yet progressed so far as to reach all the typical characteristics of Eranian, and still retained some (but not all) the characteristics it possessed when the Indo-Aryans set out for the Kabul valley.

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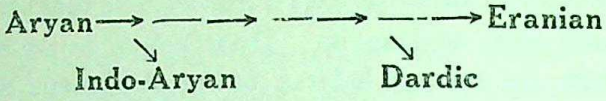
This may be represented graphically by the following diagram :—



Nearly every Eranian characteristic possessed by the Dardic is shared by the Ghalchah languages, while, at the same time, these very Eranian Ghalchah languages, have a few points in which they follow the Dardic languages in agreeing with Indian as against Eranian. The fact that Dard languages proper are more nearly related to those of Kāfir Group than either of these is related to Khō-wār, further suggests that the latter represents the language of a later body of Dardic invaders, akin to the earlier ones. Khō-wār, though undoubtedly Dardic in character, possesses more points in common with Ghalchah than the others, and separates the Kāfirs from the Dards proper by a wedge of language presenting a greater number of distinctly Eranian features.

Once settled in their mountanious habitat the language of the Dardic tribes developed on its lines and gradually acquired those characteristics which are peculiar to it and foreign to both Indian and Eranian. [LSI pp. 2-8]

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LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES IN TYPICAL LANGUAGES OF THE DARDIC SUB-FAMILY

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439 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES

English	*Kafir* (Bashgali)	*Kafir* (Kalāshā)	*Kafir* (Veron)
one	ev	ek	ipin, attege
two	diu	dū	lūe
three	treh	treh	chhī
four	shto	chau	chipū
hand	dusht	hāst	lust
foot	kyur	khur	tẽ
head	shei	shish	jī
a father	tot	dāda	yā
of a father	tot	dadā, dādas	yā-wak
to a father	tot-kẽ	dadā-hātia	yāsh
two fathers	diu tot-kile	du dādai	lūe yā-kil
I am	ōnts azem	ā āsam	unzū esmo
thou art	tu eshi	tu āsas	iyū eso
he is	aske ze	se āsōv	sū eso
we are	imā azemish	ābi āsik	asẽ esemshō
you are	shā azẽr	ābi asa	miū eseno
they are	amgi-asht	teh āsan	mū asto
I was	ōnts azim	ā āsis	unzū essem
thou wast	tiu azish	tu āsi	lyū esso
he was	aske azi	se āsis	sū esso
we were	imā azemish	ābi āsimi	ase asemsho
you were	shā azĩr	ābi āsili	miū èsno
they were	amgi azi	teh āsini	mū asto
I shall be	ōnts banum	ā bām	unzū apōrgosmo
I beat	ōnts vinum	ā tem-dai	unzū pesum-tiemo
thou beatest	tiu vinje	tu tes-dai	lyū pesum-timasish
he beats	aske vine	se tel-dai	sū pesum-timaso

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IN TYPICAL LANGUAGES OF THE DARDIC SUB-FAMILY

Dard (Shiṇā)	*Dard* (Kāshmīrī)	*Dard* (Kōhistānī)	*Khō-wār*
ek	akh	ak, ĕk	ī
dū	z^{a}h	dū	jū
tré, ché	trĕh	thā, chā	troi
chār	t̲sōr	chōr, t̲sor	chōr
hatth	atha	thair, hath	host
pā	khōr, pād	khur	pŏng
s̲hīs̲h	kala	s̲his̲h, s̲hā, thōs	sor, kapal
mālō	môl^{u}	mhāla	tat
mālei	möl^{i}-sond	mhāla-ã̄	tat-o
mālété	mölis	mhāla-na	tat-o-tĕ
dū mālé	z^{a}h möl^{i}	dū mahāla	jū tat-gini
mā hanus	bŏh chhus	mã̄-thū	awa asum
tū hanō	t̲s^{a}h chhukh	tu thū	tu asus
ro hanō	suh chhuh	sōh thū	ha sa asur
béh hanas	as^{i} chhih	bē thū	ispa asusi
t̲soh hanat	tŏh^{i} chhiwa	tus thū	pisa asumi
réh hané	tim chhih	saĩ thū	hatĕt asuni
á asus, asulus	boh osus	mã̄ ã̄s	awa asistam
tū asō, asulō	ts^{a}h osukh	tū ã̄s	tu asistan
rō asū, asulū	suh ôs^{u}	sōhã̄s	hasa asistai
béh asas, asilas	as^{i} ös^{i}	bē ã̄sū	ispa asistam
t̲soh asat, asilat	tŏh^{i} ös^{i}wa	tus ã̄sū	pisa asistami
réh asé, asilé	tim ös^{i}	saĩ ã̄sū	hatĕt asistani
mā bōm	hŏh āsa, bŏwa	mã̄ hōns̲hat	awa bōm
másé s̲hidam	bŏh-chhus mārān	mã̄ kuṭānt	awa dōman
tūsé s̲hidé	t̲s^{a}h chhukh mārān	tū kuṭānt	tu dōsan
rösé s̲hidei	sub chhuh mārān	sōh kuṭānt	hasa dōian

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English	*Kafir* (Bashgalī)	*Kafir* (Kalāshā)	*Kāfir* (Veron)
we beat	imā vīmish	ābi tek-dai	asẽ pesum-timsho
you beat	shā vīnde	ābi tet-dai	miū pesum-timasinch
they beat	amgi vīnde	she-teh ten-dai	mū pesum-timasto
I beat (past)	ĩ vīnā	ā prah	ūnzu pesum-tiom
thou beatest (past)	tō vīnā	tu prah	lyū pesum-tioksho
he beat (past)	aske vīnā	se prau	sū pēsum-tiogo
we beat (past)	imā vīnā	ābi prōmi	asẽ pesum-tiomsho
you beat (past)	shā vīnā	ābi prāli	miū pesum-tegunch
they beat (past)	amgyã vīnā	teh prōn	mū pesum-tiogosto
I shall beat	ōnts vīlam	ā tem	unzū pesum

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Dard (Shiṇā)	*Dard* (Kashmīrī)	*Dard* (Kōhistānī)	*Khō-wār*
bésé s̲hidōn	as[1] chhih mārān	bē kuṭānt	ispa dōsyan
ts̲osé s̲hidyāt	tŏh[1] chhiwa mārān	tus kuṭānt	pisa dōmyan
résé s̲hidén	tim chhih mārān	saĩ kuṭānt	hatĕt dōnyan
másé s̲hidegās	mĕ môrum	mẽ kuṭagil	awa phrĕtam, phrĕstam
tūsé s̲hidēga	ts̲ĕ môruth	tõ kuṭagil	tu prau
rösé s̲hidēgō	tam[1] môrun	sẽ kuṭa gil	hasa prai
bēsé s̲hidēgés	asĕ môr[u]	zõ kuṭagil	ispa phrĕtam, phrĕstam
ts̲osé shidēgét	tŏhĕ môr[u]wa	sõ kuṭagil	pisa phrĕtami, phrĕstami
résé s̲hidēgé	tima[u] môrukh	sayõ kuṭagil	hatĕt prāni
másé s̲hidam	bŏh māra	mã kuṭagal	awa dōm

[LSI pp. 10-27]

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THE KĀFIR GROUP

440 Till lately very little was known regarding the dialects of Kafiristan, owing to the fact that for long it was assumed that there was one Kāfir tongue which was called Kāfirī. In later times it was assumed that because there were two main groups of Kāfirs, viz. the Siāh-pōsh or black-clothed, and the Sufēd-pōsh or white clothed, there were, therefore, two languages in Kāfiristān corresponding to these two groups.

It appears that the Siāh-pōsh Kāfirs, who, roughly speaking, people the northern half and the east of Kāfiristān, all speak various dialects of one language, of which Bashgalī, may be taken as the type. These people seem at once to understand each other, and to be able to converse fluently without hesitation. The sufēd-pōsh Kāfirs occupy the centre and the south-east of the country, and consist of three tribes, the Wai, the Pērsun or Veron, and the Ashkund. The first two of these speak different languages which are mutually unintelligible, and both of which are unintelligible to the Siāh-pōshīs. These tribes cannot converse without the aid of interpreters.

These languages of Kafiristan, namely, 1. Bashgalī, 2. Waialā, 3. Wasī-veri or Prēsun, with the exception of Ashkund, will be considered in the following pages. Regarding Ashkund no materials are available.

In the present state of our knowledge, the classification of these dialects is a matter of some doubt. While some of them show frequent instances of agreement with Eranian languages, there can be no doubt that the general phonetic structure of most of them is often distinctly Indian. On the other hand, their grammatical structure differs so widely from that of any Indian language, that grave difficulties are experienced in grouping them with the Sanskritic Indo-Aryan vernaculars. They are, thus, true Dardic languages. [LSI pp. 29-30).

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BASHGALĪ

441 This dialect may, as already stated, be taken as typical of the language of the Siāfi-Pōsh Kafirs.

Article. There is no article in Bashgalī. Sometimes the numeral *ev*, *eo*, or *e*, 'one', is employed as an indefinite article. Thus, *e manje*, 'a man.' Sometimes *-i* is suffixed, as in *palē*, 'servant,' *palē-i*, 'a servant'. [LSI p. 33]

Nouns: gender. There are two genders, masculine and feminine. Many nouns referring to things without life are feminine. Such are *ama* or *amu*, 'a house', *buṛī*, 'bread'. In case of living beings, natural gender is followed. The distinction of gender is very often neglected. Thus, we may hear *gâo mṛā*, 'the cow died', 'in which *mṛā* is masculine, and *gâo* is femine.

Number and case. All the following terminations are frequently omitted. Indeed, in conversation, this is generally the case. There is an agentive case used for the subject of the past tense of a transitive verb, as is customary in many Indian languages. In Bashgalī it is the same as the oblique form. Thus, *kaṇishte tot-os-tã gijī kaṛas*, 'by the younger son 'to his father words were made-to-him, the younger son said to the father'.

With the exception of the accusative and the vocative, the other cases are made by adding postpositions (which are liable to be omitted) to the oblique form.

The accusative is usually the same as the nominative, Sometimes it takes the oblique form. The genitive precedes the noun which governs it. It is usually the oblique form, especially with terminations dropped. Thus, *tot* 'father', gen. *toti*, *totiō* or *tot*, *Mīrak amu*, 'the house of Mīrak'.

The vocative is usually formed by suffixing *-ā* or *ō* or by pefixing *eh-*to the nominative. Thus. *totā* or *eh tot*, 'o father'. [LSI pp. 33-34]

Adjectives. Adjectives ending in *-l*, *-m*, *-n*. or *-r*, add a vowel (usually i) to form the feminine. Thus, *ev ḍeger aṛi*, 'a bad boy';

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ev ḍegeri juk, 'a bad girl'. Those ending in *-ā*, change *ā* to *ī* in the feminine, while others do not thange for gender.

Comparison is effected in the usual way, with the ablative in *ste* or *tā*. Thus, *aske-ste bṛos aske-ste susas-tā ūre aze*. 'his brother is taller than his sister'. [LSI p. 35]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of personal pronouns are, *ōn ṯs* or *ō̃ ṯs*. 'I' ; *emâ*, *imā*, or *immā* 'we' ; *tiu*, *tu*, *to*, 'thou' ; *shâ*, *shā*, 'ye', *aske*. 'he' ; *amgi*, 'they'.

'This' is *ine*, *enē*, 'from among these' ; 'who ?' is *kachi*, *kū* or *kett*, and 'what?' is *ke* or *kai*, *ko* is 'any one'.

Pronominal suffixes are frequent. The following have been identified :—

First person, *-m* (with verb) and *-ī* or *-ĩ* (with nouns) as in *bis-m*, 'I have become' ; *tot-ī* 'my father'.

Second person, *sh* (with verbs) and *chī* (with nouns), as in *ptā-sh*, 'it was given to thee', and *tot-chī*, 'thy father'.

Third person, *-s*, or *-as* (with both nouns and verbs), as in *bi-s* 'he or it became' ; *pitr-as*, 'his son'. [LSI pp. 35-36]

Verbs. Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive are conjugated as under :

	Present, I am, etc.		*Past*, I was, etc.	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*azem*, *azum*	*azemish*	*azim*, *azam*	*azemish*
2.	*eshī*	*azẽr*	*azish*	*azĩr*, *azãr*
3.	*ze*, *aze*	*asht*	*azī*	*azĩ*, *azamme*

The active verb. The infinitive of the active verb ends in *-sth* or *-st* (or *-sth*^{a} or *-st*^{a},) in which the final ^{a} is very slightly pronounced. The present participle ends in *-n* or *-l*, taking *i* in the feminine. It is also a noun of agency, and a relative participle supplying the place of a relative pronoun, like what we find in Indo-Chinese and Dravidian languages. Thus, *shū awēl manchī ayo*, 'the news bringing man (i. e. the man who brought

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the news) came'. The future participle ends in *-lā* (fem. *-lī*). Thus, *achūnlā*, 'about to run'. The past participle ends in *-ā*, with *-i* as a conjunctive vowel when the root ends in a consonant. Thus, *achūniā*, 'one who has run' ; *ptā*, 'given'. The conjunctive participle ends in *-tī* or *-dī*. Thus, *yū-tī*, 'having eaten' ; *a-chūn-dī*, 'having run'.

The imperative mood takes *-ō* in the second person singular. Thus, *achūnō*, 'run'. The other persons follow the future.

The only radical tense is the present. Its terminations are as follows :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*m*	*mish*
2.	*nj* (and others)	*r* (with nasalisation of the preceding vowel)
3.	*nn*	*nd*

Thus, *achūman*, 'I run', and so on.

The other tenses are formed from the participles.

The imperfect is formed by suffixing the past tense of the auxiliary to the present participle. The final *n* or *l* of the participle combines with the *az* of the auxiliary into *zz*. Thus, *achūna-zzam*, 'I was running', for *achūnan-azam*.

The third person singular and plural of the future is the same as the future participle, and agrees with subject in gender. For the first and second persons pronominal suffixes are added. Viz. :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*om*	*mmd*
2.	*osh*	*r* (with nasalization of the preceding vowel)

Thus, *achūnlā*, 'he will run' ; *achūnlī*, 'she will run'; *achūnlom*, 'I shall run'.

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The third person singular and plural of the past tense (which is also used as a perfect) is the same as the past participle, and agrees with the subject in gender. For the first and second persons pronominal suffixes are added. Viz. :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*m*	*mis̱h*
2.	*sh*	*r* (with nasalisation of the preceding vowel)

Thus, *achūniā*, 'he ran, he has run' ; *achūnī*, 'she ran' ; *achūniām*, 'I ran'. [LSI pp. 36-41]

WAI-ALĀ

442 The Wai-Kāfirs call the country in which they live 'Waigal' ; and their language 'Wai-alā, i.e. Wai-language'. This language is, as will be seen from the following pages, nearly related to Bas̱hgalī. The grammatical constructions of the two forms of speech closely agree, although their vocabularies often differ. [LSI p. 45]

Nouns : Gender. Natural gender is indicated by changes of vowels as in *dabala*, 'a boy' ; *dabili*, 'a girl' ; or by different words, as in manash, 'a man' ; mes̱hi, 'a woman' ; or by prefix words indicating gender, as *tsũ*, 'a dog, generally' ; *mãṛesta ts̱ũ*, 'a male dog' ; *is̱htreki ts̱ũ*, 'a bitch'.

Number. The number of a noun in the nominative plural is rarely expressed, unless required by the context. In such cases it is indicated by a noun of multitude. Thus, *manas̱h*, 'a man' ; *manas̱hkele*, 'men' ; *trã*, 'a bull' ; *echchu trã*, 'bulls'.

Case. There is an oblique form in the singular, and in the plural, to which postpositions can be added to indicate cases. They are, however, very frequently omitted, as in Bas̱hgalī, so that the oblique form can stand practically for any case.

The most common suffix of the oblique singular is *-o* or *-ō*, and of the plural is *-ã* or *-ē*. Thus, *tata*, 'father' ; obl. sing *totō* ; obl. plur. *tatē-kela*.

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Besides the oblique form, there is a locative or instrumental singular ending in -ẽ. Thus, from *sudu*, 'distant', we have *sudẽ*, 'at a distance' ; *shakurikẽ*, ; 'in Shakurik'.

Before the past-tenses of transitive verbs, the subject is usually put in the agentive case. In nouns the agentive case is sometimes the same as the nominative, as in *se manash se preshyā* 'that man sent him', literally 'by that man he was sent'. At other times it is the same as the oblique form, as in *tatō se rẽṛẽto-ā*, 'the father saw him'.

Other cases are formed by postpositions which are usually added to the oblique form. [LSI pp. 45-47]

Adjectives. It appears that adjectives do not change either for number or case.

Comparison is formed as usual. The object with which comparison is made is put in the ablative. Thus, *bōsta*, 'good' ; *echchu bōsta*, 'better', literally 'much good' ; *at-kẽ di bōsta*, 'best', literally 'good also (*di*) that all'. [LSI pp. 47-48]

Pronouns. Some of the forms of personal pronouns are, *-yā*, 'I' ; *to, tu*, 'thou' ; *yema, yuma*, 'we' ; *vī*, 'you' . The word for 'he', 'that' is *se*, and for 'he', 'this' is *ī*. Other pronominal forms are, *-tanu*, 'own' ; *kãsta*, 'by whom', *kē*, 'who ?' ; *kas*, 'what' ; *ki* ; 'any', *iti*, 'so many, so much' ; *kiti*, 'how many ?, how much ?'.

Pronominal suffixes are freely used, as in Bashgalī. They are added to nouns and to verbs. When added to nouns they have the force of the genitive case. When added to verbs, they have the force of the nominative case, i. e. refer to the subject, when it is in the first or second person or either number, or in the third person plural, and is added to the past participle of an intransitive verb. Pronouns of the third person singular are not so added, the base participle being always used. The suffixes are as follows :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*m*	*mish*
2.	*sh*	*ẽ*
3.	*s, sha*	*t*

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Thus, *Piutr*, 'a son'; *piutrus*, 'his son'; *goā*, 'gone'; *gōm*, 'I went'. [LSI pp. 48-58]

Verbs : *Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive.* The verb substantive is thus conjugated :

	Present. I am, etc.		*Past.* I was etc.	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*vṛem*	*vēṛamish*	*vaṛiem*	*vaṛiēmish*
2.	*vṛesh*	*veṛē*	*vaṛiesh*	*vaṛyū*
3.	*veṛ*	*veṛet, vṛet*	*vaṛī*	*vaṛī*

The past tense does not apparently change for gender. A subjunctive mood is formed by adding *-bā*. Thus, *beṛ-bā*, 'it may be'.

The active verb. The infinitive is formed by adding *-sta* to the root. Thus *viyū-sta*, 'to strike'. The infinitive can be treated as a verbal noun with an oblique form in *ō*. Thus, *charaū-stō-ketī*, 'for grazing'. The present participle is formed by adding *-la*; thus, *bāla*, 'being'. The past participle properly ends in *-a*, but when used as an adjective this participle invariably takes the adjectival termination *-sta*; thus. *gōsta*, 'gone'; *vina-sta* or *vini-sta*, 'struck'. The conjunctive participle is formed by adding the suffix *-bī*; thus, *gē-bī*, 'having gone'; *yē-bī*, 'having eaten'.

The present tense is conjugated as follows :

Root, *vi*, 'I strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*viam*	*viămish*
2.	*viash*	*viăsē*
3.	*viăs*	*viast*

The definite present is the same as the simple present.

The typical sound of the future tense is *ṛ*, corresponding to Bashgalī *l*. As in that language, the first person plural is irregular; thus, *vīkarē*, 'we will strike'. This tense can be used in the sense of a present subjunctive, as in *yē kas viēṛam*, 'I perhaps may strike'.

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In transitive verbs past tense is conjugated passively with the subject in the agentive case. As in other languages, this tense is the simplest form of the past participle without the termination *-sta*. Thus, we have *ĩ vinā*, 'I strike' ; *tasho vinā*, 'he strikes'. In the case of intransitive verbs, the third person singular is the bare past participle, which agrees with the subject in gender. In the other persons, pronominal suffixes of the nominative are added to the past participle. Thus, *gōm*, 'I went', *gōt*, 'they went'.

The passive voice is formed by conjugating the past participle with the verb substantive. Thus, *yē vinasta vṛem*, 'I am being struck'. [LSI pp. 50-53]

443 WASĪ-VERI OR VERON

This language is spoken by the Prēsun, one of the Sufēd-pōsh tribes of Kāfiristān, They are called Viron by their Muhammadan neighbours. The language spoken by this people differs extremely from Bashgalī, but a perusal of the grammatical notes which follow will show that both languages evidently belong to the same stock. [LSI p. 59]

Nouns : *Number*. There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plural is usually formed by suffixing *-kil*, *-kili* or *-õ*. Thus, *yā*, 'a father' ; *yā-kil* or *yā-kili* 'fathers' ; *īri*, 'a horse' ; *-īrĩõ*, 'horses'.

Cases. The genitive frequently has the termination *-ūri* ; thus, *warjemi-ūri*, 'of a man'. A dative of motion of a place is formed by prefixing *tu-*. Thus, *tu-gul*, 'to (or in) a country'. A locative case is formed by suffixing *-munj*. Thus, *itineok-tu-munj*, 'to-in-fields'. [LSI pp. 59-60]

Pronouns : The nominative forms of personal pronouns are, *-unzū*, 'I' ; *asẽ*, 'we' ; *i-yū*, 'thou' ; *miū*, 'you' ; *sū*, 'he' ; *mū*, 'they'.

'That' is *esle* ; 'this' is *uū* ; 'who' is *kese* or *kes* ; 'whose ?' is *tesh* ; 'what ?' is *pseth* ; 'whatever' is *pespulok*. [LSI pp. 60-61]

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Verbs. Verbs substantive is conjugated as under :

	Past tense, 'I was', etc.		*Present tense*, 'I am', etc.	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*essem*	*asemsho*	*esmo, aso*	*asemsho*
2.	*esso*	*esno*	*eso,~es*	*eseno*
3.	*esso, so, tso*	*esto, ese*	*eso, so, esela*	*asto*

Active Verb. Infinitive is formed by adding *-inik* or *-nik* to the root ; thus, *pesumtinik*, 'to beat'. The past participle or conjunctive participle ends in *-i* or *-ī*. Thus, *pesumtī*, 'having beaten, ; *uskozi*, 'having seen'.

The present tense is conjugated as under :

Root, *pesumt*, 'I beat', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*pesumtiemo*	*pesumtimsho*
2.	*pesumtimasish*	*pesumtimasinch*
3,	*pesumtimaso*	*pesumtimasto*

The following appear to be the terminations of the past tense :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*-emo*	*-msho*
2.	*-masish*	*-masinch, -masench*
3.	*-maso, -meso*	*-masto*

The usual terminations of the future are as under :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*-emo*	*-emsho*
2.	*-imasso*	*-iogasno*
3.	*-iogosso*	*-iogasto*

Thus, we have *pesumtemo*, 'I shall beat' ; *oïmsho*, 'we will eat'.

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Transitive and neuter verbs. In past tense the subject appears always to be in the nominative, but the conjugation differs. Thus, *unzū pesumtiom*, 'I beat' ; *sū pesumtiogo*, 'he beat' , *unzū pezeksam*, 'I went' ; *nā uphlēgo*, 'thou didst not give'. [LSI pp. 61-64]

THE KALĀSHĀ-PASHAI SUB-GROUP

444 The languages belonging to this sub-group are spoken to the east and south of Kāfiristān proper. They are closely connected with the true Kāfir languages, but are influenced by the neighbouring forms of speech. They are three in number, viz. 1. Kalāshā, 2. Gawar-bati, 3. Pashai. Of these Kalāshā represents the Kāfir languages of Koshistan. They are dealt with in the following pages. [LSI p. 69]

KALĀSHĀ

445 The Kalāshīs or Kalāsh Kāfirs inhabit the small valleys of Bomboret, Kalashgum, and Birir, south-west of the town of Chatrār (Chitral), in the high lands between the Qāshqār (Chatrār) and the Bashgal Rivers. Their language, Kalāshā, is a connecting link between Bashgalī and Khō-wār, the language of Chatrār. [LSI. p. 70]

Nouns : Gender. The distinction of gender does not appear to exist in the language. Thus, *ek prusht mōch*, 'a good man' ; *ek prusht istri-jah*, 'a good woman'. There appear, however, to be two declensions of nouns, one of animate, and the other of inanimate, objects.

Number. When it is wished to emphasize the plural idea, words like *chik*, 'all', are appended.

Declension. Nouns have usually two forms, a direct and an oblique. The oblique form of the masculine animate nouns in the singular is formed by adding *-as*, or *-es*, and of inanimate nouns by adding *-ani* or *-an*. The oblique form of the plural is generally

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formed by adding *-n*, *-an* or *-en*. Thus, *shā*, 'a king', obl. *shā-as hāst*, 'a hand', obl. *hāstan*. Postpositions are usually added to the oblique form, but the postposition *-som* or *-sum*, 'with', is added to the direct form, thus, *shā-sum* ; 'with a king'. The accusative is the same as the nominative. The genitive and dative are simply the oblique form without any postposition.

[LSI pp. 70-72]

Adjectives. Adjectives remain unaltered. Thus, *prushṭ-mōch*, 'a good man' ; *prushṭ mōches*, 'of a good man' ; *prushṭ mochen pi*, 'from good men'. [LSI p. 72]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the personal pronouns are, *a*, 'I' : *ābi*, 'we' ; *tū*, *tu*, 'thou' ; *ābi, tū aste chhik*, (*chhik* means, 'all'), 'you' ; *āsā*, 'he' ; *shēli, eledrūs*, 'they'.

'What ?' is *kīa kīe* ; 'who ?' is *kūra* ; 'why' is *kō* ; 'anyone' is *kūre*.

[LSI. p. 72]

Verbs. Verbs substantive is conjugated as under :

	Present, 'I am', etc.		Past, 'I was', etc.	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*āsam*	*āsik*	*āsis*	*āsimi*
2.	*āsas*	*āsa*	*āsi*	*āsili*
3.	*āsōv*	*āsan*	*āsis, asta*	*āsini*

The verb *dai*, which also means in Paṣhtō, 'he is', is used as an auxiliary.

The active verb. The infinitive ends in *-ik*, *-īk*, or *-k* ; thus *ōnik*, 'to bring' ; *dēk*, 'to give' (In Wakhī it ends in *-àk*, in Ormuri in *-ēk*, in Shiṇā in *oiki*, in Wasī-veri in *-ik*, in Pashai in *-īk* and in Khō-wār in *-īk*, or *-ik*)

The present participle is formed by adding *-weov* ; thus, *par-ik weov*, 'going' ; *ek-weov*, 'coming'.

The conjunctive participle is formed by adding *-i* to the root ; thus, *phāji*, 'having divided' ; *ūshṭi*, 'having risen'.

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The future is the same as the present, as in the Ghalchah languages. The following are the terminations of the present-future tense :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*-im, -m*	*-ik, -k*
2.	*-is, -s*	*-t, a, -eov*
3.	*-en, -n,* -l	*-n, -in*

Thus, *dēm*, 'I give or shall *give*', *par-eu*, 'he goes or shall go' ; *tiet*, 'you beat or shall beat'.

The definite present is formed by adding *-dai* to any form of the simple present. Thus. *nāshum dai*, 'I am dying'.

The imperfect is formed by adding the past tense of the verb substantive to what is apparently the present participle. Thus, *tīman āsis*, 'I was beating'.

The past tense is formed by adding the following terminations :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*-is, -ah, -yes*	*-imi, -ōmi, -emi, -imi*
2.	*-i, -ah, -ā, -ye, -ti*	*-ili, -āli, -ili,*
3.	*-o, -au, -yes*	*-on, -an, -an, -ini,*

Thus, *ōnis*, 'I brought', *apīli*, 'you drank' ; *achishtau*, 'he stood'.

The perfect tense is formed by conjugating the past participle with the auxiliary present. Thus, *īta-āsov*, 'he has come'.

[LSI pp. 72-76]

GAWAR-BATI OR NARSĀTĪ

446 Gawar-bati is the language of the Gawars, who people the country round the confluence of the Bashgal and Qāshqar (Chitral) rivers. One of their villages is called Narsāt, and the district in which they dwell is known as Gawarum or Narsāt.

[LSI. pp. 80]

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Nouns : Number. The plural is formed by adding nouns of multitude, like *-gila* or *-nam* ; thus *bāb*, 'a father' ; *bāb-gila*, 'fathers' ; *goṛa*, 'a horse' ; *goṛa-nam*, 'horses'.

Case. The agent is used before the past tenses of transitive verbs. It usually ends in *-e*, but sometimes in *-i*. Thus, *manush-e*, 'the man (gave)'. The accusative appears to be usually the same as the nominative. Sometimes it ends in *-a*, *daulat-a* ' (having-divided) the property.' The termination of the genitive is *a-na*, as in *manush-a-na*, 'of a man'. The dative ends in *-ã* to which *-ke* may be added. Thus, *bab-s-ã*, 'to his father'. The locative seems to be the same as the agent.

The oblique form usually ends in *-a*, but is sometimes the same as the nominative. It is to this that the various postpositions are suffixed. Sometimes it is used without any postposition, as in *bekili-a*, 'in the fields'.

A pronominal suffix, *-es* meaning 'his' or 'to him' is frequently added to a noun. Thus, *pult-es-a-na*, '(on) his son's (neck)'.

Gender. The feminine termination is *-i*, thus, *lafila*, 'good', fem. *lafili*. [LSI pp. 80-82]

Adjectives. Adjectives do not change before nouns in an oblique case. Thus, *poliṛa* (not *poliṛa-i*) *pult-e*, 'the younger son (collected).' [LSI p. 82]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the personal pronouns are, *-ā*, 'I' ; *ama*, 'we' ; *tu* ,'thou' ; *mē*, 'you' ; *woi*, *se*, 'he' ; *ema*, *teme*. 'they'. The pronouns of the third person are also used as demonstrative pronouns.

The relative pronoun is *ken-ze*. 'What ?' is *ki* ; 'who ?' is *kara*. 'Any one' is *kara*, and 'how many ?' is *keta*. [LSI pp. 82-83]

Verbs. The auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive are conjugated as under :

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	Present, I am, etc.		*Past*, I was, etc.	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*thanaïm*	*thanaïk*	*boen*	*boek*
2.	*thanaïs*	*thanaü*	*boes*	*bō*
3.	*thana*, fem. *thini*	*thanaït*	*bua*	*boet*

Active verb. The infinitive is usually formed by adding *-awo* to the root ; thus, *thliawo*, 'to beat'.

The present participle is formed by adding *-mān* to the root ; thus, *thlimān*, 'beating'.

The conjunctive participle is formed by adding *-i* to the root ; thus *zhui*, 'having eaten' ; *ushti*, 'having arisen'.

The terminations of the present and future tenses are as under :

	Present		*Future*	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*-mem*	*-mek*	*-mo*	*-kā*
2.	*-mes*	*-māneo*	*-sā*	*-wā*
3.	*-mān*	*-met*	*-bā*	*-ta*

Thus, we have *thlimem*, 'I beat' ; *sātimān*, 'he is grazing' ; *thlikā*, 'we shall beat' ; *na-bāsa*, 'you will not be able'.

The terminations of the past tense of transitive verbs are :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*-tem*	*-ta*
2.	*-teo*	*-tau*
3.	*-tes*	*-tan*

Thus, we have *mui thlitem*, 'I beat' ; *muli guteo* 'thou boughtest'.

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When the object of a transitive verb in the past tense is a pronoun, it is in the accusative case, not the nominative, as in *tasa shaüs*, 'he sent him'. [LSI pp. 83-84]

447 PASHAI, LAGHMĀNĪ, OR DĒHGĀNĪ

The word Pashai is probably a corruption of the word 'Piśācha'. The Pashai language is also called Laghmānī, because it is spoken in the tract known as Laghmān, and Dēhgānī, because most of the persons who speak it belong to the Dēhgān tribe. There are two varieties of the dialect, one eastern and the other western. The former is spoken in the plains and the latter in the hill country.

It will be seen that Pashai is closely connected with Gawarbati and with Kalāshā, and also shows interesting points of relationship with both Bashgalī and Wasīveri. [LSI p. 89]

Pronunciation. The vowel ª is frequently interchanged with *i*, as in *kiṭªla* or *kiṭila*, 'a boy'. The final ª in the eastern dialect is usually represented by *ē* in the western one. Thus, (eastern) *puṭ-hlª*, (western) *puṭ-hlē*, 'a son'. *Ṇ* in the eastern dialect usually becomes *nḍ* in the western. Thus, (eastern) *kaṇā*, (western) *kanḍa*, 'a field'. So an eastern *sh* becomes a western *kh*, e.g. (eastern) *shūṛing*, (western) *khōṛing*, 'a dog'. [LSI p. 90]

Nouns : Number. There are two numbers the singular and the plural. Various postpositions and suffixes are added to form the plural. Thus, *tātī*, 'a father' ; *tātī-lan*, 'fathers' ; *wēya*, 'a daughter' ; *wēyila*, 'daughters'.

Gender. The gender is either denoted by different words or by adding suffixes such as *-k* (fem.) to the masculine form. Thus, *pājªrā*, 'he-goat' ; *pājªrªk*, 'she-goat'.

Case. There is a very common oblique form which ends in *-sta* in the eastern, and in *-sā* in the western dialect. It is frequently used without any postposition, to represent various oblique cases, especially the agentive case. Thus, (eastern) *puṭ-klªsta*, 'the son (said)' ; (western) *puṭ-klªsā*, 'the son collected'.

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Other cases are also formed by adding different postpositions. For example, the instrumental is formed by adding *-dē* (western *dª*) and genitive *-s*. Thus *ēkīdē*, 'by eating' ; *ādªmis*, 'of a man'. [LSI pp. 90-93]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the personal pronouns are ; *ā*, 'I' ; *hamā*, 'we' ; (eastern) *tª*, (western) *tō*, 'thou' ; *hēmā*, 'you' ; (eastern) *ūsª*, (western) *ūsē*, *ūsī*, 'he' ; (eastern) *ūtª* (western) *ūtē*, 'they'. In the third person forms *ū*, *u* is generally changed to *o*.

For 'this', we have in both dialects *yō*. So, for 'how much' is *kau*, and for 'how many' is *kā*.

Pronominal suffixes are very frequently employed, both with nouns and verbs. When used with nouns, the full pronoun is usually employed at the same time. The suffixes used with nouns are ; first person, *-m*, second person, *-ē*, and third person *-ā*, *-ē*, *-ai* or *-ī*. Thus, *mēnā tāti-m*, 'my father' ; *tēnā tāt-ē*, 'your father' ; *ōtīs lāy-ā*, 'his father' ; *hās-ai*, 'on his hand'. The same suffixes are used with verbs in the first and the second persons, but in the third person *-ē*, *-in*, *-an* (eastern), *-yē* (western) are used. Thus, *di-m*, 'give to me' ; *dam-ē*, 'I will give to thee' ; *lēk-in*, 'I found him' ; *dāyīk-yē*, 'thou gavest to him'. [LSI pp. 93-95]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present tense is the same in both dialects, viz. :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hāim*	*hāis*
2.	*hāī*	*haida*
3.	*hās*	*hain*

When the subject is inanimate the third person is (eastern) *shē*, (western) *shid*.

The terminations of the past tense are as under :

Eastern

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*-im*	*-chim*	*-kis*	*-chis*
2.	*-kī*	*-chi*	*-chō*	*-chida*
3.	*-k*	*-ch*	*-nch*, *-nk*	*-nch*

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Western

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*-im*	*-im*	*-kis*	*-chis*
2.	*-ki*	*-chī*	*-kida*	*-chida*
3.	*-k*	*-ch*	*-nk*	*-nch*

Thus, *kāikim*, 'I was' ; *kāik*, 'he was', and so on.

Active verb. The infinitive is formed by adding *-īk* to the root ; thus, (eastern) *paīk* (western), *parīk*, 'to go' ; *töstīk*, 'to stand'. The present participle is usually formed by adding *-wā*, and past participle by *-īk* (fem. *-ich* or *-ach*) like the infinitive ; thus, *shāṛwā*, 'going' ; *līk*, 'dead' ; *nawīk*, 'found'.

The present tense is formed by adding the following terminations :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*-am*	*-as*
2.	-yā (eastern), -kī (western)	*-da* (eastern), *-kada* (western)
3.	-ya*di* (eastern) -gi (western)	*-kan*.

Thus, *hanīkam*, 'I strike ~ am striking'. Other forms in use are also met with. Thus, *tigā*, 'he dwells' ; *pāyim*, 'I go ~ am going'.

The past tense differs in transitive verbs and in intransitive ones. In the case of transitive verbs, it is formed by adding pronominal suffixes to the past participle in *-ik*. This participle is passive in meaning, and the pronominal suffixes represent the agentive case of the subject of the sentence, the participle agreeing in gender with the object. Thus, *hanīk* (fem, *hanich* means 'struck'. Hence, *hanīk -am* means 'he (was) struck by me', i. e. 'I struck him'. The tense is the same in both the dialects.

In the case of intransitive verbs, the third person singular takes no termination. In the other persons, the pronominal suffixes added to the past participle, represent the subject, which is in the nominative case. Thus, *gikyim*, 'I went' ; *gikyi*, 'thou wentest' ; *pulīk*, 'he arrived'. [LSI pp. 95-100]

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TIRĀHĪ

448 Tirāhī,* as already stated, is certainly a Dardic language, and is closely connected with Kalāṣhā, Paṣhai, and Gawar-bati, but it is also to be noted that it shows clear points of relationship with Shiṇā and Kashmīrī, Dardic languages spoken to the north-east. Compare for instance, Tirāhī *sure*, 'a child', with Kāshmīrī *shur*^{u} ; *mala*, 'a father', with Shiṇā *mālō* and Kāshmīrī *môl*^{u}.

The Paṣhai is spoken north of the river Kabul, and Tirāhī, is spoken in Ningrahār, south of river Kabul. Further south, in Waziristān, we come upon Ōrmuṛī, an Eranian form of speech, which shows clear traces of Dardic influence. Further south, we come to Lahndā and Sindhī, which show relics of some old Dardic language. In this way, Tirāhī forms an important link connecting the Dardic languages spoken in Dardistān, north of river Kabul, with a chain of three languages which show traces of ancient Dardic influence, and reach down to the mouth of the Indus.

Article. There appears to be an indefinite article, which is formed by adding *-i* to the noun. Thus, *kharab badani*, 'a bad boy'. For the definite article, the demonstrative pronoun *le* or *la* is very commonly employed. Thus, *le pakirasi ek ana de*, 'give one anna to the faqir'.

Nouns : Gender. There are no sufficient materials to form any rules as regards gender. All that can be said is that the feminine gender is recognised, and that many feminine nouns end in *-e* or *-ē*, when, in Indo-Aryan languages, they would end in *-ī*. Thus, we have *strē* (Indian *strī*) 'a woman' ; *de* (Indian *dhī*), 'a daughter'.

Number. The plural is often the same as the singular. This is especially the case when a noun ends in *-a* or *-ā*. Sometimes

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*Till the preparation of Vol VIII. Part II material on this language was not available. Later on, due to the unusual efforts of Sir Aurel Stein, some material on this language could be procured. The grammatical sketch is based on this material which is described on pages 267 to 327 of Vol. I. Part I.

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-a, *-e* or *-ē* are added to form the plural. Thus, *putara* (sing. *putar*) 'sons'; *ṯsalē* (sing. *ṯsalī*), 'she-goats'; *dante* (sing. *dant*) 'teeth'.

Cases. Except the nominative, other cases are usually formed by adding suffixes. Some of the relations of time and place are indicated with the aid of postpositions.

Adjectives. Adjectives appear sometimes to change for gender and number, but the available materials are not sufficient for laying down any general rules. All that can be said is that the termination *-e* or *-ō* occurs most frequently in the case of adjectives agreeing with feminine nouns or with masculine plural nouns. But this is by no means a universal rule.

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the first and second person pronouns are; *ao*, *au*, *mē*, 'I'; *ao*, *āo*, *mēn*, 'we'; *tu*, *to*, *tē*, *te*, 'thou'; *tu*, *tao*, *tā*, 'you'.

The demonstrative pronouns *le*, *lā* or *lema*, 'this, that', are also used as pronouns of the third person. Judging from the available examples, there does not appear to be separate.

The reflexive possessive pronoun is *tanu*, 'own', which like the Hindōstānī *apnā*, always refers to the logical subject of the sentence. The relative pronoun is *ki*, 'who, which'. The interrogative pronoun is *kama*, 'who?'. The indefinite pronoun is *kī*, 'anyone', and *kasa*, 'whatever'.

Verb: Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. In the present tense the most common verb substantive is *tim*, 'I am'. it is conjugated as follows:

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*tim*	*tima*
2.	*tis*	*tiza*
3.	*ti* (fem. *tē*)	*tina*

It is also used as an auxiliary verb, helping to form the present definite of the perfect tense.

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The corresponding past tense of the verb substantive is conjugated as follows :

'I was', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*wāma*,	*wāma*
2.	*wāz*, *wē*	*wāma*
3.	*wā* (wa), (fem. *wē*)	*wana*, *wāma*

There is in Paṣhtō, a verb substantive, *dai*, 'he is', which appears in Tirāhī under the form *dē* (*de*) or *da*. It is almost always employed as an auxiliary verb forming the present tense and will be considered under that head.

Active verb : Present. As in other Dardic languages and in Ghalchah languages, the present tense is also used for the future, though there are at the same time special forms for the latter tense. If the present or future tense has to be emphasized, this is done by prefixing the verb substantive *dē* or *dá*, 'he is', for the present and *ba* (as in Paṣhtō) for the future. This, however, is not always done. All the terminations of this tense are not available. A few examples may be noted ; *dēma*, 'I give, I beat' ; *dakerem*, 'I do' ; *owē*, 'he comes'.

Future. As stated above, the future is the same in form as the present, although, when emphasis is laid on the futurity, the syllable *ba* or *bo* is prefixed, as in Paṣhtō.

Past. As in other Dardic languages, the past tense is formed from the past participle, to which pronominal suffixes may or may not be added. It may be considered under two aspects, viz., (a) the past tense of intransitive verbs, and (b) the past tense of transitive verbs.

(a) *Intransitive verbs.* The past participle of the verb *bo-*, 'go' is *ga*, 'gone'. When used as a past tense, *ga* means 'he went', but also, as in other Dardic languages, is used to mean 'he became',

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and hence 'he is'. Thus, we have, *ao marā gam*, 'I went (or became) dead, I am dead'.

(b) *Transitive verbs.* As usual, these are constructed as passives, with the subject in the agentive case. Thus, *aṛī*, 'he said'; *putre-na le-na aṛi*, 'the son said to him'; *le-na lāsi aṛī*, 'he said to him'.

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English	*Wai-alā* (Waigal)	*Gawar-bati*	*Pashai* (Eastern dialect)
one	ek	yak	ī
two	du	dū~du	dē
three	trē	thlē	hl^{a}
four	shtā	tsūr	chār
hand	dosht	hast	hāst
foot	pāpō	khur	pā
head	shei	shanṭa	shīr
a father	tata	yak bāb	ī tātī
of a father	tatō-ba	yak bāba-ni	ī tātīs
to a father	tatō, tatō-ka	yak bābā~yak bābā-kē	ī tātī āntē
two fathers	du tatē-kela	du bāb	dō tātī
I am	yē vṛem	ā thanaïm	hāim
thou art	to vṛesh	tu thanïas	hāī
he is	se veṛ	se thana	hās

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English	*Wai-alā* (Waigal)	*Gawar-bati*	*Pashai* (Eastern dialect)
we are	yema vēṛamish	ama thanaïk	hāis
you are	vi vēṛē	mē thanaü	haida
they are	tē veṛet vṛet	teme thanaït	hāin
I was	yē vaṛiem	ā boem	hāikim (*m.*), hāichim (*f.*)
thou wast	to vaṛiesh	tu boes	hāikī (*m.*), hāichī (*f.*)
he was	se vaṛī	se bua	hāik (*m.*), hāich (*f.*)
we were	yemā vaṛiēmish	ama boek	hāikis (*m.*), hāichis (*f.*)
you were	vī vaṛyū̃	mē bō	hāichō (*m.*), hāichīda (*f.*)
they were	te vaṛī	teme boet	hāinch (*m.* and *f.*)
I shall be	yē bāṛiam	ā bima	$t^{a}m$
I beat	yē viam	ā thlimen	(ā) hanīkam
thou beatest	to viash	tu thlimes	haniyā
he beats	se viās	se thlimān	hamyadī
we beat	yema viāmish	ama thlimek	hanīkas
you beat	vi viāsē	mē thlimāneo	hanēda
they beat	tē viast	teme thlimet	hanīkan

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I beat (past)	*ĩ vinō, vinā*	*mui thlitem*	(mam) hanīkam
thou beatest (past)	*to vinō, vinā*	*tuĩ thliteo*	(tō) hanīkī
he beat (past)	*tashō vinō, vinā*	*ten thlites*	(us[a]) hanīkin (*m.*), hanīchan (*f.*)
we beat (past)	yema-vinō, vinā	amai thlita	hanīkan (m.), hanīchan (f.)
you beat (past)	vima vinō, vinā	mē thlitau	hanīkō (m.), hanīchō (f.)
they beat (past)	tẽs vinō, vinā	tasuĩ thlitan	hanīkan (m.), hanīchan (f.)
I shall beat	yō viẽṛam	ā thlēmō	(ā) hanyikamī

[LSI pp. 112-131]

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KHŌ-WĀR, CHITRĀLĪ, OR ARNIYA

450 Khō-wār is the language generally spoken throughout Chitral, as far down as Drōsh. It is also spoken by people residing in Ghizr Valley (east of Shandur Pass) as far as Gupis.

According to tradition the whole Chitral valley was once occupied by, Kāfirs, and some Kāfir tribes, e.g. the Kalāshīs, still inhabit it. This tradition is borne out by the fact that Kāfir languages are much more nearly related to those of the Dard group than either of these groups is to Khō-wār. The last though undoubtedly a Dardic language, differs from the other two in some essential particulars, such, even, as the forms of the personal pronouns, in which it agress rather with Ghalchah languages to the north. It looks as if the whole tract comprising the present Kafiristan, Chitral, and Gilgit was once occupied by one homogeneous race, which was subsequently split into two by a wedge of Khō invasion, representing members of a different, but related, tribe coming from north. In order to exemplify this a few words of Khō-wār with the corresponding words in the Kāfir and two Dard languages are shown in the table below :

		Kāfir Group		Dard Group	
English	Khō-war	Bashgalī	Kalāshā	Shiṇā	Kāshmīrī
behind	*achĕ*	*pṭibar*	*pishṭō*	*phatū*	*pata*
black	*shā*	*zhī*	*krūna*	*kinō*	*krĕhun*^{u}
cow	*lĕshū*	*gâo*	*gak*	*gō*	*gāv*
tongue	*ligini*	*dits*	*jib, jip*	*jib, jip*	*zĕv*

Pronunciation. *a* is pronounced as *u* in *nut* ; *ă* as in English *hat* ; *ĕ* as in 'tent' or 'met' ; *ŏ* as in English 'hot' ; *o* like the first *o* in 'promote'. An acute accent marks the accented syllable. Thus, *asún*. *kh*, *zh*, *gh* are pronounced as in Persian, and *q*- as in Arabic. *ḷ* has a lingual sound between *l* and *r*. The latters *ts* and *dz* represent the well-known sounds of Pashtō and Kāshmīrī. [LSI p. 136]

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Nouns : Number. There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plural is formed by adding *-a, ān*, or *-ên* ; thus, *daq-ān*, 'boys' ;

Declension. There are two declensions, (a) animate and (b) inanimate. In the first declension the word for 'from' is *sar* and for 'on' is *sōra*, both added to the genitive. Thus, *daq-o-sar*, 'from or by a boy' ; *daq-o sōra*, 'on a boy'. In the second declension the word for 'from' is *ār*, added to the nominative and for 'on' is *ṭĕka* added to the genitive. Thus, *an-ār*, 'from or by a mountain' ; *an-o-ṭĕka*, 'on a mountain'. The word for 'with' is *sum* added to the genitive in both declensions.

Except the one form mentioned above, case suffixes are added to the oblique form derived by adding *-o* in the singular and *-ān* in the plural. [LSI p. 136]

Adjectives. The adjectives precede the noun they govern, and remain unchanged for gender or number. [LSI p. 136]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the first two personal pronouns are, -'*ḍwa*,' 'I' ; *ispá*, 'we' ; *tu*, 'thou' ; '*pisa*' 'you'. The pronouns of the third person are also used as demonstrative pronouns. They have three forms, one near, second remote, and the third more remote. Thus, the forms in the singular are ; near, *haiya*, remote, *hĕs*, move remote, *hása*.

These are declined quite regularly like nouns.

Interrogative pronouns are : *kā*, 'who'? ; *kī*, 'which'? ; *kya, kyani*, 'what' ?.

There is no relative pronoun. For 'the man who went', we say *bogh dū mōsh*, literally, the gone man'. [LSI p. 136]

Verbs. verbs substantive :

(a) Defective : These are two, (1) referring to animate, and (2) referring to inanimate objects.

(1) Referring to animate objects is *asík*, 'to be'. It is conjugated as under :

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	Present, I am, etc.		*Past*, I was, etc.	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*asúm*	*asúsi*	*ásistam*	*ásistam*
2.	*asús*	*asúmi*	*ásistau*	*ásistami*
3.	*asúr*	*asúni*	*ásistai*	*ásistani*

(2) Referring to inanimate object is *shik*, 'to be'. Its forms are : *shĕr*, 'it is' ; *shĕni*, they are' ; *o-shói*, 'it was' ; *oshóni*, 'they were'.

(b) Complete : The root is, *bik*, 'to become'. It is irregular. Its past participle is *biti*, 'having become'.

It is conjugated alike in the present and future tenses. The conjugations are :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*bōm*	*bōsi*
2.	*bōs*	*bōmi*
3.	*boi*	*bōni*

Thus, we have *bōm*, 'I become' ~ 'I shall become' and so on.

The present definite is formed by adding *-an* to the present-future form. Thus, *bōm-an*, 'I am becoming'.

It is conjugated in the past tense as under :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hóstam*	*hóstam*
2.	*hów*	*hóstami*
3.	*hōr*	*hōni*
	hoi,	
	~ *birū*	~ *birū*

Auxiliary verbs. The present tense is the same as the verb substantive. The past tense is conjugated as under :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*oshtam*	*oshtam*
2.	*oshō*	*oshtami*
3.	*oshoī*	*oshoni*

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This is only used as an auxiliary, and never as a finite verb.

Regular verb. The infinitive ends in *-ik* ~ *īk* ; thus, *ganik*, 'to take'. The present participle adds *-a* to the infinitive ; thus, *gánika*, 'taking'. The past participle drops *k* of the infinitive ; thus, *gáni*, 'having taken'.

The present future tense is formed by adding the following terminations to the root :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ím*	*-ísi*
2.	*-ís*	*-ími*
3.	*-ír*	*-íni*

Some verbs form the present-future and present definite with *ō* and some with *u*. Thus, *pětsh̲ik*, 'to shoot' ; *pětsh̲-um* 'I shoot, ~ I shall shoot' ; *dēk*, 'to give' ; *d-ōm*, 'I give ~ I shall give'.

The past tense is formed by adding the following terminations :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*-stam*	*-stam*
2.	*-stau*	*-stami*
2.	*-stai*	*-stani*

The consonant *s*, in *stam* etc. is often omitted. Thus, *gánitam* 'I took'. [LSI p. 137]

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DARD-GROUP

451 The Dard Group includes Shiṇā, Kāshmīrī and Kōhistānī languages. Of these, Shiṇā is the purest example of the group. Kāshmīrī, with its literary traditions, has imbibed too much civilization and vocabulary from India to make it a typical Dard language. Kōhistānī, on the other hand, is a group of uncultivated dialects near the Indian frontier, all of which have been influenced not only by Indian languages but also by Paṣhtō. [LSI p. 149]

SHIṆĀ

452 In various dialects, Shiṇā is the language of the Gurēz valley in Kashmir, of the Astor valley, and of the Gilgit district as far north as Yāsīn and Hunza. It also extends down the Indus valley through the Chilās country, as far as Pālus and Kōlī, close to the Indus Kōhistān, on the left bank of that river. Again, to the east, in Baltistan, there are isolated colonies of Dards, still speaking their original language.

Shiṇā has many dialects. The principal are,

1. Gilgītī, the dialect of Gilgit valley.
2. Astōrī, the dialect of Astōr valley.
3. Chilāsī, it is spoken lower down the Indus, in Darēl, Hudar, etc. It continues down both sides of the Indus as far as Tangīr and Sazin. It is also spoken in the valley of Roshan. Chilāsī closely resembles Astōrī.
4. Gurēzī, the dialect of Gurēz valley. It resembles Chilāsī, and the Brōkpā of Drās.

5 & 6. Brōkpā of Drās and of Ḍāh-Hanū.

7. A north-western dialect, without a name, spoken to the north-west of Gilgit. No materials are available about this dialect. [LSI p. 150]

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GILGITĪ

453 *Pronunciation.* *Besides the usual pairs of vowels we have also *à* and *è*, *à* indicates the sound of the *a* in the German word 'Mann', or to the long *a* in 'father', and *è* that of *è* in the French word 'père'. These two vowels are often uncertain in their pronunciation. Both are quite often sounded as *a* and *e*, respectively, as in *àsh* or *ash*, 'today' ; *cẖēi* and *cẖei*, 'a woman'.

The sonant consonants *g*, *j*, *ḍ*, *d* and *b* are indeed, as in other Dardic languages, never aspirated at all. Thus, *bāgo*, 'a share', Hindī *bhāg* ; *majā*, 'among', Hindī *mājh*. The fricative sound *f* is not uncommon, as in *bafūr*, 'ibex-down'. There are four true cerebral sounds in Shiṇā. These are represented by *ṣẖ*, *ṭẖ*, *ẓ*, (or *ẓẖ*) and *ɖ* (or *ṛ*). The sounds represented by letters *t* and *d* are not dental, as in India, but are alveolar, as in English. In some words these sounds are post-alveolar.

Nouns : Gender. There are two genders, masculine and feminine. Many masculine nouns end in *-o*, the corresponding feminine termination being *-ī*. Thus, *pōṭẖo*, 'a grand son' ; *pōṭẖī*, 'a grand daughter'. Sex is, however, generally indicated by different words as in *jā*, 'a brother' ; *sà*, 'a sister'.

Number. The nominative plural of most nouns ending in a vowel ends in *ĕ*. Some nouns ending in a consonant, especially when feminine, form their plural in *-è*, but others, especially masculines, in *-ī*. Nouns of relationship form their plurals in *-ārè* or *-rè*. Thus, *jā*, 'a brother', *jārè*, 'brothers'.

Case. There are very few variations in the declension of nouns, although the different terminations have each variant forms. The case terminations are as follows. The accusative is the same in form as the nominative :

	Sing.	Plur.
Nom. and Acc.	*-o*, *-u*	*-è*, *-ī*
agentive	*-s* (*è*)	*-s* (*è*)

* The following is the summary of the Grammatical Sketch given on pages 328 to 380 of Vol. I, Part I, which is based on the study of D L R, Lorimer, and supercedes the one given in Vol. VIII. Part II pp. 151-166.

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	Sing.	Plur.
oblique	*-è*	*-o, -u*
gen.	*-è*	*-o, -u*
dat.	*-ṭ (è)*	*-ṭ (è)*
Abl.	*-jo, -ju*	*-jo, -ju*
Loc. I	*-r (o)*	*-r (o)*
Loc. II	*-ch, -j*	*-ch, -j*

The termination of the agent case is added to the nominative. The oblique case is really only the genitive put to a special use. The terminations of the dative and ablative are added to the oblique case. The locative I has the meaning 'in' and the locative II has the meaning 'on', with, of course, in each case derivative meanings.

The agentive case plays a more important part in Shiṇā than in Indo-Aryan languages. In them the subject of a transitive verb is put into the agentive case only when the verb is in one of the tenses derived from the past participle. In Gilgitī, on the contrary, the subject of a transitive verb is put into the agentive case in whatever tense (even the present or future) that the verb may be. Thus, we have *mas damus*, 'I give'; *tus dēino*, 'thou givest', and so on.

The suffix of unity. If *k* is added to a noun, it gives the force of an indefinite article. It is generally preceded by the vowel *è*, but if the noun ends in *-o*, this is simply changed to *-u*. The noun with this suffix is then declined like an ordinary noun ending in a consonant. Thus, *kūi*, 'country'; *kūyèk* (for *kūièk*), 'a country'.

Other case relations are indicated by postpositions.

Adjectives. Adjective ending in *-o* (and nearly all do so) form the feminine singular in *-ī*, and the plural of both genders in *-è*. An adjective agrees with its qualified noun in gender and number. The final vowel is apt to be slurred over to *a*, and this makes it difficult to say whether there is any agreeing in case, to the extent of having an oblique form.

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Comparison is effected by putting the noun with which comparison is made in the ablative, as in *anè mèch rèsè-jo wthalī hin*, 'this table is higher than that'. The superlative is made with the aid of the ablative singular of *būṭo*, 'all', or of the ablative plural of *būṭo* with a demonstrative pronoun, or of the ablative plural of the noun with which comparison is made preceded by *būṭō*.

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the first two personal pronouns are ; *mà*, 'I' *tu* ; thou ; *bè*, 'we' ; *tso*, 'you'.

There are at least three demonstrative pronoun of the third person. There are *o* and *ro*, both used when the object is remote and *anu* or *nu*, used when the object referred to is near. All the three have distinct forms for the feminine only in the nominative-accusative and in the agent singular. In the other cases of the singular, and throughout the plural, there is no distinction of gender.

The interrogative pronouns are *ko*, 'who ?, which ?, what ?' (animate) and *zhēk* or *jèk*, 'which ? what ? ' (inanimate). Either may be used adjectively.

The interrogative pronouns are also used as indefinite pronouns. *Ko* may take the form *ko-ga* and *zhèk* may take the form *zhēkēk*, meaning 'a thing', 'something'.

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present tense of the verb substantive has, in the singular, separate forms for the masculine and for the feminine. In the plural it is of common gender. It is conjugated as follows :

'I am', etc.

	Sing.		Plur.
	Masc.	Fem.	Common gender.
1.	*hanus, hunus*	*hanis*	*hanis, hanés*
2.	*hanō*	*hanĕ*	*hanét*
3.	*han, hun, hano, hanu*	*hin, hanī*	*han, hané*

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In the third person singular, the initial *h* is often dropped, and the remaining form becomes an enclitic. Thus, *miṣḥṭo hun*, 'he is good', becomes *miṣḥṭ*'-'*un*'.

The past tense has three forms, -two longer, with *l* in the termination, and a shorter without *l*. The shorter form is conjugated as under :

'I was', etc.

	Sing.		Plur.
	Masc.	Fem.	Common gender
1.	*asus*	*asis*	*asès*
2.	*aso*	*asè*	*asèt*
3.	*asu*	*asī*	*asè*

The first form with *l* is conjugated as follows :

1.	*asulus*	*asilis*	*asilis*
2.	*asulo*	*asilè*	*asilèt*
3.	*asul, asulu*	*asil, asilī*	*asal, asilè*

The second form with *l* is a compound of the two preceding forms, in which the form without *l* is added after the form with *l*. We thus get *asulúsus*, 'I was', and so on for the other persons.

Other tenses of the verb substantive are supplied from the verb *bōiki*, 'to become'.

Its future and present subjunctive forms are as under :

	Sing.	Plur.
	Common gender	Common gender
1.	*bom, bam, bum, baièm*	*bōn, baiōn*
2.	*bè, bèi, baiè*	*bāat, baièt*
3.	*baii, baiè, bai, bēi*	*bèen, bēin, baien*

The transitive verbs. In shīṇā there are two different verbal conjugations, - that of the transitive and that of the intransitive verb. These differ materially in the conjugation of the past

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tenses. Except in the future tenses and in the imperative, the finite verbs have two tenses each in the singular, while in the plural they are all of common gender. Whether transitive or intransitive, and whether in a past tense or not, the verb agrees with the subject in number and person. There is nothing like the passive construction of the past tenses of a transitive verb, in whatever tense the latter may be, is always put into the agentive case, as in *mas ṣhidam*, 'I shall strike'.

The infinitive, in its full form, ends in *-ōiki*, *-ōik*, or *-ōk* as in *ṣhidōiki*, *ṣhidōik*, or *ṣhidōk*, 'to strike'. An apocopated form of the infinitive is obtained by omitting the final *-iki*. as in *ṣhidō*. This is used in the formation of the present participle. Post-position *ajè* is added to this form. Thus, *ṣhidō-'jè*, or *ṣhidōjè*, 'on striking'.

The conjunctive participle, or past participle active, is formed by substituting *ē*, *ēi*, or *ü* for the *-ōiki* of the infinitive, as in *ṣhidē*, *ṣhidēi*, or *ṣhidaii*, 'having struck'

The tenses of the transitive verb fall into three groups. The first group is founded in the future tense, in which the personal terminations are added directly to the base. Thus, *mas ṣhid - am*, 'I shall strike'. From this a present is formed by adding the fragments of the present tense of the verbs substantive, as in *mas ṣhidamus*, for *ṣhidam - hunus*, 'I strike'. Again, an imperfect is similarly formed with fragments of the past tense of the verb substantive, as in *mas ṣhidamusus*, *ṣhidam - asus*, 'I was striking'.

The second group of tenses is founded on an old past participle, now obsolete, made by adding *-ēgo*~*-ēgu* to the conjugational base. Thus, *ṣhid -ēgo* ~ *ṣhid -ēgu*. In the first and second persons of the past tense, the personal terminations are simply added to this old past participle, as in *mas ṣhidē gas*, 'I struck'. The third person is the participle alone, without any termination, as in *rōs ṣhidēgo*, 'he struck'.

The third group consists of periphrastic tenses, formed with the help of auxiliary verbs.

The intransitive verb. The conjugation of the intransitive verb differs from that of the transitive verb only in the tenses formed from the past participle.

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The intransitive verbs fall into two groups—original, and derivative. An example of an original intransitive verb is *buj -ōiki*, 'to go', of which the conjugational base is *buj-*. More often an intransitive verb is derivative, i. e. is derived from some transitive verb by the addition of the infix *-īj-* or *-ij* to the transitive conjugational base. Thus, from the transitive verb *fer-ōiki*, 'to turn (something) round', we have the derivative intransitive verb, *fer-īj-ōiki* or *fer-ij-ōiki*, 'to turn round, return'.

Original transitive verbs from the past participle by adding sometimes *-to* and sometimes *-lo* to the conjugational base ; but in making this addition the conjugational base undergoes many changes.

Derivative verbs change the *j* of *-īj*, *ij* etc. to *-do*, and in several cases have *-lo*, as well as *do*. Thus, from *feri joiki*, 'to turn round', we have *ferīdo*, and from *bitī jōiki*, 'to move', we have *bitido*~*bitīlo*.

The personal terminations of the past tense of an intransitive verb are not the same as those of the transitive. They differ in the first and second persons singular masculine. Thus :

	Sing.			Plur.
	Masc.		Fem.	Common gender
	Tran.	Intran.	Tran. & Intran. both	Tran. & Intran. both
1.	*-as*	*-us*	*-is*, *īs*	*-ès*
2.	*-à*	*-o*	*-è*	*-èt*
3.	*-u* ~ *-o*	*-u* ~ *o*	*-ī*	*-è*

The passive voice . A transitive verb may be put into the passive voice by adding *-īj-*~*-ij* to the root. Thus *ṣhidōiki*, 'to strike' ; *ṣhidijōiki*, 'to be struck'. The passive verb so obtained is then conjugated like a derivative intransitive verb in *-ĭjōiki*. It thus occurs that it is often difficult to say whether a given verb in *-ĭ jōiki* is intransitive or passive.

The causal verb. A causal verb is made by adding the syllable *er* ~ *ar* to the root of the primary verb. If the root ends in a

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vowel, the contiguous vowels usually coalesce, but the typical *r* remains unchanged. If the primary verb is intransitive, the causal formed from it is usually an active causal, as in *nikhaioïki*, 'to come out', causal *nikhairōiki*, 'to cause to come out, to take out'. If the primary verb is transitive, the causal usually implies the passive of the primary verb as in *màrōiki*, 'to kill', causal *màrarōiki*', to cause to be killed, to have killed'.

In some cases double causals may be formed by doubling the *-èr-*. Of the causal *pacherōiki*, 'to cook', we have the double causal *pachererōiki*, 'to cause to be cooked'.

ASTŌRĪ

454 The Ṣhiṇā of Astor is the same as the Brōkpā of Dras. It closely resembles the Ṣhiṇā of Gilgit, but in some respects follows Gurēzī. Thus, the pronoun of the first person is *mō*, not *má*, and that of the third person is *zhō* instead of *rō*. In the conjugation of verbs the infinitive ends in *-nō* instead of *-ki*. The present tense of the verb substantive is contracted, as in Gurēzi and Dras, thus, *mō hāos*, 'I am'. In other respects the conjugation of the verb is practically the same as that of the Ṣhiṇā of Gilgit. [LSI p. 173]

GUREZĪ

Gurēzī is spoken in the valley of Gurais or Gurez, called by its inhabitants Gorāī. Although Gorāī is within thirty miles of the Kashmir valley, the dialect is so quite different from Kāshmīrī,—so different that an inhabitant of Gorāī and a Kāshmīrī each speaking only his own mother tongue, would be quite unintelligible to each other. It is very much simpler than Kāshmīrī, having far fewer inflections, and is even simpler than Pañjābī or Urdū, which it resembles in structure and syntax, though the vocabulary and inflections are almost entirely different. [LSI p. 174]

Pronunciation. Half pronounced *u* and *i* are met with at the end of a word which are so common in Kāshmīrī and which are

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also found in the languages of Eastern Hindustan. Thus, *al*^{u}, 'came', *dōn*^{u}, 'a bullock'. The letters *r* and *j* of Gilgit often become *zh*. Thus, we have, *zho* instead of *rō*, 'he'; and *mazha* instead of *majā*, 'among'.

Nouns : Number. There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plural usually ends in *-ē* or *-*^{t}; thus *musha*, 'a man'; *mushē*, 'men'.

Gender. The gender is indicated either by different words or by prefixing the word *bīr-* (male) or *sōch-* (female); thus, *bāl*, 'boy'; *mulai*, 'girl'; *bīr aship*, 'male horse'; *sōch aship*, 'mare'.

Case. Few nouns seem to change for the oblique form. *Musha*, 'a man', drops the final *ā* in the agent and genitive singular, but retains it in the dative, and *sass*, 'a sister', changes to *saz* in all cases of the singular. In the plural all nouns take *-ōn* in the dative case before the final *t*.

The case suffixes are very loosely employed. The only one which have any fixity are those of the dative, which is -t or with a junction vowel *-at*, *-it*,~*ut*, and that of the locative, which is *-izh* (*-azh*). Thus, *musha-t*, 'to a man'; *zhu-mulk-azh*, 'in that country'. [LSI pp. 174-175, 176-178]

Adjectives. Adjectives agree with their nouns in gender and number, but do not alter with the case of the noun. [LSI p. 178]

Pronouns. Some of the forms of personal pronouns are; *mo*, 'I'; *be*, 'we'; *tu*, 'thou'; *tsō* (m.), *tsā* (f.) 'you'; *zho* 'he'; *zhĕ*, 'she'; *zhe*, 'they'. These pronouns are declined for case.

Anu is 'this', *ā* is 'that'; *zho*, 'who' (relative); *kōi* is 'who?' and *zhōg* is 'what?'. [LSI pp. 175-180]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present is built on the form *hōs*. The past closely follows the longer form of the Gilgit dialects. There is a future also built on the form *as*. The conjugations in all the three tenses are as under :

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Present, 'I am' etc.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.
1.	*hŏs*	*hãs*	*hãs*	*hãs*
2.	*hõ*	*hä*	*hant*	*hãnt*
3,	*hõ*	*hĩ*	*hã*	*hã*

Past, 'I was', etc.

	Sing.		Plur.
	M.	F.	
1.	*asulus*	*asilis*	*asilis*
2.	*asulo*	*asile*	*asilit*
3.	*asul*	*asil*	*asil*

Future, 'I shall be' etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ās-im*	*ās-on*
2.	*ās-e*	*ās-at*
3.	*ās*	*ās-in*

Active verb. This closely follows the Gilgit conjugation. The conjugations of future and past tenses are as under :

Future, 'I shall speak', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*rāz-im*	*rāz-ōn*
2.	*rāz-e*	*rāz-at*
3.	*rāz-e*	*rāz-in*

Past, 'I did', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*thās*	*thī-is*
2.	*thā*	*thī-it*
3.	*thāu*	*thī-e*

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The present tense is formed by adding the present tense of the auxiliary verbs to the future, e.g. *mose thim hõs*, 'I am doing'. [LSI pp. 175, 180-182]

BRŌKPĀ OF DRAS

455 Dras is much nearer to Kashmir than in Gilgit, and hence the Brōkpā is now and then mixed with Kāshmīrī idioms. Curiously enough, in the conjugation of the verb substantive it seems to have been influenced by the Burushaskī of Hunza-Nagar which lie far to the north beyond Gilgit. It looks as if the inhospitable high lands in which Brōkpā is now spoken were once inhabited by speakers of Burushaskī. [LSI p. 186]

Pronunciation. Vowels are frequently nasalised. For example the past participles end in *-ō* or *-au*. *Au* is constantly nasalised. Thus, we have both *dau* and *daũ* 'he gave'. *Zhr* is a sound intermediate between an *r* and a French *j* or the *z* in 'azure'. *Ch* is optionally interchanged with *sh*, as in *puch* or *push*, 'a son'. [LSI 186-187]

Nouns : Gender. There are two genders, the masculine and the feminine.

Number. The singular number is emphasised by adding *ek* 'one' to the end of a word. In such cases the *e* is elided after a vowel and the remaining *k* may be taken as the equivalent of the indefinite article. Thus, *baskōchō-k*, 'a servant'.

The plural ends in *-ē* or *-ī* ; thus, *zhakōrē*, 'men' *ãshpī*, 'horses'.

Case. The dialect has two forms of the agentive case, one ending in *-sā* or *sē*, and another ending in the singular in various vowels, generally *-ī*, and in plural in *-zhā* or *-zhē*. The first is used for the subject of a transitive verb in all tenses except the past ; *mālō-sū grun diĩu*, 'the father is giving a feast'. The second is used for the subject of a transitive verb in the past tense, thus, *mālī daũ* 'the father gave'.

The accusative is the same as the nominative.

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The dative is usually formed by adding *-rē*, before which a noun ending in *-ō* drops its final letter; thus, *bōbō*, 'a father', dative *bāb-re*.

The locative ends in *-zhē* or *-zhā*, thus, *gosh-zhē*, 'in the house'.

The typical sound of the ablative is *-ō*. The most common suffix is *-zhō* or *-jō*, which is connected with the *-zhē* of the locative. Thus, *bābē-zhē*, 'from the father'.

The genitive ends in *-ō*; thus, *kashirō shīsh*, 'a Kashmiri's head'. [LSI pp. 187-190]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of personal pronouns are; *mõ*, 'I'; *bē*, 'we'; *tu*, 'thou'; *tsō*, (fem.) *tsā*; *nō*, *nū*, *anō*, 'he, it'; *nī*, 'she'; *nī*; 'they'. The pronouns of the third person are indentical with the demonstrative pronouns. The Gilgit *rō*, 'he, she, it, that' is also used.

The neuter interrogative pronoun is *zhōk* or *zhōg*, 'what ?'. The relative pronoun is *kē*, 'who' and the interrogative is *kõī*, 'who ?'.

The pronouns are declined for case. [LSI pp. 190-194]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present and past tenses of the verbs substantive closely follow the Shiṇā of Gilgit. In the present tense the letter *n* is liable to be weakened to a mere nasalisation of the succeeding vowel. The tenses are conjugated as under :

I am, etc.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*mõ kanōs~hãs*	*mõ hānis, haĩs*	*bē hānis, ~ hãs*	*bē haĩs*
2.	*tū hānō, haõ*	*tū hanī, haĩ*	*tsō hanet, hãt*	*tsā haĩt*
3.	*rō hanō, haõ, haũk*	*rē hanī, haĩ*	*rē hã, hãk*	*ra haniē*

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I was, etc.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*mõ asilus, asilōs*	*mõ asīliis, (~līs)*	*bē āsiles*	*bē asilies*
2.	*tū asilō*	*tū asiliē (~-lī)*	*tsō asilet*	*tsā āsiliet*
3.	*rō āsilō*	*rē asiliē (~-lī)*	*rē asilē*	*rā āsiliē*

Active verb. The conjugation of the finite verb, follows Gilgit Shiṇā in its main principles.

The infinitive is formed by adding *-ōnō*, or *-nō* ; thus, *kutīnō*, or *kutyōnō*, 'to strike'.

The present participle is formed by adding *-stō* ; thus *kutiẽstō*, 'striking'.

The past participle is formed by adding *-ō* or *-au* ; thus, *kutō ~kutau*, 'struck'.

The conjunctive participle ends in *-ē* ; thus, *baghē* 'having divided'.

The present-future tense is conjugated as under :

'I strike, I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*mõ-sē kutem*	—	*bē-sē-kutōn*	—
2.	*tū-sē kutē kutēsh*	—	*tsō-sē kutiāt*	*tsā-sē kutiāt*
3.	*rō-sē kutēī*	*rē-se kutū*	*rē-sē kuten*	*rā-sē kuten*

In this dialect the tenses formed from the past participle do not take the suffix *-ēga*, as in Gilgit Shiṇā. The past tense is formed directly from the past participle, the third person singular being identical with it. It is declined as under :

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'I struck', etc.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*mī kutās*	*mī kuties, kutīs*	*assō-zhākuties*	*assō-zhō kuties*
2.	*tō-kutā*	*tō kutē*	*tsō-zhā kutiēt*	*tsa-zha kutietī*
3.	*sēsī kutō, -au, -aũ*	*rēsī kutī*	*renō-zhā kutiē*	*ranō-zha kutiē*

Intransitive or neuter verb. To show the forms of these verbs, conjugations of the verb, *bōzhōnō*, 'to go', in the present-future and past tenses are given below :

Present-Future, 'I go', 'I shall go', etc.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*mõ bōzhum*	—	*bē bōzhōn*	—
2.	*tū bōzhē*	—	*tsō bōzhāt*	*tsā bōzhat*
3.	*rō bōzhēī*	*rē bōzhīī*	*rē bōzhen*	*rā bōzhen*

Past, 'I went', etc.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*mõ gas*	*mõ gyes*	*bē gyes*	*bē gyees*
2.	*tū ga*	*tū gyē, gĩ*	*tsō gyat*	*tsā gyetī*
3.	*rō gau*	*rē gyē, gī*	*rē gyē*	*rā gyē*

The conditional tenses for all kinds of verbs are formed by adding the syllable to the simple present or pluperfect ; thus, *mõ bōzhetō*, 'If I go'.

Transitive verbs form the tenses in exactly the same way. For both, the subject is put into the agentive case ending in *-sā~sē*. Thus, *rõ-sē kutētō*, 'if I strike'. [LSI pp. 194-202]

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BRŌKPĀ OF ḌĀH-HANŪ

456 Ḍāh and Hanū are in the east of Baltistan, close to the frontier of the province of Ladakh. Inhabitants are Shiṇās, and their language, though much mixed with western Tibetan, is still Shiṇā in its essence. [LSI p. 208]

Vocabulary. Many words are borrowed from Tibetan. Especially common is the so-called Tibetan article *pō*, fem. *mō*. *Pō* is added to any noun, whether of Tibetan origin or not, and does not appear to affect the sense in any way. Thus, *zhap* or *zhap-pā*, 'property'. Adjectives usually follow the nouns they qualify, thus following the Tibetan and not the Aryan idiom. In such cases, they, and not the nouns they qualify, take the case suffixes ; thus, *būnī dūrī-ku-rā*, 'to a far country'.

Pronunciation. A final *ā* seems to be always inter-changeable with *ē* and sometimes even *ō* or *u* ; *rā* or *rē*, 'to' ; *chōrr*, for *chār*; *pũsh* for *pãch*, 'five'.

There is a strong tendency to harden soft letters frequently accompanied by disaspiration. Thus, we have *kirmō* (Tibetan *girmō*), 'a rupee' ; *tē* (Sanskrit *dhā*), 'to do'. *Ch* and *chh* often become *sh*, as in *pũsh* for a *pãch* ; 'five' ; *shā*, for *chha*, 'six'.

Occasional instances occur of epenthesis, by which a vowel is modified by a succeeding one. Thus, we have *tshrigā*, 'a woman', but *tshrügōyū*, 'women' ; *gölō*, 'a bullock' ; but *gölē*, 'bullocks'. [LSI p. 209]

Article. As in Dras and Gilgit the numeral *ēk*, 'one', is suffixed to nouns to give the force of indefinite article. It takes various forms. Thus, *būnī dūrī-ku-rā*, 'to a distant country' ; *mūsh-ēkō-chī-sümā*, 'with a man'. [LSI p. 209]

Nouns : Gender. Gender is not clearly indicated in the case of nouns.

Number. The plural is generally formed by adding a vowel and its oblique cases (including the genitive) usually end in the same vowel shortened or followed by *n*. Thus, *bō*, 'a father' ; nom. plur. *bōdā* ; gen. and obl. plu. *bōden*.

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Case. There are two agentive suffixes as in the case of Dras. The one ending in *-sā* (or *-sē*) is employed for the subject of transitive verbs which are not in the past tense. It has quite lost the force of the agent, and must be translated as a nominative.

The second one ending in *-yā* (or *-yē*) is employed before the past tense of transitive verbs. Thus, *biü-yā razit*, 'the son said'.

The accusative ends in *zhā* (or *zhē*) ; thus, *phō-zhā kutē-tō*, 'after beating him'. The typical sound of the ablative is *ō* as in Dras. The usual suffix is *nō* ; *chhūdōur-nō*, 'from the well'. The genitive singular sometimes ends in *-ā* (or *-ē*) and sometimes in *-s*. Thus, *molēiā*, 'of a daughter' ; *mūsh nōrōs*, 'of a good man'. The usual termination of the dative is *-rā* (or *-rē*) ; thus, *bō-rā*, 'to a father'. Locative also takes the *-rā* termination ; thus, *gōta-rā*, 'in the house'. [LSI pp. 209-213]

Adjectives. The gender is indicated in the case of adjectives ; thus, *mūsh nō-rō*, 'a good man' ; *tshrigā nürī*, 'a good woman'. It appears that adjectives do not change for case. Thus, *mūsh nōrō*, 'a good man' ; *mūsh-nōrō-rā*', 'to a good man'.

Adjectives generally follow the nouns they qualify and case-suffixes are then added to them and not to the noun, as in *mūsh nōrō-rā*, above. [LSI p. 213]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of first two personal pronouns are ; *mō*, *mī*, 'I' ; *tü*, *tī* 'thou' ; *bā*, *beng*, 'we' ; *tsū*, *tsī*, 'you'. The demonstrative pronouns are also used as pronouns of the third person, which are *sō*, *phō* and *hā*.

Some other pronominal forms are *kō* 'who ?', *kisē*, 'whose ?', *yē* 'what ?'.

As in the case of nouns the pronouns are declined for cases. [LSI pp. 213-214]

Verbs. The conjugation of verbs is in the main the same as that of Dras, but in some respects it more nearly follows Kāshmīrī.

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Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The verb substantive in the past and present tenses is declined as under :

	Present, 'I am', etc.		*Past*, 'I was', etc,	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mõ hãs*	*ba hanis*	*mõ hũs*	*ba hũs*
2.	*tü hãya*	*tsī hanī*	*tü hüa, āstu*	*tsī hüī, āstin*
3.	*sõ hãy*	*tē hanī*	*sõ hüa āstu*	*tē hün, āstin*

The forms *hiia*, *hüī*, and *hün* are employed when the subject of the verbs is near, and *āstu* and *āstin*, when it is far.

Active verb. The conjugation of transitive verbs differs from that of the intransitive verbs only in the past tenses.

This dialect differs from other Shiṇā dialects in the formation of the future. In other dialects this tense is the same as the simple present. In this dialect it has two forms, one which does not change for number and person formed with the suffix *-kõ* and another which is the same as the definite (not simple) present.

The infinitive is formed by adding *-stē* (or, as usual *-stā*) ; thus, *kutistē*, 'to strike'.

The past participle is formed by adding *-ēḍhõ* or *-ē* to the root ; thus, *kutēḍhõ*, *kutē*, 'struck'.

The future participle is formed by adding *-isu* ; thus *kutisu*, 'about to strike'.

The conjugation of the verb *bõ*, 'to go', in the simple present is as under :

'I go', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mõ byü*	*ba byũ*
2.	*tü byũ*	*tsī byenī*
3.	*sõ byũ*	*tē byeni*

The definite present-future tense is formed by suffixing the

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verb substantive to the preceding tense. As in other Shiṇā dialects it has a feminine form in the singular. It is conjugated as under :

'I am striking', 'I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.		Plur.
	Masc.	Fem.	Com. Gen.
1.	*mā-sā kutyũs*	*mā-sā kutinis*	*bā-sā kutyenis*
2.	*tü-sā kutyüga*	*tü-sā kutīniā*	*tsī-sā kutyenī*
3.	*sō-sā kutyalla*	*sā-sō kutīnī*	*tē-sā kutyān*

As has been stated above in the second future root *-kō* form remains unchanged for all persons and both numbers. Thus, *mā-sā kutikō*, 'I shall strike' ; *mõ byükō*, 'I shall go'.

The conjugation of the past tense closely follows Kāshmīrī principles. In the case of transitive verbs the tense is the past participle and is absolutely passive, and the subject is put in the agentive case indicated by the suffix *-ya*. Thus, *mīyā kutēḏhō* or *kutē*, 'struck by me'. Pronominal suffixes are usually added to the verb and refer to the direct or to the indirect object. The termination of the first person is *-is*, and of second and third persons is *-t*. The suffix of the first person is added to the longer form of the past participle, and that of the other persons to the shorter one. Thus, *kutuḏhös* (for *kutēḏhō-is*), 'I was struck' ; *kutet* (for *kutē-t*), 'thou wast struck', etc.

The conjugation of the past tense of a neuter verb is simpler. The singular has masculine and feminine forms, while the plural is of common gender. Pronominal suffixes are added, in the case referring to the subject. We thus get the following :

'I went', etc.

	Sing.		Plur.
	Masc.	Fem.	Com. Gen.
1.	*mõ gös*	*mõ gyīs*	*bā gyẽũs*
2.	*tü gō*	*tü gyẽüwā*	*tsī gyē gyẽüī*
3.	*sō gō, gōs*	*sā gyānī*	*tē gyẽanī, gyẽün*

[LSI pp. 214-220]

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457 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE SHIṆĀ LANGUAGES

English	*Shiṇa* (Gilgit)	*Shiṇa* (Chilās)	*Brōkpa* (Ḍāh-Hanū)
one	èk	ik	ēk
two	dū	dū	dü
three	tré~ché	cheh	trā
four	chār	chār	chorr
hand	hat	hatth	hāth
foot	pā	pāh	küti
head	shīsh	shīsh	shish
a father	bābo, bābus	mālō	bō
of a father	bābè bābēi	mālāi	bōs
to a father	bābèt	mālaṭ māleṛ	bōrā-rē
two fathers	du bābè	dū mālī	dü bō
I am	má hanus (*m.*), mã hanis (*f.*)	mãh hanus	mõ hãs,~mõ bet
thou art	tū hanō (*m.*), tū hané (*f.*)	tū hanō	tü hãyā,~tü bet
he is	rō hanō, hanū (*m.*) réh hanī (*f.*)	asō hanō, hõ	sō hãy, sō bet
we are	béh hanas (*m.* & *f.*)	beh hãs	bā hānis, bet
you are	tsoh hanat	sū hānit	tsī hānī, bet
they are	réh hané	āsaī hã	tē hānī, bet
I was	má asus, asulus (*m.*), mā asis, asilis (*f.*)	mãh asilōs	mõ hüs
thou wast	tū asō, asulō (*m.*) asé, asilé (*f.*)	tū āsilō	tü hüā āstu

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English	*Shiṇa* (Gilgit)	*Shiṇa* (Chilās)	*Brokpa* (Ḍāh-Hanū)
he was	rō asū, asulū (*m.*) réh, asī, asilī (*f.*)	asō āsilō	sō hüą̄ āstu
we were	béh asas, asilas (*m.* & *f.*)	beh āsilas, āseisis	bā hũs
you were	tsah asat, asilat (*m.* & *f.*)	sū āsilat, āseisat	tsī hüī, āstin
they were	réh asé asilé (*m.* & *f.*)	āsaī āsilah	tē hün āstin
I shall be	mā bōm	mã̄ bum	—
I beat	másé shidam	mas ḍagam	māsā kutyü
thou beatest	tūsé shidé	tus ḍagāin	tüsā kutyū
he beats	rōsé shidei	ās ḍagain	sōsā kutyū
we beat	bésé shidōn	bis ḍagūnas	bāsā kutyū
you beat	tsosé shidyāt	sus ḍageyānat	tsüsā kutyeni
they beat	résé shidén	ais ḍagēnan	tēsā kutyenī
I beat (past)	másé shidēgas (*m.*) shidēgis (*f.*)	—	mīyā kutet (*obj. 3rd person, and so throughout*)
thou beatest (past)	tūsé shidēga (*m.*) shidēgé (*f.*)	—	tīyā kutet
he beat (past)	rōsé shidēgō ~ -gū (*m.*), shidēgī (*f.*)	—	sōyā kutet
we beat (past)	básé shidēgés (*m.* & *f.*)	—	bāyā kutet
you beat (past)	tsosé shidēgét (*m.* & *f.*)	—	tsīyā kutet

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English	*Shiṇā* (Gilgit)	*Shiṇā* (Chilās)	*Brōkpa* (Ḍāh-Hanū)
they beat (past)	résé shidēgé (*m.* & *f.*)	—	tēyā kutet
I shall beat	másé shidam	mas ḍagam	māsā kutyũs, kutio

[LSI pp. 224-32]

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KĀSHMĪRĪ OR KÖSHIR^{ü}

458 The Kāshmīrī language is the language of the valley of Kashmir. In a dialect form it has spread south-west into the valley of Kashṭawāṛ (Kishtwar), and to the south it has flowed over the Pīr Pantsāl Range into the lower hills lying north of the river Chinab where it reappears in a number of mixed dialects.

The people of Kashmir call their country as Kashir^{ü} and the language Köshir^{ü}. [LSI p. 233]

459 *Dialects.* Kāshmīrī has one true dialect, -Kashṭawāṛī, spoken in the valley of Kashṭawāṛ (Kishtwar), lying to the south-east of the valley of Kashmir. Kāshmīrī has also overflowed the Pīr Pantsāl Range into the Jammu Province of the state, and in the valleys between the southern hills of the range, between the water shed and the valley of the Chināb, there are a number of mixed dialects, such as Pŏgulī, Sirājī, of Ḍōḍa, and Rāmbanī. Farther east, over the greater part of the Riasi district of the state, there are more of these mixed dialects, about which nothing certain is known.

In the standard Kāshmīrī of the valley, there are minor differences of the language, which, however, are not sufficient to entitle us to divide it out into further separate dialects.

[LSI pp. 233-234]

460 *Linguistic relationship.* Kāshmīrī belongs to the Dard group of the Dardic languages. It is most nearly related to Shiṇā. It has, however, for many centuries been subject to Indian influence and its vocabulary includes a large number of words derived from India. The claim of its Sanskrit origin cannot be sustained.

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To the philologist Kāshmīrī is a language of great importance, as it is the only example of an Aryan language in the condition of being converted from an analytic to a synthetic language. It is semi-synthetic, being synthetic in the making. The oldest known form of Indian speech is Vedic Sanskrit. This was highly synthetic. In the process of time thus, or a kindred and a similar language, developed into, say, Western Hindī, a language as analytic as English or French. For example in Hindī, house is *ghar*, and 'of a house' is *ghar-kā*, in which the change of meaning is indicated by a postposition, the word itself undergoing no change. Kāshmīrī shows a further stage of development. The declension of nouns is in the main analytic. There are a few survivals of the ancient synthetic cases, but in the main the cases are differentiated by postpositions, as in Hindī. Thus, we have *gara*, 'a house' and *garuk*ᵘ (for *gara-k*ᵘ), 'of a house'. Here the *k*ᵘ has become attached to the *gara*, and is no longer a separate word like the Hindi *kā*. *gark*ᵘ is now as much one word and a word in the genitive case, as the Sanskrit *gṛihasya* or the Latin *mansions*. In other words the declension is again becoming synthetic.

In the languages of the Outer Circle, like Bengali or Marāṭhī, we find again a state of affairs similar to that of Kāshmīrī, but more advanced. In Kāshmīrī the synthetic conjugation is optional, in Bengali and Marāṭhī only the synthetic conjugation is now employed. We have only the Bengali *kahilām*, and only the Marāṭhī *mhaṇīlõ* for 'I said', from the past participles *kahilā-* and *mhaṇil-*, respectively. Form these examples, we see the importance of Kāshmīrī to the philologist. It is a language caught, so to speak, in the act of changing its nature from analytic to synthetic and thus shows how the synthetic conjugation of Indian languages of the Outer Circle, such as Bengali and Marāṭhī, has arisen. Indian speech from its development may thus be described, first synthetic, then, as in Hindī, analytic, then semi-analytic, as in Kāshmīrī, and then, as in Bengali and Marāṭhī, again synthetic [LSI pp. 235-236).

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APPENDIX

THE LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION OF KĀSHMĪRĪ

461 Though Kashmir has been a home of Sanskrit learning for over two thousand years, but all the time the basis,—the old speech of the original Piśācha inhabitants,—has, as will be shown in the following pages, remained firmly established.

It has been previously pointed out that the Dardic or Piśācha languages occupy a position intermediate between the Sanskrit languages of India proper and the Eranian languages farther to their west. They thus possess many features that are common to them and the Sanskritic languages. But they also possess features peculiar to themselves and others in which they agree rather with languages of the Eranian family. Here it will be shown that Kāshmīrī possesses nearly all the features that are peculiar to Dardic and also those in which Dardic agrees with Eranian. Kāshmīrī phonetics, accidence, syntax, prosody, and vocabulary would be examined from this point of view.

[LSI pp. 241-242]

Phonetics. Modern Dardic languages lack sonant aspirates. When such speech sounds originally formed part of a word, the aspiration is dropped, so that *gh* becomes *g* ; *jh* becomes *j* or *z* ; *ḍh* becomes *ḍ* or *r* ; *dh* becomes *d* ; and *bh* becomes *b*. There is nothing like this in India proper, but it is universal rule in Kāshmīrī. Examples are : *gh* becomes *g*, Skr. *ghōṭaka-*, 'a horse', Kāshmīrī, *gur*ᵘ. *Bh* becomes *b*, Skr. *bhrātar-* 'a brother', Kāshmīrī, *bôy*ᵘ.

One of the most typical characteristics of modern Dardic languages is the frequent hardening of original sonant consonants, so that *g* becomes *k*, *j* becomes *ch*, *ḍ* becomes *ṭ*, *d* becomes *t* and *b* or *v* becomes *p*. This was the universal rule when Paiśāchī Prakrit was spoken. Examples for Kāshmīrī are : *g* becomes *k*. Skr. *khaḍga-*, 'a sword', Kāshmīrī *khaḍak*. *Ḍ* becomes *ṭ*. Skr. *dṛiḍha-*, Kāshmīrī, *droṭ*ᵘ, 'firm'. *B* or *v* becomes *p*. Skt. *śava-*, Kāshmīrī *hap-*, 'a corpse'.

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A marked feature of Kāshmīrī is consonantal epenthesis. This also occurs in the modern Dardic languages, but not in India. Thus, in Kāshmīrī *k* becomes *ch* before palatals, as in *thok*^{u}, 'weary', fem. *thüch*^{u} and *t* and *ṭ* change to *ṯs* and *ch*, respectively, as in *rāt-*, 'night' plur. *röts*^{u}. In Gārwi, Sanskrit *putra-*, 'a son', becomes *pūch* and in Ṯhiṇā *puch* or *puṯh*.

In Indian languages an original *t* between two vowels is as a rule dropped, as in Skr. *kṛita-*, 'done', Hindī *kiā*. In Paiśāchi this *t* was, on the contrary, preserved, and this rule is followed with great consistency in the modern Dardic languages, as well as in Kāshmīrī. Thus, Skr. *kṛita-*, Bashgalī, *kutt*, 'done'; Kāshmīrī *kyut*^{u} (i. e. *kit*^{u}), 'for'.

One of the most persistent consonants in India is the letter *n*. In the modern Indian languages it almost always survives, but in Dardic languages and in Kāshmīrī it is liable to elision. Thus, Skr. *manusha-*, 'a man', is Kalāsha *mōch*, Veron and Ṯhiṇā *mush*, an in Kāshmīrī *mȭts-*, which is said to be the word for 'man' used by demons, the ordinary word being *manōsh*, which is borrowed direct from Skr.

The compound consonants *shp* and *śm* of Sanskrit sometimes becomes a simple *sh* in Dardic. Thus, Sanskrit *pushpa-*, 'a flower', becomes Kalāsha *pūsh-ik*, Kāshmīrī, *pōṯh*; and the Sanskrit *kaśmīra-*, 'Kashmīr', becomes *kashīr*^{u} in Kashmīrī.

In East Eranian the change of *ch* to *ṯs* is common. So also Dardic in modern Dardic and Kāshmīrī. The same change occurs in the Indian Marāṭhī, but only before certain vowels. Here it occurs before all vowels. Compare Hindī *char*, 'four', with Gawār-bati *ṯsūr*, Kāshmīrī *ṯsōr*; Hindī *pāch*, 'five' with Gawār-bati *panṯs*, Kāshmīrī *pānṯs*.

In Eastern Eranian *sht* is frequently changed to *t*. So, in Dardic and Kāshmīrī, the Persian *pusht*, 'the back', becomes Bashgalī *pti*, Ṯhiṇā *patō*, Gawār-bati and Kāshmīrī *pata*, 'behind', and and so on in others.

Finally Kāshmīrī has certain phonetic changes of its own that are quite foreign to India. In India *dm* becomes *dd*, as n

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Bengali *pĭddo*, from Sanskrit *padma-*, 'a lotus'. In Kāshmīrī this becomes *m*, as in the word *pampōsh*, 'a lotus flower'.

[LSI pp. 242-247]

Accidence. Like Eranian languages, Kāshmīrī possesses a suffix with the force of the indefinite article, equivalent to Persian *yā-ĕ waḥdat*. Just as in Persian ī (ancient *ē*) is suffixed. So, in Kāshmīrī, *ā* is suffixed. Thus, Persian *yak-ī*, Kāshmīrī, *akh-a* 'a certain one, a'. There is nothing like this in India, but the same phenomenon is presented by Bashgalī, as in *palē-i*, 'a servant'.

The main principle of declension of nouns is very similar in Indian, Eranian and Dardic languages. But there are some important differences of detail between Kāshmīrī and Indian languages. Thus, in all the languages of northern India, strong masculine nouns, such as *ghōṛā*, 'a horse', end in the nominative singular in *-ā*, and in the nominative plural in *-ē*, (*ghoṛē*). In Kāshmīrī, the corresponding nouns end in *u*-mātrā in the singular and in the *i*-mātrā in the pulral, as in *gur*^{u}, 'a horse', plural *gur*^{ɨ}. Kāshmīrī has cases of the agent (as in *gur*^{ɨ}, 'by a horse'), and ablative (as in *guri*, 'from a horse'), to which there is nothing corresponding in India.

In Kāshmīrī the personal pronoun for 'I' is *bo̤h*, and 'thou' is *ts*^{a}*h*. These forms do not agree with the corresponding Indian forms. Again, India has nothing corresponding to the distinction between the Kāshmīrī proximate, *huh*, and remote *suh*, demonstrative pronouns, although it once existed in Sanskrit.

As regards verbs, the general principles of conjugation are on the whole the same in Indian, in Eranian and in Dardic, but a few facts stand out.

In the conjugation of the ordinary verb, the present participle and in-*ān*, as in *mārān*, 'striking', a form that does not occur in Indian languages but which has many Dardic relatives, such as Bashgalī *vinan*, Gawār-bati, *thlimān*, Kalāsha *tīman*, all meaning 'striking'. Kāshmīrī has three, one (*mōr*^{u}, 'struck') indicating past time in the near past, another (*māryōv*) indicating past time indefinitely, and a third (*māryāv*) indicating remote past time. One of these (*mārōv*) for *māryō* has the same

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origin as the past tense of India (Braj. *māryaᵘ*), but others have an independent line of growth. Although we do not yet know enough in regard to the other Dardic languages to distinguish between the meanings of the various forms of the past participle in them, it is certain that Wai-alā, Khō-wār, Shiṇā, and Maiyā have at least each two.

In the formation of tenses Kāshmīrī widely differs from Indian languages. The old present, a tense that survives alike in Indian, Persian, and Dardic, in India generally has the force of the present subjunctive, but in Kāshmīrī it is used as a future. Kāshmīrī has three past tenses, one corresponding to each of the three pastparticiples. Indian languages, of course, have only one. [LSI pp. 247-250]

Syntax. In the order of words in a sentence, Kāshmīrī differs altogether from Indian languages. In the latter the subject comes first, then the object or predicate and last of all the verb; but, in ordinary Kāshmīrī the verb precedes the predicate, as in Persian. Thus, in Kāshmīrī they say,

suh	*chhuh*	*gaṭulᵘ*	*mahanyuvᵘ*
he	is	clever	man

while in Hindī they say,

wŏh	*hōshyār*	*ādmī*	*hai.*
he	clever	man	is

[LSI p. 250]

Prosody. In prosody although the whole literary history of Kashmir is intimately connected with Sanskrit, modern Kāshmīrī has abandoned Indian metres. The metres used are all Eranian and what may be called the heroic metre of the language, employed even in Hindū epics like the *Rāmāvatāracharita*, is the well-known Persian metre called *Baḥrī Hazaj*. [LSI p. 250]

Vocabulary. Some of the commonest words,—words that are retained longest in any language, however, mixed and that are seldom borrowed, such as the earlier numerals, or the words for 'father', 'mother', and the like,—are closely allied to the corresponding Shiṇā words, and are therefore of Dardic origin. The

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following is a list of some Shiṇā words which have cognate forms in Kāshmīrī :

English	*Kāshmīrī*	*Shiṇā*
anger	*r^{a}sh*	*rôsh*
bad	*koch^{u}*	*kachō*
boy	*shur^{u}*	*shudăr*
bull	*dănd*	*dōno*
crooked	*hol^{u}*	*kōlŏ*
dog	*hūn^{u}* (or, dialectic) *shūn^{u}*	*shū*
eat	*khĕ-*	*ko-*
eye	*achh^{i}*	*ăchi*
hand	*atha*	*hat*
hot	*tot^{u}*	*tato*
naked	*non^{u}*	*nanno*
rise	*wŏth-*	*uth-*
seed	*byŏl^{u}*	*bī*
smoke	*d^{a}h*	*dūm*
sun	*sirī*	*sūrī*
wife	*gariñ*, mistress of a house	*gren*

From the above, we conclude that Kāshmīrī is a mixed language, having as its basis a language of a Dard group of the Dardic family allied to Shiṇā, and not a Sanskritic form of speech. [LSI pp. 252-253]

Pronunciation. Kāshmīrī does not possess the sonant aspirates. If a word occurs that corresponds to an Indian word containing one of those letters, the aspiration is dropped, as in *gur^{u}*, 'a horse', corresponding to the Indian *ghoṛa*. Kāshmīrī does not possess the cerebral *ṛ*. On the other hand, *ḍ* and the dental *r* are often interchanged, so that, for instance, we have *kūr^{u}*, 'a girl', in Śrinagar city, but often *kūḍ^{u}* in the villages.

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Kāshmīrī vowels have three grades of lengths. In most Indian languages a vowel is either short or long, but in Kāshmīrī it may be very short, short, or long. The very short vowels are known as 'mātrā-vowels'. These vowels can never commence a word or syllable. Besides the simple vowels, Kāshmīrī possesses a number of broken vowels made by epenthesis. They are ; $\overset{\ddot{u}}{}$, *ü*, $\bar{\ddot{u}}$, *ạ*, *ẹ̆*, *ọ̆*, *ô*, and *ö*. Of these *ü* is sounded something like the German *ü*, and the $\overset{\ddot{u}}{}$ (*ü*-mātrā) is the shortest possible sound of that vowel. The vowel $\bar{\ddot{u}}$ is something like a much prolonged German *ü*. The vowels *ẹ̆* and *ọ̆* are the results of *ĕ* and *ŏ*, respectively, being epenthetically affected by another vowel. The first is sounded something like *ü*, and the latter something like *o*. *Ô* is the long sound of *ŏ* and is sounded something like the *a* in the English 'all'. *Ö* is pronounced something like a German *ö*, but more broadly, tending towards the *a* in 'all'.

The mātrā-vowels are so short that to most English ears they are almost or quite inaudible. This is especially the case in the city of Śrinagar and with rapid speakers generally. With careful speakers, however, and in the village speech, they can often be heard distinctly. In a grammatical sketch it is absolutely necessary to write them, for, even if inaudible, they almost always epenthetically affect a preceding vowel, and sometimes a preceding consonant.

Ā-mātrā changes a preceding vowel to a more advanced variety, as *andar*, 'within', but *ạnd^{a}ra*, 'from within' ; *mŏṭun*, 'to be stout', but *m'oṭ^{a}run*, 'to stouten'.

I-mātrā produces an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel, as *māl-*, 'a father', but *möil^{i}*, 'fathers'.

U-mātrā creates a mutation of the preceding vowel, as *baḍ-*, 'great', nominative singular, *boḍ^{u}* ; *nīl*, 'blue', nominative singular masculine *nyūl^{u}*.

The full vowels *i* and *u* often affect a preceding vowel in the same way as mātrā vowels. Thus, when *i* follows *ā*, it almost invariably changes the *ā* to *ö*. Thus, the Arabic word *ḥāzir*, 'present' is pronounced *hözir* in Kāshmīrī. So before *u*, *ā* changing to *ô*, as in *ṭhôkur*, for *ṭhākur*, 'an idol'. These changes before the full vowels are not universal.

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A preceding consonant is also liable to change when it is followed by *ü*-mātrā, *y* or *i*. The consonants liable to be so affected are the three gutturals *k*, *kh*, and *g* the three cerebrals *ṭ*, *ṭh*, and *ḍ*, the four dentals *t*, *th*, *d* and *n* ; *l* and *h*. These changes take place subject to the following rules :

Before *ü*-mātrā or *y* (including *ĕ*) the gutturals *k*, *kh*, and *g* become *ch*, *chh*, and *j*, respectively and before the same consonants *l* becomes *j*. Thus, *thok*^{u}, 'weary' ; fem. *thūch*$^{\ddot{u}}$; *ts̲alan*, 'to flee' ; *ts̲üj*$^{\ddot{u}}$, 'she fled'.

Before *i* or *y* (including *ĕ*) the cerebral consonants *ṭ*, *ṭh*, and *ḍ* become *ch*, *chh*, and *j*, respectively. They are not changed before *ü*-mātrā. Thus, *püṭ*^{u}, 'a tablet' ; *pachi*, 'by a tablet'.

Before *ü*-mātrā, the dental consonant *t*, *th*, *d*, and *n* become *t*, *ts̲h*, *z*, and *ñ*, respectively. Thus, from the base *rāt-*, 'night', we have the dative singular *röts*$^{\ddot{u}}$.

Before *ü*-mātrā, or *y* (including *ĕ*), *h* almost always becomes *sh*. Thus, the word *kōh*, the eleventh lunar day, has its dative singular *kösh*$^{\ddot{u}}$.

The uncompounded hard consonants *k*, *p*, *t*, *ṭ*, and *ts̲* cannot end a word. In such a position, they are always aspirated.

[LSI pp. 257-268]

Article. There is no definite article. The idea of definiteness is conveyed by the demonstrative pronouns *a* or *āh*. Thus, *kath*, 'a story' ; *kath-a* ~ *kath-āh*, 'any story, a certain story'.

[LSI p. 268]

Nouns : Gender. There are two genders, masculine and feminine. Animate nouns follow the natural gender. As regards inanimate nouns, all those ending in *u*-mātrā are masculine and nearly all those ending in *i*--mātrā, in *ü*-mātrā, in *ñ*, or in *y* are feminine. Thus, *boḍ*^{u} (masc.) 'great' ; fem. *büḍ*$^{\ddot{u}}$. Some nouns form their feminine by adding ^{a}r, as, *mŏnḍ*^{u}, 'a log' ; *mŏnḍ*^{a}r, 'a small log'. All nouns having the termination *wôl*^{u} (Hindi *wālā*) change the *wôl*^{u} to *wājĕñ* in the feminine. Thus, *karanwôl*^{u}, 'a doer' ; fem. *karanwājĕñ*. Words signifying castes and professions generally form the feminine in *-añ*. Thus, *baṭa*, 'a brāhman' ; fem. *baṭañ*.

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Number. There are two numbers, a singular and the plural. The masculine nouns in *u*-mātrā form the nominative plural in *i*-mātrā and other masculine nouns take no termination in the nominative plural. Thus, *gur*^{u}, 'a horse', nominative plural *gur*^{i}, *ts̲ūr*, 'a thief', nom. plur. *ts̲ūr*. Similarly all feminine nouns in *i*-mātrā or *ü*-mātrā form the nominative plural in *ĕ*. Thus, *achh*^{i}, 'an eye', nominative plural *achhĕ* ; *gur*$^{\ddot{u}}$, 'a mare', nominative plural *gurĕ*.

Case. The Kāshmīrī noun has four cases, viz. nominative, dative, agentive and ablative. The accusative may be represented by the nominative or by the dative, as in Hindī. The ablative is used, much as in Latin, in a variety of senses. Other case relations are indicated by postpositions, some of which govern the dative, while others govern the ablative. Thus, *manz*, 'in' ; *nish*, (=Hindī *pās*), govern the dative ; and *manza* (=Hindī *mẽ sẽ*), 'form, in' ; *nishĕ* (=Hindī *pās sẽ*), 'from near', and *pĕṭha*, 'from on' (*par sẽ*), govern the ablative.

Some postpositions govern both cases. Thus, *sūt*^{i} means 'together with' when it governs the dative, but 'with', 'by means of' when it governs the ablative. In the case of animate masculine nouns any postposition that governs the ablative may also govern the dative. There are several ways of forming the genitive, and as all genitives are adjectives, these will be described under that head. So also one form of dative is adjectival and will be described there.

The nouns are differently declined. These can be divided in the following four categories, two masculine, and two feminine :

First declension	Masculine	all nouns except those in *u*-mātra
Second declension		all nouns in *u*-mātrā
Third declension	Feminine	all nouns in *i*-mātrā and *ü*-mātrā
Fourth declension		all others [LSI pp. 268-274]

Adjectives. Adjectives ending in *u*-mātrā agree with the qualified noun in gender, number, and case. Other adjectives do not change when agreement is with a substantive, although, when used themselves as substantives, they are declined like any

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other substantive. Thus, *garīb mahanyuvᵘ*, 'a poor man' ; *garīb mahanivĕn*, 'to poor men' ; *garīb zanāna*, 'a poor woman'.

Genitive. All genitives are adjectives. There are three usual postpositions of the genitive, viz. *hondᵘ sondᵘ ukᵘ* and *unᵘ*. Of these *hondᵘ* and *sondᵘ* govern the dative case and *ukᵘ* and *unᵘ* the ablative. All nouns except the masculine singular take *hondᵘ* or *sondᵘ* ; thus, *gurė hondᵘ*, 'of the mare' ; *tsūran-hondᵘ*, 'of the thieves'. The termination *ukᵘ* is used to form the genitive singular of inanimate nouns. Thus; *sŏn-*, 'gold', *sŏnku*, 'of gold'. The termination *-unᵘ*, the use of which is closely parallel to that of-*ukᵘ*, is employed only with masculine proper names in the singular; thus from the base *Rām-*, a proper noun, we have genitive singular masculine *Rāmunᵘ*.

Datives with kyutᵘ. In addition to the regular dative indicated above, another dative may be formed by adding *-kyutᵘ*, which itself governs the dative, and means 'for'. Thus, *tsūras-kyutᵘ*, 'for the thief'.

Comparison is made with the help of the postposition *khŏta* or *khŏtan*, 'than'. Or *nishĕ* or *nishin*, 'from', may be used. All these govern either the ablative or the ablative masculine of the genitive. Thus, from *küñᵘ*, 'a stone', we have *kañi khŏta trakurᵘ*, 'harder than stone'. The superlative is, as in India, made with *sôruy*, 'all', as in *sārĕvᵘ y khŏta trakurᵘ*, 'harder than all, i.e. hardest'. [LSI pp. 274-278]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the first two personal pronouns are ; *bŏ h*, 'I' ; *asⁱ*, 'we' ; *tsᵃh*, 'thou' ; *tohⁱ*, 'you'. Instead of genitives, the possessive pronouns *myônᵘ*, 'my' ; *sônᵘ*, 'our' ; *chyônᵘ*, 'they' ; and *tuhondᵘ*, 'your', are employed. These are adjectives and are regularly declined.

The demonstrative, relative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns have in the singular, three sets of forms, viz. animate masculine (e. g. this man), animate feminine (e.g. 'this woman'), and inanimate (without distinction of gender) (e. g. 'this thing'). In the plural the distinction between animate and inanimate disappears.

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There are three grades of demonstrative pronouns, not two as in English or Hindī. The first corresponds to the English 'this' but refers only to things within sight, or just mentioned. The second corresponds to English 'that' but also refers only to things within sight or just mentioned. The third also corresponds to the English 'that' but refers only to things not within sight, or to things referred to some time ago. The demonstrative pronouns are all also used as pronouns of third person, meaning 'he', 'she', and 'it'.

The following are the nominative singular forms of the demonstrative pronouns :

	animate		*inanimate*
	masc.	fem.	
this (within sight) I	*yih*	*yih*	*yih*
this (within sight) II	—	*nŏh*	—
that (within sight) I	*huh*	*hŏh*	*huh*
that (within sight) II	—	—	—
that (not within sight)	*suh*	*sôh* ~ *sa*	*tih*

'Which' is *yih* ; 'which ?', what ?, is *kyāh* : 'who' is *yus* (masc.) *yŏssa* (fem.) ; 'who ?' is *kus* (masc.) ; *kŏssa* (fem.)

[LSI pp. 278-279]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present is formed from the base *chhuh*, 'he is' but the other tenses are formed from the root *ās*, 'be'. The present and past tense are participle in their conjugation, i. e. they have each both masculine and feminine forms. The following are the conjugations of present, past and future tenses :

Present, 'I am,' etc.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*chhus*	*chhĕs*	*chhih*	*chhĕh*
2.	*chhukh*	*chhĕkh*	*chhiwa*	*chhĕwa*
3.	*chhuh*	*chhĕh*	*chhih*	*chhĕh*

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Past, 'I was,' etc.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*ôsus*	*ös^{u}s*	*ös^{i}*	*āsa*
2.	*ôsukh*	*ös^{u}kh*	*ös^{u}wa*	*āsawa*
3.	*ös^{u}*	*ös^{u}*	*ös^{u}*	*āsa*

Future, 'I shall be', etc.

	Sing. (common gender)	Plur. (common gender)
1.	*āsa*	*āsaw*
2.	*āsakh*	*āsiw*
3.	*āsi*	*āsan*

As with other verbs, various suffixes are added to the verb substantive, giving interrogative, negative, and other forces. The suffixes *-a*, *-ā*, and *-ay* give an interrogative force. The suffix *-ay* is used only when a woman is addressed. Thus, *chhwa*, 'is he' ; *chhyā* or *chhĕy*, 'is she'. If *-na* is suffixed it gives a negative force. Thus, *chhusna*, 'I am not'. If *nā* or *nay* is added it gives the force of an interrogative negative ; thus, *chhusnā*, 'am I not ?' If *-ti* is suffixed it signifies 'also' or 'indeed'. Thus, *chhusti*, 'I also am,' or 'I am indeed'.

The active verb. There are several impersonal verbs in Kāshmīrī, which are constructed impersonally in the tenses formed from the past participles. Thus, the verb *asun*, 'to laugh', is impersonal, and its third person singular past is *osun*, 'he laughed', or, literally, 'it was laughed by him'. There are three conjugations of verbs, viz. :

The first includes all trasitive and impersonal verbs.

The second includes about sixty-seven intransitive verbs.

The third conjugation includes all other intransitive verbs, except, those that are impersonal.

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The three conjugations differ only in the tenses derived from the past participles. The other tenses are conjugated in the same way in all the three.

The infinitive is formed by adding *-un* to the root. Thus, *wucch-un*, 'to see'.

The present participle is formed by adding *-ith* to the root. Thus, *wuchhith*, 'having seen'.

In Kāshmīrī three different kinds of past participles are provided for in the conjugation of the verb. Just as there are three demonstrative pronouns, there are three past participles, one a proximate past, indicating something that has lately occurred, another, an indefinite past indicating something that has occurred, but without reference whether it has occurred lately or not ; and a third, a remote past, indicating something that has occurred a long time ago. The third past participle is therefore, the proper past to be used in historical narration, although the second participle can also be used for this purpose. The first two conjugations have these participles. The third one has no first participle, but has a fourth, which is wanting in the first and second conjugations. Thus, the position is as under :

	1st and 2nd conjugation	3rd conjugation
Proximate Past	I. Past Participle	II. Past Participle
Indefinite Past	II. Past Participle	III. Past Participle
Remote Past	III. Past Participle	IV. Past Participle

The first participle is formed by adding *u-* mātrā to the root, as in *wuchhᵘ* '(lately) seen'. The second participle is formed by adding *-yōv* to the root, thus. *wuchhyov*, 'seen'. The third participle is formed by adding *-yāv* to the root ; thus *wuchhyāv* 'seen (a long time ago)'. The fourth past participle is formed from the third by inserting *-i-* before the *yāv*. Thus, *wuphiyāv*, 'flown (a long time ago)'.

Radical and participial tenses. Like all Indo-Aryan and Eranian languages, some tenses of the Kāshmīrī verb are formed

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from the root, while others are formed from participles. The radical tenses are future indicative (also used as present indicative and as present subjunctive) ; the four tenses of the imperative, viz. the present, the polite present, the future, and the past ; the benedictive, which is very rare, and the past conditional.

The participial tenses fall into two groups :

(a) those formed from the present participle, viz., the present indicative, the imperfect indicative ; the durative future indicative ; the durative imperative ; and the durative past conditional ;

(*b*) those formed from the past and perfect participles, viz., the proximate past ; the indefinite past, and the remote past. These are, respectively, formed from the corresponding past participles. Formed from the perfect participles are the perfect, the pluperfect, and the future perfect (also used as a perfect conditional).

So far as the radical tenses are concerned, person and number are indicated by the various terminations, just as with other connected languages. Also, in the case of the tenses formed from the present participle, the number and person are sufficiently indicated by the auxiliary verb which accompanies the participle. In the case of tenses formed from the past participles, the person of the subject must be indicated by the subject itself, either a noun or a pronoun. In the method of employing pronouns Kāshmīrī closely agrees with Sindhī and Lahndā. The subject may be written in full, as in *mĕ wuchhᵘ*, 'by me seen', or it may be indicated by a pronominal suffix, as in *wuchhu-m*, 'seen by me' or both methods may be used at the same time, as in *mĕ wuchhu-m*, 'by-me seen-by-me'. All these three methods may be used with either the first or third person, but the second person can be indicated only by the second or third methods, as it is a rule in Kāshmīrī that whenever the second person occurs in a sentence, its presence must be indicated by a pronominal suffix attached to the verb.

The pronominal suffixes can be used for any case of a personal pronoun, and are as follows :

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Singular

Case	First person	Second person	Third person
Nom.	*s*	*kh*	none
Acc. and Agen. / Gen. and Dat.	*m*	*th*	*n*

Plural

Nom.			none
All other cases	none	*wa*	*kh*

It will be observed that there are no suffixes for the nominative singular or plural of the third person or for any cases of the plural of the first person.

If there is an auxiliary verb with a perfect participle, the suffixes are added to the auxiliary verb, but in the case of those tenses that are formed from the past participles, they are added to the participle. The suffixes of the nominative are added in the case of intransitive verbs, and those of the agent in the case of transitive verbs.

Of the radical tenses, the future indicative corresponds to the 'Old Present' in the Indo-Aryan languages. In them it has usually become a present subjunctive, as in Hindī *-maĩ dēkhū̃*, 'I may see', but in the eastern languages it still retains its present force as in Bengali *āmi-dēkhi*, 'I see'. In Kāshmīrī it generally has the force of a future, as in *bŏh wuchha*, 'I shall see', but sometimes it retains the force of the present, as in *gat̲shi*, 'it is proper'. It is conjugated as under :

'I shall see', 'I see', 'I may see', '(if) I see', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*wuchha*	*wuchhaw*
2.	*wuchhakh*	*wuchhiw*
3.	*wuchhi*	*wuchhan*

The present imperative is formed by adding the personal terminations directly to the root. It is used in the second and

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third persons. If a first person is required, the first person of the future indicative is used in its place. The second person singular takes no termination, thus, *wuchh*, 'see thou', but if the root ends in a hard consonant, this according to the general rule, is aspirated. Thus, from the root *gup*, the second person singular imperative is *guph*, 'protect thou'. It is conjugated as under:

'see thou', etc.

1.	*wuchh*	*wuchhiw*
2.	*wuchhin*	*wuchhin*

The present indicative is formed by conjugating the present participle with the present tense of verb substantive. The participle remains unchanged throughout. Thus, *bŏh chhus wuchhan*, 'I (masc.) am seeing'; *bŏh chhĕs wuchhan*, 'I (fem.) am seeing'. As regards meaning this tense may be a definite present, or an indefinite present, or a habitual present, So that *bôh chhus wuchhān* means 'I am seeing' or 'I see', or 'I am in the habit of seeing'.

The participial tenses formed from the past participles, are the proximate past, the indefinite past and the remote past. We will consider the three conjugations separately.

In the first conjugation, the verb is either transitive or impersonal, and the subject must be put in the agentive case. As stated above the subject may be indicated independently, or by a pronominal suffix or both methods may be used at the same time. As there is no suffix for the first person plural the first method can only be employed in this case. Thus, 'he was seen by him' can be indicated in three ways:

1. *mĕ wuchh*^{u} 2. *wuchhum* 3. *mĕ wuchhum*.

The process is exactly similar for the indefinite past and for the remote past. Thus taking the masculine singular only we have (indefinite past) *tam*^{i} *wuchhyōv*, *wuchhyō-n*,~*tam*^{i} *wuchhyō-n* and (remote past) *tam*^{i} *wuchhyāv*, *wuchhyā-n*,~*tam*^{i} *wuchhyān*.

In the second and third conjugations, also, only the second and third of the above methods can be used for the first and

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second persons. The pronominal suffix represents here the nominative case, not the agent, and a reference to the table given above will show that there are no suffixes of the nominative case in the third person. Here, in the case of the third person only the first method can be used. So also, for the same reason, the first person plural. The conjugation of the past tenses of intransitive verbs is therefore a mixture of the first and second methods, or of the first and third. Thus, from *wupun* (second conjugation), we have in the masculine singular of the proximate past, *wupu-s* or *bŏh wupu-s*, 'I burnt inwardly, *wupu-k* or *ts^{a}h wupu-kh*, 'thou burntest inwardly', but *suh wup^{u}*, 'he burnt inwardly'. So for the third conjugation, from *wuphun*, 'to fly', we have for the masculine singular of the proximate past (1) *waphyō-s* or *bŏh waphyōs*, (2) *wuphyō-kh* or *ts^{a}h wuphyō-kh* (3) *suh wuphyōv*. So also for the indefinite past and for the remote past.

Passive. The passive voice is formed by conjugating the verb *yun^{u}* with the ablative of the infinitive of the main verb. Thus, from *wuchhun*, 'to see', we have the ablative *wuchhana* and *wuchhana yun^{u}*, means 'to be seen' or 'to be visible'. We may compare with this the Hindī *dēkhnē-mēānā*, 'to come into seeing, to become visible'.

Causal verbs. Most verbs form a causal by adding *anāw* to the root. Thus, *karun*, 'to do', *karanāwun*, 'to cause to do', or 'to cause to be done' ; *wuphun*, 'to fly', *wuphanawun*, 'to cause to fly'. Double causals, such as are formed in Hindī and other languages of India proper, do not seem to exist in Kāshmīrī.

[LSI pp. 282-314]

Order of words. This is more like that of Persian than like that of Indian languages. The verb very rarely comes at the end of a sentence, but usually occupies the same place as in English.

[LSI p. 316]

KASHṬAWĀṚĪ

462 Kashṭawāṛī is spoken in the valley of Kashṭawār, *vulgo* Kishtwar, which lies on the upper Chināb, to the south-east of the valley of Kashmir. It is a dialect of Kāshmīrī but is much

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corrupted by the Pahāṛī and Lahndā spoken to its south and south-east. On the other hand it retains one or two Dardic forms (such as the word *thu*, 'he is') which have disappeared from standard Kāshmīrī. Moreover, in old Kāshmīrī poetry we occasionally find forms, such as a present participle in *-an*, instead of *-ān*, that no longer exist in standard Kāshmīrī, but which have survived in Kashṭawāṛī. [LSI pp. 342-343]

Pronunciation. In Kāshmīrī whenever a word begins with *ĭ* or *ĕ*, a *y* is prefixed. This prothesis of *y* before *ĭ* or *ĕ* is still more common in Kashṭawāṛī. Thus, we have *tyisun* for *tisun*, 'his'. As in Kāshmīrī, words often end in *i-mātrā* and *u-mātrā*, but these are used most capriciously. A final *u-mātrā* does not seem to occur, *i-mātrā* being everywhere used instead. This *i-mātrā* sometimes becomes an ordinary *i*, as in *mhāli* 'fathers'; *māhni*, 'men'. The final *u-mātrā* is often dropped or it becomes a full *u* or *ū* or *ō*; thus, *myul* 'he was got'; *mhālu*, 'a father'; *āsū*, 'he was'; *ḍanḍō*, 'the back'. In Kashṭawāṛī, while the epenthetic vowel changes do occur, they are subject to no fixed law.

In Kāshmīrī a final surd consonant is aspirated. This rarely occurs in Kashṭwārī; thus we have *dōlat* (not *dōlath*) 'wealth'. Sonant aspirates are common in Kashṭawāṛī and are evidently borrowed from western Pahāṛī; thus, we have *ghar*, 'a house'; *dhām*, 'a feast'; *bhay*ᵘ, 'brother'. As in the case of other Dardic languages, the distinction between cerebrals and dentals is observed in a lax way; thus, we have *uṛāwun* and *uḍāwun*, 'he squandered'. Cerebral *ṛ* also occurs in the dialect which does not exist in Kāshmīrī; thus, we have *shuṛ*ᵘ, 'a son'; *kōṛ*ᵘ, 'a daughter'; *ghuṛ*ᵘ, 'a horse'. The epenthetic changes of consonants also occur occasionally in Kashṭwāṛī. Thus, we have the change of *ṭ* to *ch* in *ṯsachiĕn*, 'he tore them', from *ṯsaṭun*, 'to tear'. In Kāshmīrī *t* under certain circumstances becomes *ṯs*, and *n* becomes *ñ*, so we have in Kashṭawāṛī *kyutā*, 'how much', fem. *kiṯsā*. So *panun*ᵘ, 'own', fem. *panañ*ᵘ. [LSI pp. 345-349]

Nouns. As in Kāshmīrī there are four declensions of the nouns, however, terminations somewhat differ.

Postpositions are used as in Kāshmīrī. It is noteworthy that

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the postpositions *hata* and *nish* both meaning 'from' govern the dative, and not as we might expect from the analogy of Kāshmīrī the ablative. [LSI pp. 349-355]

Adjectives. Adjectives as a rule, follow the custom of standard Kāshmīrī. Those that do not end in *u*-mātrā (such as *dūr* 'distant' ; *māṛa*, 'bad' ; *zabar*, 'good') are not declined when in agreement with a substantive in a case other than the nominative singular. Thus, *dūr dishas safar kŏrun*, 'he went to a far country'. As in Kāshmīrī adjectives ending in *u*-mātrā agree with the noun they qualify in gender, number, and case. Even if the *u*-mātrā is elided the adjective is treated as if it ended in *u*-mātrā.

Genitive. As in standard Kāshmīrī the genitive is an adjective and is declined as such. The postpositions of the genitive are *hun*^{u}, *sun*^{u}, and *uk*^{u}, corresponding to Kashmiri *hond*^{u}, *sond*^{u}, and *uk*^{u}, respectively. These are used almost exactly as in Kāshmīrī. Unlike standard Kāshmīrī *sun*^{u} is used not only with animate, but also with inanimate nouns, so that we have *āsmāna-sun*^{u}, 'of heaven', when Kāshmīrī would have *āsmānuk*^{u}.

The comparison is made as in Kāshmīrī. The usual postpositions are *hata* and *nishi*. [LSI pp. 355-360]

Pronouns. Kashṭawāṛī pronouns closely follow Kāshmīrī. The nominative forms of the first two personal pronouns are ; *bŏh*, *mĕ*, 'I' ; *as*^{t}, *as*, 'we' ; *tū*, *ts̲a*, 'thou' ; *tus*, 'you'. The *tu* of the second person connects Kashṭawāṛī with western Pahāṛī, while *ts̲a* connects it with Kāshmīrī.

As in Kāshmīrī instead of genitives, the possessive pronouns *mīaun*^{u} 'my' ; as *asun*^{u}, 'our' ; *ts̲āun*^{u}, 'thy' ; and *tusun*^{u}, 'your', are employed.

As in Kāshmīrī, the demonstrative, relative, interrogative, and indefinite pronouns have, in the singular, separate forms for animate and inanimate objects mostly in cases other than the nominative.

Demonstrative pronoun 'this' is *i*, *yi*, *zi* (sing.), *im*, *yim* (plur.), and 'that' is *su* (sing.), *tim* (plur.) These are also used as pronouns of the third person.

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Some of the other pronominal forms are ; *kō̃*, 'who ?' ; *kya*, 'what' ? ; *kī̃*, 'any one, someone'. [LSI pp. 360-368.]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The conjugation of the verbs *thū*, and *as*, in the present and past tenses is as under :

	Present, 'I am' etc.		Past, 'I was', etc.	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*thus*	*thī*	*āsus, āusus*	*ais*
2.	*thuk, thukh*	*thĕaua*	*(āsuk āusuk, (āsukh, āusukh*	*āsĕaua, ausĕaua*
3.	*thu*	*thi*	*āsū, āusū, āsĕāu*	*āsai āusai, āis[1], āsiāi*

The active verb. The conjugation of the Kashṭawāṛī verb closely follows Kāshmīrī. As in Kāshmīrī there are three conjugations. The first consists of all transitive verbs, and all impersonal verbs, the second of those intransitive verbs which employ the first past participle in the formation of the past tenses ; and the third of those intransitive verbs which employ the second past participle in the formation of past tenses.

The infinitive ends in *-unᵘ*, of which the final *u*-mātrā is commonly (as in Kāshmīrī) omitted. Thus, *ts̲ōṭunᵘ* or *ts̲ōṭun*, 'to strike'.

The present participle is formed by adding *-an* to the root, as in *ts̲ōṭan*, 'striking'.

Examples corresponding to the first and second past participles of Kāshmīrī are available in the dialect. There are no forms corresponding to the third and fourth past participles.

The first past participle, as in Kāshmīrī, is formed by adding *u*- mātrā to the root, as in *ts̲ōṭᵘ*, 'struck'. As usual, the *u*-mātrā may be dropped or may be represented by *u*, *ū* or *ō*, so that instead of *ts̲ōṭᵘ*, we may have forms corresponding to *ts̲ōṭu*, *ts̲ōṭū*, or *ts̲ōṭō*.

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The termination of the second past participle is probably *-ov*, corresponding to Kāshmīrī *-yōv*.

The usual conjunctive participle ends in *-i* or *-ī* as in *ts̲ōṭi* 'having struck'. This form does not occur in Kāshmīrī, but is common in Pahāṛī and Lahndā. Another forms of conjunctive participle ends in *-ith* or *-it* corresponding to the Kāshmīrī form with the termination *-ith*. Thus, *ts̲ōṭith* or *ts̲ōṭita* 'having struck'. A third form of conjunctive participle ends in *-īta*, as in *ts̲oṭīta*, 'having struck'.

The future indicative, also used as a present subjunctive, is thus conjugated :

'I shall strike,' 'I may strike.' etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ts̲ōṭa*	*ts̲ōṭan*
2.	*ts̲ōṭakh*	*ts̲ōṭiū*
3.	*ts̲ōṭi*	*ts̲ōṭan*

It will be noted that, allowing for variations of spellings, it is the same as in Kāshmīrī.

As in Kāshmīrī the present tense is formed by conjugating the present participle with the present tense of the verb substantive. The participle is unchanged throughout. Thus, we have *thus ts̲ōṭan*, 'I strike, I am striking'.

The imperfect is similarly made by conjugating the past tense of the verb substantive with the present participle. Thus, *bŏh āsus ts̲ōṭan*, 'I was striking'.

Past tenses : *First conjugation*. The tenses formed from the past and perfect participles closely follow standard Kāshmīrī. There are the same three methods of conjugation, viz. (1) with the subject fully expressed, and no pronominal suffix added to the participle ; (2) with the subject fully expressed in the agentive case and also by a pronominal suffix. As in Kāshmīrī, the first person plural can only be indicated in the first method, the second person only in the second and third methods. Thus, for 'he was

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struck by me' we have *mĕtsōt*^{u} and (*mĕ*) *tsōtum*, and for 'she was struck by them' we have *timau tsōṭ*^{i}, and (*timau*) *tsōṭikh*.

The second conjugation also closely follows Kāshmīrī. In the first past masc. sing. of the verb *samazun*, 'to become,' we have (*bŏh*) *samuzus*, and masc. plur. *as samaz*^{i}.

The third conjugation also closely follows Kāshmīrī. In the second past of the verb *gatshun*, 'to go, to become', we have the masc. sing. (*bŏh*) *gōs*, masc. plur. as *gē*.

Passive. The passive is formed by adding-*a* to the root and conjugating it with various parts of *gatshun*, 'to go'. Thus, *bŏh thus tsoṭa gatshan*, 'I am being struck'. The system employed in Kāshmīrī viz. adding the ablative of the infinitive to *yiun*, 'to come', also obtains. Thus, *bŏh thus mārana yūan*, 'I am being struck'.

Causal verbs. The regular method of forming a causal root is to add *āw* to the original root. Thus, from *uṛun* or *uḍun*, 'to fly', we have *uṛāwun* or *uḍāwun*, 'to cause to fly, to squander'.

Pronominal suffixes. Pronominal suffixes are added to verbs as in standard Kāshmīrī. [LSI pp. 369-382]

PŎGULĪ

463 Immediately to the west of Kashṭawāṛ, and to the south of the Pir Pantsāl range that forms the southern boundary of the valley of Kashmir, lie the valleys of the rivers Pŏyal and Parīstān. These unite and join the river Bichlārī, which in its turn joins the Chināb, south of the Bānihāl Pass. The tract of country across the Bichlārī where the other two rivers run into it, is called Sar. Over the whole of this tract,—the valleys of the Pŏgal and the Parīstān, and Sar,—the language is the same, and is called Pŏgulī by Mr. Grahame Bailey. Pŏgulī, while based on Kāshmīrī is much mixed with Pahāṛī and Lahndā, and forms a transition dialect. [LSI p. 402]

Pronunciation. The mātrā-vowels, which are so prominent in Kāshmīrī, are capriciously employed in Pŏgulī. Sometimes

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they are interchangeable with full vowels, as in *mī"n* or *mīun* 'my' ; *tī"n* or *tīun*, 'thy'. At other times they are dropped altogether, as in Kāshmīrī *gās*ª, Pŏgulī *gās*, 'grass'. The vowel-scale is very uncertain, vowels, even when accented, being freely interchangeable. Thus, *a* and *ĕ* in *yable* or *yĕbla* 'when'. So final *a* and *i* are continually interchanged ; thus, *bīma* or *bīmi*, 'seated'.

A *y* is often inserted before a vowel. Thus occurs most often (as in Kāshmīrī) before *i* or *e*, but also occurs before *a*. Thus, *chhyi*, for *chhi*, 'they are ; *dyēn* for *dēn*, 'give it'.

Epenthesis is common, but its operation is obscured by the frequent omission of mātrā-vowels.

The consonantal system is on the whole the same as that of Kāshmīrī, but there are many irregularities due to the influence of the Western Pahāṛī and Lahndā.

In the Western Pahāṛī dialects, especially in Kiūṭhalī and those related to it, aspiration is frequently transferred. So, in Pŏgulī, we have *āhṭ*, 'eight', for *āṭh* ; *āht*, 'a hand', for *āth* or *hāth*. In Pŏgulī, under the influence of the neighbouring Pahāṛī and Lahndā, the sonant aspirates occur, which are absent in Kāshmīrī and other Dardic languages. Thus, we have, *ghar*, 'a house' ; *ghōṛ*ᵘ, 'a horse'. [LSI pp. 402-405]

Nouns : Declension. We can clearly trace the four declensions of Kāshmīrī, although complete sets of forms are not available for all four. There seems to have been considerable intermingling of first and second declensions.

Postpositions. These are very like those used in Kāshmīrī. Some govern the dative and some the agent-ablative. The following are some of the important postpositions, with the cases they govern :

khal, 'beneath (dat.).'
laba, 'near, from near (dat.).'
pāt, 'upon (dat.).'
pāta, 'from on, from (ag.-abl.).'

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sĩt~sũt, 'with, together with (dat.) ; with, by means of (ag.-abl.).' Kāshmīrī *sũty*.

tã, 'upto, during (dat.). Kāshmīrī *tañ*. [LSI pp. 405-410]

Adjectives. Adjectives follow the example of Kāshmīrī. Those that end in, or originally ended in, *u-* mātrā are declined. Others such as *dūr*, 'far' or *juān*, 'good', are not declined. Thus, we have *dūr mulkus-manz*, 'in a far country'.

As for declinable adjectives, it is to be noted that the syllable *-mut* is added to an indeclinable adjective without altering the sense, and the adjective is then declinable. Thus, beside *juān*, 'good' we have *juānmut*.

Comparison is made, as in Kāshmīrī, with *khota*. Thus, *tẽsau bārun tẽsẽi bīna-khota bŏy chhu*, 'his brother is taller than his sister' ; *sārinī-khota ḍaḍḍ juan aun*, 'bring ye the best garment of all'.

Genitive. Corresponding to the Kāshmīrī *sond*^{u}, the genitive postposition is *sun*. This is used with all nouns, both singular and plural. There do not appear to be any forms corresponding to the Kāshmīrī *hond*^{u} or *un*^{u}. We see a trace of the Kāshmīrī *uk*^{u}, in *tēr-ki*, 'of there', in *tēr-ki mulkus rahnawālis labo gō*, 'he went near an inhabitant of the country of there', i.e. 'of that country'. The postposition *sun* is declined like *juānmut*. [LSI pp. 410-412]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the first two personal pronouns are ; *aũ*, 'I', *as*, 'we' ; *tu*, 'thou' ; *tus*, 'you'.

The demonstrative pronouns, also used as pronouns of the the third person, are,—*yē*, *yu* (sing.), *yaũ* (plur.), 'this' ; *su* (sing.), *tiaũ* (plur.), 'that'.

The relative pronoun is *yu* or *yō*, 'who'. The interrogative pronoun is *kam*, 'who ?' with an inanimate form *kut*, 'what ?'. The indefinite pronoun is *kas*, 'anyone'. [LSI pp. 413-417]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present tense of the verb substantive follows Kāshmīrī in being based on the root *achh*. The present and past tenses are conjugated as under in the masculine :

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	Present, 'I am', etc.		*Past*, 'I was', etc.	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*chhus*	*chhisam*	*ahtūs*	*ahsam*
2.	*chhus*	*chhĕth*	*ahtūs*	*ahtath*
3.	*chhu*	*chhi, chhĕ*	*ahtū*	*ahta*

Active verb. There are traces of the three conjugations of Kāshmīrī, but they are so indefinite that it will be most convenient to consider them as they occur.

The infinitive and future passive participle ends in *-nu*, as in *pharnu*, 'to strike'. Its feminine is *pharnī*.

The present participle is formed by adding *-ti* to the root. Thus, *pharti*, 'striking'. Sometimes the *-ti* is omitted so that we get *phar*, as an optional form.

The regular past participle is formed by adding *-tu* to the root. Thus, *pashun*, 'to see', past participle, *pashtu*. Besides this there are numerous irregular past participles, which may be taken as corresponding to the third conjugation of Kāshmīrī.

The conjunctive participle is formed by adding to the root *-i*, which is generally transferred epenthetically to the preceding syllable. To this *kĕri* is usually added. Thus, *āis kĕri*, for *āsi-kĕri*, 'having been', *phāir-kĕri* (for *phāri-kĕri*), 'having struck'.

The future indicative, which is also used as a present subjunctive, is conjugated as follows :

'I shall strike', 'I may strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*phāra*	*phāram*
2.	*phārus*	*phāruth*
3.	*phāiri*	*phārun*

The present is, as usual, formed by conjugating the present participle with the present tense of the verb substantive. Thus,

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aũ phār chhus, or *aũ phārti chhus*, 'I am striking'. This participle does not change for gender, number, or person.

The past tense differs according to whether the verb is intransitive or transitive.

In the intransitive verb the tense is formed by suffixing pronominal suffixes of the nominative to the past participle. The third person, however, takes no suffixes being the base past participle. Unlike Kāshmīrī, Pŏgulī has a suffix for the first person plural. Thus from *gatshnu*, 'to go, to become'; (past participle *gō*), we have the following conjugation in the masculine :

'I went, I became', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*gōs*	*gĕōsam*
2.	*gōs*	*gĕōath*
3.	*gō*	*gĕō, gĕau*

In the case of transitive verb, the participle, as in Hindī, does not change for person, but agrees with the object (if in the form of the nominative) in gender and number. The subject is put into the case of the agent. The subject may also be indicated, as in Kāshmīrī by the aid of pronominal suffixes.

Passive voice. The principle of forming the passive is the same as in Kāshmīrī. It is made by using a form such as *phānani* with the various tenses of *yĭun*, 'to come'. Thus, *aũ ās phārani*, 'I was beaten' ; *yaua phārani*, 'I shall be beaten'.

Causal verbs. The regular causal is made by adding *-al* to the root. Thus, *khālnu*, 'to eat' ; *khālalnu*, 'to cause to eat, to feed'.

Pronominal suffixes. These are freely used as in Kāshmīrī.

Accusative. The suffix of the accusative of the 3rd person singular is *-n*, as in *gaṭhin* (*gaṭhi*+*n*), 'bind ye him'.

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Dative. The suffix of the dative of the 1st person singular is *-m* and of the third person singular is *-s*. Thus, *zaptiam* (*zapti*+*m*), 'they may have said to me', i.e. 'they might have called me'; *kāsahtūs* (*ahtū*+*s*) *na dēti*, 'no one was-to-him giving'.

Agent. The suffix of the agent of the 1st person singular is *-mī*, of the second person singular is *-i*, and of the third person singular is *-n*. [LSI pp. 417-427]

SIRĀJĪ OF ḌŌḌĀ

464 South of the tract in which Pŏgulī is spoken, there is a further tract of hill country reaching down the river Chināb, called Sirāj. As the town of Ḍōḍā is taken as headquarters of the Sirāj between the Pŏgulī country and the Chināb, the language of this area is called the Sirājī of Ḍōḍā.

Sirājī is a mixed dialect. It might with almost equal correctness, be classed as a dialect of Kāshmīrī or as a dialect of Western Pāhāṛī, but it has been put in the former class, because it possesses certain typical Dardic characteristics which do not belong to the latter. [LSI pp. 433-439]

Pronunciation. The vowels as a rule follow Pañjābī rather than Kāshmīrī. In consonants we see much stronger traces of Dardic influence. Both the Kāshmīrī consonants *ts* and *z* are of common occurrence, as in *tsārṇō*, 'to graze'; *zabṇō*, 'to say'. Very typical of the Dardic languages is the preservation of medial *t* in *butō*, 'he was'. As in Dardic, *d* is often hardened to *t*, as in *dant* (Persian *dand*), 'a tooth', and *r* is often dropped; thus we have *ichchh* for *richchh*, 'a bear'. The metathesis of *h* in *brhā* for *bhrā*, 'a brother', is a typical influence of Western Pahāṛī. [LSI p. 434]

Nouns: Declension. The declension of nouns follows Western Pahāṛī rather than Kāshmīrī. As in Western Pahāṛī strong masculine nouns (corresponding to Hindī nouns in *-ā*, like *ghōṛā*, 'a horse') form their nominative singulars in *-ō* and *-ū* and their nominative plural in *-ā*. There is also, as in Western Pahāṛī, a locative in *-ē* and a tendency to interchange a final *-ō*

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with -ā and a final -ā with -ē. Thus the word for 'horse' is *ghōṛō*, nominative plural *ghōṛā*, and the word for 'dog' is *shuṇō* or *shuṇā* in the nominative singular.

The only cases are the nominative, the oblique, and the agent-locative. The oblique case by itself, is used to indicate the dative. With the aid of postpositions it indicates any other case except the nominative. The following are the more important postpositions governing the oblique case except those of the genitive. The latter will be dealt with under the head of adjectives :

atha, *hatha*, *athā*, ~ *hathā*, 'from'.

mā̃, 'in', *puṛ*, 'on'.

sāthī 'together with, with (by means of)'.

nē 'to'. This postposition, like many other postpositions of the dative is the locative of the genitive postposition *ṇō*'.

[LSI pp. 434-439]

Adjectives. As usual only strong adjectives, ending in -*u*, -*ō* (or -*ū*), are capable of being declined. Other adjectives remain unchanged. The obl. singular in -*ē* is much more common than in -*ā*.

The comparison is, as usual, effected by putting the object with which comparison is made in the ablative case, i.e. in the oblique case, or the oblique case of the genitive case, governed by *hatha* or *hathā*. Thus, *tē-tō brhā tē-tī bēhṇī-hathā baḍḍō chhu*, 'his brother is taller than his sister' ; *sabbā̃-ṇē hatha ṭallā chaṅgā lūsho ārō*, 'bring quickly the garments better than all' i.e. 'the best garments'.

Genitive. As usual the genitive is an adjective, agreeing with the thing possessed. Two postpositions are used to indicate this case, -*tō* and *ṇō*. Both of these are borrowed forms. The *tō* is the Ḍogrī *da*, with the Western Pahāṛī change of *ā* to *ō*, and also with the typical change of *d* to *t*. The *ṇō* is Lahndā *nā*. Both *ṭō* and *ṇō* are declined like adjectives. Occasionally the oblique case by itself, without any postposition, is employed to indicate the genitive. Thus, *grāmō*, in *grāmō kẽt̲s̲īō haṭīa bālīē-hathā*, 'from a shop-keeper of the village'. [LSI pp. 439-440]

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Pronouns. The nominative forms of the first two personal pronouns are ; *aũ*, 'I' ; *ah*, 'we' ; *tū*, *tu* 'thou' ; *tuh*. 'you'.

The two demonstrative pronouns *yō*, 'this', and *sū*, 'that' are also used as pronouns of the third person.

The relative pronoun is *zō* 'who, which, that'. The interrogative pronoun is *kam*, 'who ?' *kut* or *kĭ*, 'what ?'. The interrogative pronoun of quantity is *kitō*, 'how much ?'.

Verbs : *Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive.* The present tense follows Kāshmīrī in being based on *chhu*, 'he is'. It is thus conjugated in the masculine :

'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*chhi, chhis*	*chha, chhas*
2.	*chhi, chhis*	*chhath*
3.	*chhu*	*chha, chhan*

The past tense preserves the Sanskrit *bhūtaḥ* 'was', with the disaspiration typical of the Dardic languages. Thus, we have *butō*, which is conjugated as follows in the masculine :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*butē, butēs*	*butā, butās*
2.	*butē, butēs*	*butath*
3.	*butō*	*butā*

Active Verb. The infinitive ends in *ṇō*, equivalent to the Ḍogrī *-ṇā*, which as in that language after *r* becomes *nō*. Thus, *bhoṇō*, 'to become', but *mārnō*, 'to strike'.

The present participle is formed by adding *-ã* to the root, as in *mārã*, 'striking'.

The past participle is formed by adding *-ū* or *ūō* to the root. It is declined as an adjective. Thus, *mārū* or *mārūō*, 'struck' ; *biāo*, 'married'. As in Western Paḥāṛī the syllable *-rō* is often

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added to a past participle without materially changing its meaning. Thus, *biāō-rō*, 'married', *gō-rō*, 'gone'.

The conjunctive participle is formed by adding *-īta* to the root, as in *mārīta*, 'having struck'.

The old present, used as a present conjunctive, and not, as in Kāshmīrī, as a future, is thus conjugated :

'I may strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārā̃, mārami,* ~ *mārāmutu*	*māras, māramū*, or *mārāmātā*
2.	*mārēs*	*mārath*
3.	*mārī*	*mārēnth*

These forms strikingly resemble the Sanskrit present.

The present tense is formed by conjugating the present participle with the present tense of the verb substantive. Thus, *aũ mārā̃-chhi*, 'I am striking'. Any form of the verb substantive may be used. Moreover, the final *-ā̃* of the present participle may be optionally dropped, so that we may also have *mār chhi*, and so throughout.

The imperfect is formed by conjugating *tō* with the present participle. The present participle is unchanged, and may optionally drop its nasalization, so that we get *mārā̃-tō* ~ *mārā-tō*, 'he was striking'.

The future is directly borrowed from Western Pahāṛī. It is conjugated as follows, in the masculine :

'I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārālō*	*māramala*
2.	*mārēlō*	*mārathala*
3.	*mārēlō*	*mārēnthala*

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It will be observed that it is formed by suffixing *-lō* to the old present, which undergoes some changes in the process.

The past tense is formed from the past participle. In the case of intransitive verbs, this is conjugated like *butō*. Thus, to take *uṭhūō* 'arisen', we get the following conjugation in the masculine. The only thing to note is that in the third person singular, the past participle optionally takes the form *uṭhūē*.

'I arose,' etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*uṭhūē, uṭhūēs*	*uṭhūā, uṭhūās*
2.	*uṭhūē, uṭhūēs*	*uṭhūath*
3.	*uṭhūō, uṭhūē*	*uṭhūa*

In the past tense of transitive verbs, the participle is passive, and agrees with the object (when in the form of the nominative) in gender and number. The subject is in the case of the agent. The participle is not altered for person but may take the form in *e*, as in the case of intransitive verbs.

Thus, *mī mārū, mī mārūō, mī mārūē*, 'I struck him'.

The passive is formed by adding *-ī* to the root which is not further changed, and then conjugating with it the verb *gisṇō*,' to go' Thus, *aũ mārī̃ gō - chhi* 'I am being struck' ; *aū mārī gēs*, 'I was struck'.

Pronominal suffixes. These are freely used and give Sirājī its chief title to be classed as a form of Kāshmirī, rather than of Western Pahāṛī or Ḍogrī Pañjābī. The following suffixes have been noted:

	1st person sing.	2nd person sing.	3rd person sing.
Agentive	*-m*	*-t*	*-ṇī*
Dative	not known	not known	*-s*

When the suffix of the agent 3rd person sing. is added to the masculine sing. participle, the latter takes the form *-ṇē*, the *-ē* of

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which is shortened. Thus, *zabūē*, 'said' *zabūĕ-ṇi*, 'he said'.
[LSI pp. 443-452]

RĀMBANĪ

465 To the west of the Ḍōḍā Sirāj, between it and the river Bichlārī and still to the north of the Chināb, there lies a tract of country of which the principal village is known as Rāmban. The language of this tract is known as Rāmbanī.

Rāmbanī closely resembles the neighbouring Sirājī. Any important differences are due to the fact that the language immediately south, across the Chināb, is the Ḍōgrī dialect of Pañjābī. In fact Rāmbanī can fairly be described as a mixture of Sirājī and Ḍōgrī. It still possesses enough Kāshmīrī peculiarities to entitle it to be classed as a dialect of that language; but it must nevertheless be considered as a broken form of speech, partly Ḍōgri and partly Kāshmīrī, and it might with almost equal correctness be classed under either group of languages.

Pronunciation. Final vowels, especially when short, are most indefinite. The final *ā* is interchangeable with *ŏ* and *ū*, and even with *ĕ*. The mātrā-vowels *i* and *u* occur very rarely.

The consonantal system is, on the whole, the same as that of Ḍōgrī, not that of Kāshmīrī. The cerebral sounds *ṛ* and *ṇ* and sonant consonants *gh*, *jh*, *ḍh*, *dh* and *bh* occur in the dialect, which are absent in Kāshmīrī. On the other hand, Kāshmīrī sounds *ts* and *z* are common, as in *pants*, 'five'; *zikhaṇ*, 'when'. There is typical Dardic interchange of *ch* and *tr* as in *chēī* or *trai*, 'three'. The fricatives and palatals are interchangeable, as in *tsaur* or *chor*, 'four'. The interchange between palatals and sibilants is common, as in *chhĕ* or *shĕ*, 'six' [LSI p. 459]

Nouns : Declension. In the formation of the plural and of the oblique case nouns follow Ḍōgrī rather than Kāshmīrī. The series of cases which we find in the latter language is reduced to a nominative and oblique case in each number, as in Pañjabī and Hindī.

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Some of the more important postpositions are as under :

ātĕ, 'from' ; *mã*, 'in'; *maz*, 'in'; *sāth* or *sāthī* 'with, in company with', or 'with, by means of ; *sun*, 'of' ; *tã*, 'upto' ; *thã*, 'from'.

Adjectives. The adjectives follow the usual rules. Strong adjectives in *ā*, *ũ* etc. are declined, while weak adjectives are not declined.

Comparison is formed as usual with the ablative with *thã*. Thus *ĕs-thã chaṅgō*, 'better than this' ; *sabbaṇ thã chaṅgō*, 'best of all, best'.

Genitive. The postposition of the genitive, *suṇ*, is a corruption of the Kāshmīrī *sond"*, and like that word is an adjective, agreeing with the thing possessed.

Occasionally the oblique case without any postposition is used as genitive, as in, *-mulkhai*, in *tis mulkhai baṛĕ bakhtāwarĕ-saṇĕ ghar gā*, 'he went to the house of a great rich man of that country.'

Pronouns. The nominative singular and plural of the first two personal pronouns are ; *aũ*, *amī*, 'I' : *as*, 'we' ; *tu*, *tũ*, thou ; *tus*, 'you'.

The proximate demonstrative pronoun is *yih* or *yu*, 'this'. There are two remote demonstrative pronouns, viz. *ŏ* and *su* or *so*, both meaning 'that'. All these are also used as pronouns of the third person.

The interrogative pronoun is *kam*, 'who ?' Its inanimate form is *ko* or *kut*, 'what ?'. The indefinite pronoun is *kĩ*, 'anyone, someone, anything, something' [LSI pp. 465-468]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. There are several forms of the present tense of the verb substantive, all borrowed from the neighbouring dialects. The first form is connected with the Kāshmīrī *chhuh*, 'he is'. The second form occurs in Ḍōgrī in the form *sã*, 'I was', and in Lahndā (Punchhī) *sa* 'he was'. Here the meaning is changed to that of the present. The third form is taken from the Ḍōgrī *hã*, 'I am'. All the three forms are conjugated as under :

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	1st Form		2nd Form		3rd Form	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*chhus*	*chhasam*	*sã*	*sã*	*hã*	*hẽ*
2.	*chhus*	*chhath*	*sã*	*sõ, sā*	*hẽ*	*hõ*
3.	*chhu*	*chhi*	*sā, satī*	*sã, satī, santī*	*hẽ*	*hẽ*

The past tense of the verb substantive has two forms. The first, *ātus*, 'I was', corresponds to Pŏgulī *ahtūs*. The second *thas*, 'I was', agrees with the Ḍōgrī *thā*. The Punchhī *thēs*, 'I am' is also connected with it, but has changed its meaning to that of the present. The forms are conjugated as under :

	1st Form		2nd Form	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur
1.	*ātus*	*ātasam*	*thās*	*thē*
2.	*ātus*	*ātath*	*thās*	*thē*
3.	*ātū*	*ātā*	*thā, thē*	*thē, thēō*

Active verb. As in the case of the verb substantive, the conjugation of the Rāmbanī verb is a mixture of Ḍōgrī and Kāshmīrī.

The infinitive is formed by adding *-ṇā* or *-ṇū* to the root. The *-ṇā* is borrowed from Ḍōgrī, and the alternative form *-ṇū* is due to the Kāshmīrī influence. Thus, we have *bhoṇa* or *bhoṇū*, 'to become'.

The present participle is either the same in form as the root, or else adds *-ã* to the root. Thus, *mār* or *marã*, 'striking'.

There are two methods of forming the past participle. By one method *tū* is added to the root, as in *martū*, 'struck'. This form is only used in forming the past tenses, and is not used as a participle. The other is formed by adding *yā* to the root, as in *māryā*, 'struck'.

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The conjunctive participle is formed by adding -ī to the root, as in *marī*, but this form is used only in intensive compound verbs. When used alone *karī*, is added, as in *marī-karī*.

The old present is used, as in Kāshmīrī, as a future indicative and as a present subjunctive, as in *aũ mārã*, 'I shall strike,' or 'I may strike'. It is thus conjugated :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārã*	*māram, mārã*
2.	*māras*	*mārath*
3.	*mārī*	*mārti*

The present is formed by conjugating one of the forms of the present tense of the verb substantive with the present participle. It will be remembered that the present participle is either the same in form as the root or else ends in -*ã*. Both forms are used in this tense. Neither changes at all in conjugation. Thus, we have *mar-sã*, in *amī it bhūkā mar-sã*, 'I here hungry am dying' : *kar-satī*, in *ko-kar-satī*, 'what are they doing ?'.

The past tense is conjugated differently according as the verb is intransitive or transitive. The past intransitive is conjugated by adding suffixes to the past participle. No suffix is added to the third person which is therefore the same as the past participle, singular or plural as the case may be. Taking *gā* or *gĕū* as the past participle of *gatshṇā* or *gasṇā*, 'to go', we have the following conjugation in the masculine.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*gĕūs*	*gēasam*
2.	*gĕūs*	*gēath*
3.	*gĕū, gā*	*gēć, gē*

The past of a transitive verb, as usual, has the subject in the case of the agent. It often takes a pronominal suffix indicating the agent.

Passive voice. This is formed (much as in Sirājī) by adding -ī to the root, and conjugating with it the various parts of

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gatshṇā or *gasṇū*, 'to go. Thus, *aũ mārī gẽũs*, 'I was struck' ; *aũ mārī gatshã*, 'I shall be struck.'

The pronominal suffixes are added to the verbs as in Kāshmīrī, but not to the same extent. The following are the suffixes of the dative and the agentive.

	1st person sing.	2nd person sing.	3rd person sing.
dative	*am*	not known	*-s∼si*
agentive	*-am*	*-t*	*-ni*

[LSI pp. 468-477]

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English	*Kashmīrī*	*Kashṭawāṛī*	*Pŏgulī*	*Sirājī of Ḍoḍa*
one	akh	akh	yakh	ikk
two	z^{a}h	zēh	dih, dih	dūī
three	trih, trĕh	trĕ, tra	chāē	trēī
four	ṭs̲ōr	ṭs̲ōr	ṭs̲äur	ṭs̲ōur
hand	atha	hatthō, hathō	āht	hatth
foot	khōr, pād	khōr	khur	khur
head	kala	lŏṭ, lŏth	lŏṭ, luṭ	ruṭ
a father	môl^{u}	mhālu	maul	babb
of a father	möl^{i}-sond^{u}	mhāli-sun, -sund	māla-sun	babbāṇō
to a father	mölis	mhālis	mhālis	babbō
two fathers	z^{a}h möl^{i}	zĕh mhāli	zĕh mhāli	dūī babb
I am	bŏh chhus	bŏh thus	aũ chhus	aũ chhi, chhis
thou art	ṭs̲^{a}h chhukh	tū thukh	tu chhus	tuchhi, chhis
he is	suh chhuh	su thu	su chhus	su chhu (*fem.* chhi)
we are	as^{i} chhih	asthī	as chhisam	āh chha, chhas

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you are	tŏh^{1} chhiwa	tus thĕaua	tus chhĕth	tuh chhath
they are	tim chhih	tim thī	tiaũ chhi, chhĕ	tiṇ chha
I was	bŏh ôsus	bŏh āsus, āusus	aũ āhtūs, auhtūs	aũ bute, butēs
thou wast	ts^{a}h ôsukh	tū āsukh, āusukh	tu āhtūs, auhtūs	tu bute, butēs
he was	suh ôs^{u}	su āsū, āusū	su āhtū, auhtū	su butō
we were	as^{i} ös^{i}	as āis^{i}	as āhsam	ah butā, butās
you were	tŏh^{1} ös^{i} wa	tus āsĕaua, āusĕaua	tus āhtah	tuh butath
they were	tim ös^{i}	tim āsai, āusai, āis^{i}	tiaũ āhta	tiṇ butā
I shall be	bōh āsahö, bŏ wahö	bŏh āsa	aũ āsa	aũ bhōālō
I beat	bŏh chhus māran	bŏh thus ts̲ōṭan (māran)	aũ phār chhus, phārti chhus	aũ mār ~ mārã̃-chhi
thou beatest	ts^{a}h chhakh mārān	tū thukh ts̲ōṭan (māran)	tu phār chhus, phārti chhus	tu mār ~ mārã̃-chhi
he beats	suh chhuh mārān	su thu ts̲ōṭan (māran)	su phār chhu, phārti chhu	su mār-, ~ mārã̃-chhu
we beat	as^{i} chhih mārān	as thī ts̲ōṭan (mārān)	as phār chhisam, phārti chisam	āh mār- ~ mārã̃-chha
you beat	tŏh^{1} chhiwa mārān	tus thĕaua ts̲ōṭan (māran)	tus phār chhĕth, phārti chhĕth	tuh mār-, ~ mārã̃-chhath
they beat	tim chhih mārān	tim thī ts̲ōṭan (māran)	tiaũ phār chhi, phārti chhi	tiṇ mār-, ~ mārã̃-chha

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English	*Kāshmīrī*	*Kashṭawāṛī*	*Pŏgulī*	*Siraji of Ḍoḍa*
I beat (past)	mĕ môrum	mĕ ts̲ōṭ, ts̲ōṭum, mār, māurum	mī phārtu	mĩ̃ mārū
thou beatest (past)	ts̲ĕ môruth	ts̲ĕ ts̲ōṭuth, māuruth	tī phārtu	tĩ̃ mārū
he beat (past)	tam[1] môrun	tin ts̲ōṭ, mār	tin phārtu	tĕṇī mārū
we beat (past)	asĕ mâr[u]	asī ts̲ōṭ, mār	asĕi phārtu	asē mārū
you beat (past)	tŏhĕ môr[u] wa	tusī ts̲ōtĕeu, mārĕau	tusĕi phārtu	tusē mārū
they beat (past)	timau môrukh	timau ts̲ōṭ, ts̲ōtukh, mār, māurukh	tiaⱭĕi phārtu	tĕṇē mārū
I shall beat	bŏh māra	bŏh ts̲ōṭa, māra	aŭ phāra	aŭ māralō

[LSI pp. 483-505]

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KŌHISTĀNĪ

467 Under the name of Kōhistānī are included several Dard dialects or languages spoken in the Panjkora Swat, and Indus Kohistan. They are all closely connected together, and have numerous dialects, almost every little side-valley possessing its peculiar '*jib*'.

The linguistic boundary between these languages and Paṣhtō is very ill-defined, for all over the Kohistans of the three rivers the inhabitants are bilingual, and speak Paṣhtō in addition to the dialect peculiar to each tract. All are much mixed, not only with that language immediately to the south.

The dialects include Gārwī, Tōrwālī, and Maiyā, which are described below. [LSI p. 507]

GĀRWĪ

468 This language is spoken in the Swat Kohistan. It is the speech of the Gawārē sept of which tribe is named Bashghar. The language is closely connected with that of Tōrwāl, who inhabit the Swat and Panjkora valleys lower down than the Gawārē. It is evidently of Dardic origin.

The following summary is based on the grammatical sketch prepared from Colonel Biddulph's grammar. It differs from the grammatical sketch prepared from the specimens. Where necessary the same would be indicated in the summary. [LSI p. 514]

Pronunciation. The sounds peculiar to the dialect are ; *ă* (as in 'hat') ; *â* (as in 'fall) ; *ĕ* (as in 'met') ; *ŏ* (as in 'hot') ; *ö* and *ü* (as in German), *gh*, *kh*, *sh*, *zh* (as in Persian).

Nouns : Case. The only organic case is genitive, which is formed by suffixing -*ē* in the fem. sing. and -*ă* in masculine sing. and plur. of both the genders ; thus, *īs-ē*, 'of a woman' ; *bab-ă*

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'of a father'. Other cases, except the nominative, are expressed by means of postpositions.

Pronouns. Some of the pronominal forms are given as under. Forms of the specimens when differ are given in the brackets :

yăh (*ya*) 'I' ; *mah* (*mā*) 'we' ; *tu*, 'thou' ; *tăh* (*thā*) 'you' ; *ai*, (*sah*), 'he, it (near)' ; *atẽ*, 'she, it (near)' ; *am*, 'they (near)' *ată*, (*ashī*) 'he, it (remote)' ; *tatẽ*, 'she, it (remote)' ; *tam* (*tum*) 'they (remote)' ; *kam*, 'who ?. ; *kăh*, 'what ?'.

Verbs. In Gārwī like the other languages of the Swat Kohistan, the verb, except in the future tense and in the imperative mood, does not distinguish between the various tenses. Even the number is not distinguished. On the other hand, throughout the conjugation of the verb the distinction of gender is carefully maintained.

Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The forms of the present tense are ; *tū*, masc. ; *tūi*, fem. 'I am', etc. According to specimens the forms are *thū*, *thō*, masc. ; *thī* fem. The future is declined as under :

'I shall become', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hom* (m.) *hūwe* (f.)	*hū* (m.), *hūi* (f.)
2.	*hoh*	*hū* (m.), *hūi* (f.)
3.	*hoh*	*hū* (m.), *hūi* (f.)

Active verb. The present and past participles of the verbs *yāgă*, 'to come' and *karūgă* 'to do', are *yāgra*, 'coming', *karā*, 'doing', and *yāte*, 'having come', *kā* 'having done', respectively.

The present tense is formed by adding, *tu* (masc.) and *-ti* (fem.) to the root ; thus we have *yān-tū*, *yān-tī*, 'I am coming.' In the specimens it is formed by adding *-ānt* ; thus, we have *chaṇḍant*, 'I beat' ; *grānt*, 'thou bandiest'.

The past tense form(s) of the verb *yāgă*, 'to come', are *gā* (masc.), and *gē* (fem.) 'I came', etc. and of the verb *karūgă*,

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'to do' is *kir* (masc. fem.), 'I did', etc. The past tense forms are not clear in the specimens.

The future tense forms also differ. Future forms of the verb *yəgã*, 'to come', are *yam* (masc.), *yĕn* (fem.), 'I shall come', etc. The forms of the verb *karūgã*, 'to do', vary in masculine ; feminine form in both the persons is *karẽ*. The masculine forms are as under :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*karã*	*kari*
2.	*karẽ*	*karã*
3.	*karã*	*karã*

[LSI pp. 507-511]

TŌRWĀLĪ OR TŌRWĀLĀK

469 This is the language of the Tōrwāls, who occupy the upper portion of the main Swat valley for about sixty miles from Aryana to Chiroli, and the Chahil Darrah, a valley running to the east from the Swat valley, a little above Chiroli. The separation of the two portions of the tribe has produced considerable differences in the dialects now spoken by them.

This language certainly belongs to the Dardic family, and the mode of formation of the feminine and some of the verbal forms, show clearly that it is connected with Kāshmīri. It is however, much mixed up with Paṣhtō forms.

The following is the summary of the skeleton grammar taken from Biddulph. It considerably differs from the grammar of the specimens, which is, therefore, subsequently discussed.

[LSI p. 514]

Pronunciation. The sounds peculiar to the dialect are ; *ă* (as in 'hat') ; *á* (as in 'fall') ; *e* (as the *é* in French 'était') ; *ŏ* (as in 'hot') *ö* and *ü* as in German ; *gh*, *kh*, *sh* and *zh* as in Persian.

Nouns. Usually the nouns do not change for person. There

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are no organic cases in the dialect. Genitive, dative and ablative are formed by adding suffixes. Nominative and accusative do not add any suffix. Other cases are formed by adding postpositions, such as *sat*, 'with', *dī*, 'by' except *konīm*, 'in', which is prefixed.

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the personal pronouns are ; *a*, 'I' ; *măh*, 'we' ; *tū*, 'thou' ; *toh*, 'you ; *hĕh*, 'he (near)' ; *tiyăh*, 'he (remote)' ; *iyăh*, 'they (near)' ; *tiyăh*, 'they (remote)'.

'Who ?' is *kām* ; 'what ?' is *kăh*.

Verbs. Except the imperative each tense has only two forms, a masculine and a feminine, and does not change for number or person.

Of the verb *kudūsa*, 'to beat' the present infinitive is *kudūsa*, 'to strike' ; past infinitive is *kudūṣa ashū*, 'to have struck', and future infinitive is *kud dadūi*, 'to be about to strike'.

The present participle of the same verb is *kududūt*, 'striking', past participle, is *kuduge*, 'having struck', and future participle is is *kudūsa hū*, 'about to strike'.

The present, past and future tense forms of the verb *kudūsa*, are as under :

Present. 'I strike'. etc. *Past*, 'I struck, 'etc. *Future* 'I shall strike ; etc.

Masc.	*Kudadū*	*kudū*	*kudnin*
Fem.	*kūdūji*	*kūdi*	*kūdnin*

The passive voice is formed by the use of the auxiliary verb *bajūsa*, 'to go'. Thus, *kuduge bajūsa*, 'to be struck' ; *kuda bajudū*, 'I am being struck'. [LSI p. 515]

The following is the incomplete account of Tōrwālī grammar based on the specimens :

Vocabulary. This is freely infected by *Paṣhtō*. Thus, we have *ṭōl*, 'all' ; *ghwara*, 'choice' ; *pīshō*, 'cat', and many others.

Nouns. As in the Biddulph's grammar, genitive, dative and ablative are formed by adding suffixes. The agentive case is

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usually the same as the nominative ; thus *bap banū*, 'by the father it was said, the father said'. As a matter of fact nominative is frequently used instead of the agentive.

Adjectives. Adjectives do not seem to change for gender.

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the personal pronouns are ; *ā, ai*, 'I' ; *mō*, 'we' ; *tū*, 'thou' ; *thō*, 'ye' ; *sēh, ēh, tēh, tis*, 'he' ; *tiyā, tēh, hai*, 'they'.

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The forms of the present tense are, *thū*, sing. (all persons), *thīā* plur. The forms of the present tense are ; *aṣhū*, sing. (fem. *aṣhī*) ; *aṣhai*, plur.

Active verb. The present participle is formed by suffixing *-ūā* to the root ; thus, *kūṭhūā*, 'beating' ; *baẓhūā*, 'going'.

The forms of the past participle suffixes such as *-ū, -l* etc. are added to the root. Thus, we have *kūṭhū*, 'beaten' ; *mayil*, 'dead'.

Some of the forms of the present tense met with are ; *kūṭha -thū*, 'I am beating', etc. sing. (all persons) ; *kūṭha-thīā*, plur. ; *baẓha-thū*, 'I go' ; plur. also *baẓha-thū*.

Past : Transitive verbs. These are constructed passively in the past tenses and the subject is put in the agentive case. Sometimes the nominative is used instead of the agentive, as in *ā kūṭhū-ṣhū* or *mai kūṭhū-ṣhū* (pluperfect), 'I had beaten' 'I beat (past)' is, *mai kūṭhūā*. So far all persons and both numbers, the pronoun being usually in the case of the agent.

Intransitive verbs. These are constructed actively ; thus *ā gā*, 'I went', and so on for all persons and both numbers.

The forms of the future met with are, *ā kūṭhīyā*, 'I shall beat'. It does not change for person or number. *Ichhī*, 'I will rise' ; *baijī*, 'I will go', *banī*, 'I will say'.

Examples of the passive are, *mai kūṭhū-thū* 'I am beaten' ; *mai kūṭhū-ṣhū*, 'I was beaten' ; *mai kūṭhingā*, 'I shall be beaten' These are literally, 'he has beaten me' etc. [LSI pp. 516-518]

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MAIYÃ

470 This dialect is spoken in the Kohistan on both banks of the Indus, between that river and the Swat Valley on the one side and on the other between it and the watershed of Jhelam and its affluents. It is called Maiyã by those who speak it, but is generally known elsewhere by the indefinite name of Kōhistānī. Over the whole of this area Pashtō is spoken as a *lingua france*. Maiyã has several dialects. It is closely connected with Gārwī and Tōrwālī, and even more closely with the language described by Col. Biddulph under the name of Chilīs, an account of which is given under the head of Tōrwālī. [LSI p. 522]

Nouns. There seems to be two declensions. In the one, the noun does not change either for case or for number. The postpositions, denoting case, being simply added to the nominative. Such nouns are, *māsh*, 'a man' ; *ghō*, 'a horse' ; *gō*, 'a bull', etc. In the other declension the vowel *a* seems to be used to form the plural. Thus, *dhī*, 'a daughter' ; *dhīa*, 'daughters'. Similarly appear to be declined *puth*, 'a son' ; *naukar*, 'a servant', etc.

Some nouns appear to take this *a* also in the oblique case of the singular. Thus, *māl*, 'property', *māla-na*, 'from the property'.

The accusative and agentive cases are the same as the nominative. Other cases are formed by adding suffixes or post-positions.

Adjectives. Adjectives do not appear to change for gender or number. Thus, *ak mitha mash*, 'a good man' ; *ak mitha māsh-ã*, 'of a good man'. [LSI pp. 522-523]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the personal pronouns are ; *mã*, 'I', *bē*, 'we' ; *tū*, 'thou' ; *tus*, 'you', *sōh*, 'he' ; *saĩ*, 'they'. Except the agentive, other cases are formed by adding post-positions to the genitive. Thus, *mẽ-gai*, 'to me'.

'Who ?' is *kã* ; 'whose ?' is *kasẽ* ; 'what ?' is *gi* ; 'how much ?, how many ?' is *katuk*. [LSI pp. 523-524]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present tense is *thū*, 'I am', etc. for all the persons and both numbers. It

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is also used instead of *ãs*, in the sense of the past.

In the past tenses, besides *thū*, we have also *ãs*, plural *ãsū*, for all persons.

Active verb. The present participle is formed by adding *-a* to the root ; thus *kuṭa*, 'beating'. The past participle is formed by adding *-agalai* to the root ; thus, we have *kuṭagalai*. 'having beaten' ; so *karai*, 'having made, in which *gal* is omitted.

Simple present is usually formed by adding *-ānt*, to the root ; thus, we have *kuṭānt*, 'I beat', etc. for all persons and both numbers.

The future is formed by adding *-agal -(a) shat* to the root. Thus, we have *kuṭagal-ashat*, 'I shall beat', for all persons and both numbers. The syllable *gal* may apparently be dropped, for we have *ba-shat* or *ba shata* 'I will go'.

The past tense differs in the case of transitive and intransitive verb. In the transitive it is formed by adding *-agil* to the root ; thus, we have *kuṭagil*, 'I beat' for all persons and both numbers.

In the intransitive verbs it is formed by adding *-īgā*, in the singular and *-igil* in the plural to the root ; thus, we have *baīgā*, 'I went', etc. ; plur. *baigil*.

Passive. Kuṭais-thū, 'I am or was beaten'. *kuṭaīz-bashat*, 'I shall be beaten'. The past is formed by adding the syllable *-ūz* in the words *chālūzīgā*, 'he is recovered'. This agrees with Chilis.

[LSI pp. 524-525]

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471 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES IN GĀRWĪ, TŌRWĀLĪ AND MAIYĀ

English	*Gārwī*	*Tōrwālī*	*Maiyā*
one	ak	ik	ak
two	dū	dū	dū
three	ṭhā	chā	chā
four	chār	chau	saūr
hand	thair	hath	hā
foot	khur	khū	khur
head	thōs	sh̲ā	sh̲ish̲
a father	bab	ik bap	ak mhāla
of a father	bab-ā̃	ik-bap-chē	ak mhāla-ā̃
to a father	bab-ki	ik bap-ki	ak mhāla-gai
two fathers	dū bap	dū bap	dū mhāla
I am	ya thū	ā thū	mā̃ thū
thou art	tū thū	tū thū	tū thū
he is	ashī thū	sēh thū	sōh thū
we are	mā thū	mō thīā	bē thū
you are	thā thū	thō thīā	tus thū
they are	tum thū	tiyā thīā	saī̃ thū
I was	ya āsh̲	ā ash̲ū	mā̃ ā̃s
thou wast	tū āsh̲	tū āsh̲ū	tū ā̃s
he was	ashī āsh̲	sēh ash̲ū	sōh ā̃s
we were	ma āsh̲	mō ash̲ai	bē ā̃sū
you were	thā āsh̲	thō ash̲aī	tus ā̃sū
they were	tum āsh̲	tiyā ash̲ai	saī̃ ā̃sū
I shall be	ya hōm	ā hūyī	mā̃ hōnshat
I beat	ya chaṇḍānt	ā kūṭha-thū	mā̃ kuṭānt
thou beatest	tū chaṇḍānt	tū kūṭha-thū	tū kuṭānt
he beats	ash̲ī chaṇḍānt	sēh kūṭha-thū	sōh kuṭānt

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English	*Gārwī*	*Tōrwālī*	*Maiyā*
we beat	mā chaṅḍānt	mō kūṭha-thīā	bē kuṭānt
you beat	thā chaṇḍānt	thō kūṭha-thīā	tus kuṭānt
they beat	tum chaṇḍānt	tiyā kūṭha-thīā	sōī̃ kuṭānt
I beat (past)	mai mārō	mai kūṭhūā	mẽ̃ kuṭagil
thou beatest (past)	tai mārō	tai kūṭhūā	tõ̃ kuṭagil
he beat (past)	pah mārō	sēh kūṭhūā	sẽ̃ kuṭagil
we beat (past)	mū mārō	mō kūṭhūā	zõ̃ kuṭagil
you beat (past)	thō mārō	thō kūṭhūā	sõ̃ kuṭagil
they beat (past)	sōh mārō	tiyā kūṭhūā	sayõ̃ kuṭagil
I shall beat	ya chaṇḍam	ā-kūṭhiyā	mā̃ kutagal ashat

[LSI pp. 530-549]

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BURUSHASKĪ OR KHAJUNA

472 Although this language is in no way related to the other forms of speech dealt within this volume, it will be convenient to consider it in connexion with them. In the first place, this is suggested by its geographical position, its speakers inhabiting the mountain country immediately to the north of Gilgit, the home of Shinā, and separating it from the little Pāmīr. Besides this, linguistic evidence makes it probable that the speakers of Burushaskī once occupied the whole, or the greater part, of the territory now occupied by the languages of the Dardic family, and that their present representatives are the remnant of a once more widely spread race. Burushaskī words survive in use even in the languages of district Kāfiristān. Such is, for instance the Burushaskī *chhomar*, 'iron,' which appears in Bashgalī as *chimr*, in Wai-Alā as *chima*, in Kalāsha as *chimbar*, in Khōwār as *chumūr*, in Pashai, Gārwī, and Shiṇā as *chimar*, and so on.

It is the language of Hunza, Nagar, the Ghizr Valley and a portion of Yāsin.

It is doubtful under what family this language should be grouped. It is certainly non-Aryan. [LSI p. 551]

Nouns : Number. The plural is formed by adding suffixes as *-ing*, *-ming*, *-isho*. *-aus*, *-muts*, etc.

Gender. All nouns are either masculine or feminine. The verb distinguishes between, on the one hand, masc. and fem. human beings, and on the other hand, masc. and fem. animals or things. The latter are called neuter masc. and neuter fem., respectively.

Declension. The syllable *-an* added to the singular gives the force of an indefinite article, *sis*, 'man' ; *sisa*, 'a certain man'.

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All nouns relating to the human body, to relations and to such ideas as 'anger,' dream', or 'temper', that cannot be conceived independently of a person, are declined with agglutinated pronominal prefixes.

Thus, *a-ūs*, 'my wife' ; *gūs* 'thy wife' ; *y-ūs*, 'his wife'. *mi-ūs* 'our wife' ; *mā-us*, 'your wife' ; *u-ūs*, 'their wife'.

There are three organic cases, namely nom. and acc. plural, genitive and dative, which are formed by adding suffixes. Other cases are formed by postpositions added to the nominative or genitive. Thus, *hir-ūlo* or *hire-lō*, 'in a man' ; *hirē-at*, 'on a man'. [LSI p. 552]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the personal pronouns are ; *jē* (or *jā* before past tenses of transitive verbs)' 'I' ; *mī*, 'we' ; *ung ungē*, 'thou' ; *mah*, 'you' ; *khin*, 'he, she (near), this' ; *khū*, 'they (near), these'. So *in,inē*, 'he' or 'she (far), that' ; plur. *ū ūē*, 'they (far), those'. The above refer only to human beings. For animals and things, we have, *khōs* (masc.), *khot* (fem., sing.), *khots* (plur.), 'that' ; *es* (masc.), *et* (fem. sing.) *ēts* (plur.)' that'.

The relative pronoun, 'who, which' is *bih*. Interrogative pronoun, 'who ?' is *amin*, *minan* ; 'what ?' is *bisan*.

The agglutinated pronominal prefixes are :

	Sing.	Plur.
I	*a, ā*	*mī*
thou	*gə*	*mə*
he	*i~ə*	*u*
she	*mu*	

Examples ; *a-yatis*, 'my head' ; *gō-pach*, 'near thee' ; *u-lji*, 'behind them' ; *go-ras*, 'to send thee'. [LSI p. 552]

Verbs. The verb substantive in the present and past is conjugated as under :

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	Present, 'I am', etc.		*Past*, 'I was', etc.	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*bah*	*bān*	*baiyam*	*bam*
2.	*bah*	*bān*	*bam*	*bam*
3.	M. *baī*	*bān*	*bam*	*bam*
	F. *bo*		*bom*	
	N.M. *bī*	*biyon*	*bim*	*biyum*
	N.F. *dilah*~*bilah*	*bitsan*	*dilum*	*dilum*
			~ *bilūm*	~ *bitsum*

The verb *manās*, 'to become' is conjugated in the present, past and future tenses as under :

	Present, 'I am becoming', etc.		*Past*, 'I became, I shall have become' etc.	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mayā bah*	*mayā bān*	*manam*	*manūman*
2.	*maī bah*	*maī bān*	*manumā*	,,
	M. *maī baī*	*maī bān*	*manimī*	,,
	F. *maī bo*		*manūmō*	
3.	N.M. *maī bī*	*maī biyon*	*manībī*,	*manibiyō*
	N.F. *maim dilah*	*maī bitsan*	*manim dilah*,	*manibitsan*

Future, 'I shall become', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mayam*	*mayān*
2.	*maima*	*maimen*
	M. *maimī*	*m ainen*
	F. *maimo*	
3.	N.M.	*maimiyōn*
	N.F. *maimī*	*maimī*

This verb can take pronominal prefixes throughout. Thus, *a-maya bah*, 'I am becoming', and so on.

Active verb. The standard verb, of which the paradigms are being given is *nī-as*, 'to go'.

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The present participle of this verb is *ni-chu-mē*, 'going'; future participle is *nī-as-ē*, 'about to go'; past participle is:

nān, 'I having gone'; *nimēn*, 'we having gone'.

nokōn, 'thou having gone'; *naman*, 'you having gone'.

nin, 'he' or 'it (m.) having gone'; *nun*, 'they having gone'.

nomen, 'she or it (f.) having gone'; *nī*, 'they (things fem.) having gone'.

The conjugations of this word in present, past, and future are as under:

Present, 'I am going', etc. *Past*, 'I went, I shall have gone' etc.

	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ni-ch-a bah*	*ni-ch-a bān*	*nī-am*	*nī-man*
2.	*ni-ch-u bah*	*ni-ch-u bān*	*nī-mā*	*nī-man*
	M. *ni-ch-u baī*	*ni-ch-u bān*	*nī-mī*	*nī-man*
	F. *ni-ch-u bo*		*nī-mo*	
3.	N.M. *ni-ch-i bī*	*ni-ch-u biyon*	*nī-mī*	*nī-mian*
	N.F. *ni-ch-i-m dilah*	*ni-ch-u bitsan*	*nī-mī*	*nī-mī*

Future, 'I shall go', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ni-cha-m*	*ni-cha-n*
2.	*ni-cho-mā*	*ni-cho-man*
	M. *ni-chī*	
	F. *ni-cho*	*ni-cho-man*
3.	N.M. *ni-chī*	*ni-chu-miyō*
	N.F. *ni-chī*	*ni-chi-mī*

Pronominal verbs. There are certain verbs which must take pronominal prefixes. In class I of these verbs the prefix refers to the subject, in Class II to the subject of the verb. A few examples may be noted. Class I *a-iras*, 'I-to-die'; *a-īr-ch-a bah*, 'I am dying'; *mā-iv-ch-u bān*, 'you are dying'. Class II, *a-ikinas*, 'to-teach-me'; *jā-jī a-ik-i-am*, 'I shall teach myself'; *jā-in ē-ik-i-am*, 'I shall teach him', and so on.

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Numeral verbs. These verbs change their forms according to the number of the object. Thus, *shias*, 'to eat one' ; *shuas*, 'to eat many'.

Generic verbs. These verbs change according to the gender of the object. Thus, *shias*, 'to eat a masculine thing' ; *sheas*, 'to eat a feminine thing'. [LSI pp. 553-554]

WARSHIKWĀR DIALECT

473 Burushaskī is a dialect spoken in warshgom.. Warshgom is the name of the district comprising the three sub-districts of Yāsin, Tui, Selgān. The dialect is known as Warshikwār.

The following are the principal points of difference of this dialect with Burushaskī.

Nouns. The nouns follow the Burushaskī dialect.

Pronouns. Ung or *unga*, 'you' ; *nē*, 'he', 'him', 'his' ; *khenē* 'this' ; *iya*, 'his own' ; *te* 'that' ; *wē* 'they'.

Verb : Active verb. The present participle shows the following forms, *shi-chan-ka*, 'eating' ; *eta-ka*, 'doing'. The past participle usually ends in *-i* (=he). Thus, *dēhimi*, '(he) having collected' ; *chini* '(he) having gone'. Sometimes it ends in *-e*, as in *nete*, 'having done' ; *diyēh*, 'having risen'.

In the present tense, in some cases the principal portion of the compound ends in *-um*, so that we have *gualchum*, 'it falleth' ; *echum bān*, 'you are dying'.

The conjugation of the past differs widely. The forms are ; first person, *a-mana*, 'I become' ; *eta*, 'I did'. Second person, *ayuyah*, 'thou gavest not'. Third person, *sennī* 'he said' ; *eti*, 'he made' ; *gholi*, 'he burnt'. The third person plural is represented by *etin*, 'they did'. [LSI p. 559]

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474 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES IN BURUSHASKĪ LANGUAGE

English	*Burushaskī*
one	han, hin, hik
two	altā, altan, alto
three	uskō, iskin, iskī
four	waltō, waltī
hand	irīn
foot	yūṭis
head	yaṭis
a father	hin yū
of a father	hin yūē
to a father	hin, yūar
two fathers	altan yū sarō
I am	jē bah
thou art	ung bah
he is	inē baī
we are	mī bān
you are	mah bān
they are	ūē bān
I was	jē baiyam
thou wast	ung bam
he was	inē bam
we were	mi bam
you were	mah bam
they were	ūē bam
I shall be	je baiyam akhir

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English	*Burushaskī*
I beat	je deljam
thou beatest	ungē deljūā
he beats	inē deljaī
we beat	mī deljān
you beat	mah deljān
they beat	ūē deljān
I beat (past)	jē delījam
thou beatest (past)	ungē delīmā
he beat (past)	inē delīmī
we beat (past)	mī delīman
you beat (past)	mah delīman
they beat (past)	ūē deliman
I shall beat	jē delīas bah

[LSI. pp. 563-567]

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VOL. IX, PART I

INDO-ARYAN FAMILY

CENTRAL GROUP

WESTERN HINDĪ AND PAÑJĀBĪ

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WESTERN HINDĪ

475 The home of Western Hindī closely agrees with the *Madhya-dēśa*, or Midland of ancient Sanskrit geographers. It is spoken as a vernacular over the western portion of the United Provinces, in the eastern districts of the Panjab, in Eastern Rajputana, in Gwalior and Bundelkhand and in the north-western districts of the Central Provinces. Moreover, its most important dialect, Hindōstānī, is spoken and understood, and is even amongst some classes of the population a vernacular, over the whole of the Indian Peninsula. [LSI p. 1]

Dialects. Western Hindī has five dialects,—Hindōstānī, Bāngrū, Braj Bhāshā, Kanaujī, and Bundēlī.

Hindōstānī. Hindōstānī, as a local vernacular is spoken in western Rohilkhand, the upper Gangetic Dōāb, and Panjab district of Ambala. It has also been carried over the whole of India by Musalmān conquerers and has received considerable literary culture. Under these conditions it has three main varieties; literary Hindōstānī proper, employed by both Musalmāns and Hindūs for literary purposes and as a *lingua franca*; Urdū, employed chiefly by Musalmāns and the Hindūs, who have adopted the Musalmān system of education and a modern development called Hindī employed only by Hindūs who have been educated on a Hindū system.

476 *Bāngrū.* Bāngrū is spoken in Eastern Panjab. It is also called Jāṭū and Hariānī. It is much influenced by the neighbouring Rājasthānī and Pañjābī.

477 *Braj Bhāshā and Kanaujī.* Braj Bhāshā is the dialect of the west central Dōāb and the country to its north and to its south. Kanaujī is really a form of Braj Bhāshā and is only given separate consideration in deference to popular opinion. It is spoken in the east-central Dōāb and the country to its north.

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478 *Bundēlī.* Bundēlī is spoken in Gwalior and Bundelkhand. It is also spoken in the adjoining districts of the Central Provinces.

Of the four languages which form the Central Group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars, Western Hindī, is the one which is the most typical of the group. It is the purest representative of the group. It is directly derived from the Apabhraṁśa dialect corresponding to Śaurasēnī, the most Sanskritic of all the Prakrits; it is spoken in the area which was the centre from which Aryan civilisation was diffused over Hindustan. The other three Pañjābī, Rājasthānī and Gujarātī are in all their chief characteristics members of the Central Group and only show traces, which are more and more evident as we go westwards, of the influence of the Outer Circle. It would be most correct to class them as a distinct intermediate group of languages, but it is more convenient to consider them all together, with Western Hindī, as members of one group—the Central—remembering that they do not possess all the true characteristics of that group in its purity.

[LSI pp. 1-2]

General grammatical characteristics. The familiar Hindōstānī grammar may be taken as the standard of the grammars of all the Western Hindī dialects. Each is fully described in its proper place, here only one characteristic in which Western Hindī is pre-eminently typical of the Central Group of languages is being pointed out. This is the analytic method of its construction, which Western Hindī of all the languages of the group, carries to its further extreme. Its standard dialect has only one true tense (the present subjunctive) for its verb, and has only one case (the so-called oblique form) for its nouns. Nearly all the other accidents of time and relation are expressed by the aid of participles, auxiliary verbs or postpositions. [LSI p. 3]

HINDŌSTĀNĪ

479 As a dialect of Western Hindī, Hindōstānī presents itself under several forms. These may first of all be considered under two heads, viz. Vernacular Hindōstānī and the Literary Hindōstānī founded thereon. Vernacular Hindōstānī is the language of the Upper Gangetic Dōāb and of the western Rohilkhand. Literary

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Hindōstānī is the polite speech of India generally, and may be taken as the vernacular of educated Musalmāns, throughout northern India, and of all Musalmāns south of Narbada. The literary Hindōstānī would be described first, in preference to vernacular Hindōstānī as it is so widely known, and of such importance that it must necessarily be taken as the standard dialect of Western Hindī. Its grammar and its various standards of literary style are fixed, and present a suitable form with which to compare the different vernaculars on which it is based, or to which it is related. [LSI p. 42]

Name of the dialect. The word 'Hindōstān is Persian by origin, and means literally 'the country of the Hindōs or Hindūs'. By it Indian writers connote the country between the Pañjab on the west, Bengal on the east, the Himalayas on the north and the Vindhyas on the south. It includes the ancient *Madhyadēśa* or Midland of Sanskrit geography, but extends far beyond it to the east.

The word Hindōstānī was coined under European influence and means the language of Hindōstān. It thus connotes much more than it literally signifies, for, besides Hindōstānī, three other languages Bihārī, Eastern Hīndī and Rājasthānī, are spoken in Hindōstān. Even in the tract in which Western Hindī is a vernacular and of which Hindōstānī may be considered as the standard literary dialect, it is only spoken as a general vernacular in a comparatively small area in the north-western corner. [LSI pp. 42-43]

Origin of the dialect. As clearly stated literary Hindōstānī is based on the vernacular Hindōstānī spoken in the Upper Dōāb and in western Rohilkhand. It grew up as a *lingua franca* in the polyglot bazaar attached to the Delhi court, and was carried every where in India by the lieutenants of the Mughal Empire. Since then its seat is secure. It has been adopted as the language which every follower of Islam (the religion of the Emperors) speaks if he can, and its simple grammar and enormous vocabulary have rendered it able to fill the need which has always been felt in such a polyglot tract as India for a *lingua-franca.* It has also received, in at least two of its forms, considerable literary cultivation.

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Urdū. Literary Hindōstānī has several recognised varieties, amongst which may be mentioned Urdū, Dakhinī and Hindī. Urdū is that form of Hindōstānī which is written in the Persian character, and which makes a free use of Persian (including Arabic) words in its vocabulary. The name is said to be derived from the *Urdū-e mu'alla* or royal military bazaar outside the Delhi palace. It is spoken chiefly in the towns of western Hindōstān, by Musalmāns and by Hindūs who have fallen under the influence of Persian culture.

Dakhinī. Dakhinī is the form of Hindōstānī used by Musalmāns in the Deccan. Like Urdū it is written in the Persian character, but it is much more free from Persianisation. It uses grammatical forms (such as *mērē-kō* for *mujh-kō*) which are common in rustic parts of northern India, but which are not found in the literary dialect, and in the southern Deccan it does not use the agentive case with *nē* before transitive verbs in the past tense, which is a characteristic feature of all the dialects of Western Hindōstān.

Hindī. Hindī as it is sometimes called 'High Hindī' is the literary language of Hindūs of Upper India who do not employ Urdū. It is of modern origin, having been introduced under English influence at the commencement of the last century.

[LSI pp. 44-47]

Hindōstānī Grammar. Hindōstānī is so well-known a language that it would be waste of time to give more than the merest sketch of its grammar, but it would be worth while to deal at some length with what are known to Indian grammarians as the *prayōgas*, or 'constructions' of a verb with its subject and its object.

Hindōstānī like every Aryan language of India is derived from an ancient Indian dialect not unlike the old Sanskrit which we meet in the Vedic hymns. This ancient dialect became changed in the course of centuries, and we have specimens of it in various stages from about 250 B. C. down to say, 1000 A. D. The modern vernaculars may be said to have become established on their present basis at about the latter date.

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We may take Sanskrit grammar as illustrating in its main features the grammar of the ancient Indian dialect from which Hindōstānī is sprung. In Sanskrit the verb is supplied with a very complete and somewhat complicated array of tenses. The present and one form of the future tense were fairly simple. They have survived, in an abraded form, down to the present day, although the representative of the future is now-a-days excluded from literary- Hindōstānī. With the past tense it was different. Besides an imperfect the ancient Indian dialect had three tenses which expressed past time, a perfect and two aorists. It had also a past participle which was always intransitive, that is to say, in the case of transitive verbs it took a passive meaning. There were two ways of forming the perfect and regarding the more commonly used form, even Sanskrit grammarians were not agreed as to its rules. The two aorists were still more difficult to conjugate correctly. The formation of the past participle is on the other hand simple enough. As the language developed from the ancient Indian dialect it, according to well-known law, proceeded along the line of least resistance and gradually abandoned the whole complicated array of past tenses and adhered solely to the employment of the past participle to express the idea connoted by past tense. In doing so it retained all the methods of employing the past participle which existed in the old Indian vernacular and also extended them by adding one of its own. When Hindōstānī, therefore, wishes to express the idea of 'he went' it says either :

1. (Actively) 'he gone' *woh chalē* (Sanskrit *sa chalitaḥ*). or

2. (Impersonally) 'by him it (is) gone', *us-ne chala* (Sanskrit *tēna chalitam*).

Similarly, if it wishes to express the idea of 'I killed him' it says either,

3. (Passively), 'by me he (was) killed' *maĩ-nē woh mārā* (Sanskrit *mayā sa māritaḥ*) or

4. (Impersonally) 'by me with reference to him it was killed' (or 'killing was done'), *maĩ-nē us-kō mārā*. (The sanskrit would be *mayā tasya-kṛitē māritam*, but the impersonal construction with transitive verbs was not employed in Sanskrit.)

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The fourth is apparently a development of the past participle to express the past tense. Of these, one, the active one is confined in Hindōstānī to intransitive verbs, one, the passive one, is confined to transitive verbs, and one, the impersonal one, is employed with both intransitive and transitive verbs, although literary Hindōstānī prohibits its employment with the former.

The past participle is an adjective and is therefore liable to change for gender. [LSI pp. 50-52]

480 *Urdū and Hindī grammar compared.* There is no difference of importance between the declensions and conjugations used in Urdū and Hindī, respectively. Urdū often borrows Persian constructions, such as the *iẓāfat*, but these are borrowings and nothing more. Besides the difference of vocabulary, there is, however, an important point of difference in the idiom of the two forms of Hindōstānī. This consists in the order of words. In Hindī prose, which follows the almost universal rule of all Indo-Aryan dialects, the order of words is fixed and can only be altered for the sake of emphasis. Except when the order is deliberately changed to lay stress on any particular word, it is invariably,—first, the introductory words of the sentence such as conjugation and the like, next the subject ; next the indirect object with its appurtenances ; then, the direct object with its appurtenances ; and, last of all, the verb. Adjectives and genitives precede the words they qualify. In Urdū on the contrary, the influence of Persian and of Semitic languages has greatly relaxed this rule. The Persian rule of order, or even the Semitic one (in which the verb precedes the subject), is often followed, and, especially, the verb is frequently moved from the end to the middle of the sentence. [LSI pp. 52-53]

Nouns: Declension. There are two cases, the nominative and the oblique. To form different cases postpositions are used. Masculine *Tadbhavas* ending in *-ā* form their nominative plural obl. sing. by adding *-e* and obl. plu. by adding *-õ*. Thus, *laṛkā*, 'a boy' ; nom. plu. and obl. sing. *laṛke*, obl. plur. *laṛkõ*. Other masculine nouns change only for obl. plural and are formed by adding *-õ*. *Tadbhavas* in *-ā* which are nouns of relationship and a few others, do not change, except in oblique plural. Feminine nouns do not change in obl. singular, but those ending in *-i* add

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-iyã in the nominative plural and *-iyõ* in the obl. plural. Other feminine nouns add *-ẽ* in the nom. plur. and *-õ* in the obl. plur. Thus, *laṛkī*, 'a girl', nom. plur. *laṛkiyã*; obl. plur. *laṛkiyõ*, *gau*, 'a cow', nom. plur. *gauẽ* ; obl. plur. *gauõ*.

The postpositions are, accusative *-kō* ; agentive *-nē* ; instrumental *-sē* ; dative, *-kō*, *kē-liyē* ; ablative *-sē* ; genitive *-kā*, *-kē*, *-kī* ; locative *-mẽ*, *-par*.

Adjectives. Tadbhava masculine adjectives ending in *-ā* change for number and gender. Others do not change. In the obl. sing. and plur. they add *-ē* and in feminine *-ī*. Thus, *achhā laṛkā*, 'a good boy' ; obl. sing. and plur. *achhē laṛkē*, *achhē laṛkō* ; fem. *achhī laṛkī*.

Pronouns. The nominative or the direct forms of the first two personal pronouns are ; *maĩ*, 'I' ; *ham*, 'we' ; *tū*, 'thou' ; *tum*, 'you'. The oblique sing. forms are *mujh* and *tujh*. Oblique plur. forms are the same as the direct plural forms. Demonstrative pronouns are also used as pronouns of the third person, which are ; *yeh*, *yah*, *yih*, 'this' ; *wah*, *woh*, *wuh*, 'that'.

'Who' is *jo* ; 'who ?' is *kaun* ; 'what ?' is *kyā* ; 'anyone' is *kōī* ; and 'anything' is *kuchh*.

Verbs. The auxiliary verb *ha*, is conjugated in the present *thā* in the past. These are conjugated as under :

Present 'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hũ*	*haĩ*
2.	*hai*	*hī*
3.	*hai*	*haĩ*

Past, 'I was', etc.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
1,2,3	*thā*	*thī*	*thē*	*thĩ*

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The infinite is formed by adding-*nā* to the root ; thus, *karnā*, 'to do'.

Present participle active is formed by adding *-tā* to the root ; thus, *kartā*, doing'. Past participle passive is formed by adding *-ā* to the root ; thus, *karā* 'done'.

There are two radical tenses ; present conjunctive and future indicative. Present conjunctive is formed by adding personal endings to the roots. The personal endings are as under :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ũ*	*ẽ*
2.	*ẽ*	*õ*
3.	*ẽ*	*ẽ*

The future indicative is formed by adding *-gā* to the form of the present conjunctive. Thus, from the root, *kar*, 'do', the first person singular present conjunctive form would be *karũ* and first person singular of future indicative would be *karũgā*, 'I will do'.

The participial tenses are two, one is past indicative and the other is past conditional. Past indicative is simply past participle and past conjunctive is present participle.

Participial tenses are formed by conjugating the auxiliary verbs with the present and past participles.

Passive voice is formed by conjugating the verb *jā*, 'to go', with the past participle passive ; thus *mārā jaũ*, 'I may be killed'.

All tenses formed from past participles, from transitive verbs are either passive or impersonal. Other tenses are active.

[LSI p. 57]

HINDŌSTĀNĪ IN EASTERN INDIA

481 Hindōstānī is also spoken in Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. In Assam it is spoken only by immigrants. In Bihar it is used much as in the United Provinces, but to a less extent, a large number of middle class Musalmāns speaking Awadhī instead.

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In Bengal proper most of the Musalmāns speak Bengali more or less mixed with Persian and Arabic words. The upper class Musalmāns (who often have marriage connections with upper India), however, speak Urdū and often very good Urdū.

The Musalmāns of Orissa though they form an exceedingly small fraction of the population, have preserved a fairly pure though not very grammatical Urdū as the language of their home life.

The only thing to be remarked about the Hindōstānī spoken in Bengal is about the spelling. The influence of Bengali round them makes them pronounce a short *a*, when written like the *ŏ* in 'hot'. They write it as *a*. Thus they spell *ham*, 'I' *hām*. Sometimes this *a* is represented by *e* as in *leṛ^{a}kā*, 'a son'. The gender and number are altogether neglected. In the employment of *giyā* instead of *gayā*, 'he went', the influence of Bengali may be noticed. The use of agentive case with *-nē* is unknown.

[LSI p. 171]

The Hindōstānī used in Orissa is most ungrammatical. The agentive case with *-nē* is not used, and no attention is paid to gender or number. Instead of accusative-dative suffix *-kō*, form *-ku* is used. [LSI p. 173]

HINDŌSTĀNĪ OF GUJARAT

482 The Hindōstānī spoken by the Musalmāns of Gujarat is, on the whole, very fairly pure, much better than that of Bengal or Orissa. It is naturally influenced some-what by the Gujarātī spoken by the surrounding Hindūs. The influence is shown principally in the vocabulary. As a rule the vocabulary is remarkably free from Arabic and Persian words, and, when these occur, they are often curiously distorted. The following peculiarities may be noted :

The diphthong *au* becomes *ō*, as in *ōr*, 'and' ; *dōlat* 'wealth'. There is considerable laxity in employing the numbers of the pronouns, e.g., *us-mẽ-kē*, for *un-mẽ-kē*. The vowel *ō* sometimes

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becomes *u* as it does dialectically in Upper India. Thus, the sign of the dative-accusative is *-kũ* not *-kō*, and the oblique plural of nouns ends in *-ũ* not *-õ*. The oblique singular of the first personal pronoun is *muj*, not *mujh*, which is also an Upper India dialectic form. The word for one is *ek* or *ēk*. The Arabic word *fuẓūl* has become *phaḍūl* and *safar* has become *saphr*. There is a Dakhinī form *apas*, used as an oblique form in *apas-kē* 'of one self'.

Gujarātī forms are *nē* 'and', *bhēgna*, 'to collect' ; *paḍ-dēnā*, 'to make completely' ; *chhēṭa*, 'for'.

Some forms common in local dialects of Hindōstān which have disappeared in standard Urdū, have survived in Gujarat. Such are *unõ-mẽ* 'among them' ; *kayā* (for *kahyā*), 'it was said' ; and *saphrõ*, 'on a journey'. [LSI pp. 174-179]

HINDŌSTĀNĪ OF CUTCH

483 The Hindōstānī spoken in Cutch is more corrupt than the one spoken in Gujarat. It is full of Gujarātī and has also local peculiarities of its own. The following are the main points worthy of notice :

Some of the forms met with are interesting survivals of an archaic dialect which has elsewhere been levelled down to the general standard of Hindōstānī. Such especially is the use of *hũ* for the nominative case of the first personal pronoun, while *mẽ* is reserved for the case of the agent. In Standard Hindōstānī *hũ* has passed out of use, and *maĩ* is employed for the nominative, although it is by origin an instrumental.

There is the usual Gujarātī change of *ai* to *ē* in *ēsā*, 'such' ; *hē*, 'is' ; and *mẽ*, 'by me'.

Feminine nouns have a nominative plural, also in *-ã*, as *ãkhã*, 'eyes' ; *chījã*, 'things'. Adjectives agreeing with feminine nouns in the plural, also end in *-ã*, as *raiyã*, 'they (fem.) remained' ; *sajiã*, 'sound, in good health' (agreeing with *ãkhã*).

The oblique plural ends in *-ũ* so also *-kũ* is used for *-kō*. Thus *vaidh-kũ*, 'to the doctor' ; *ãkhũ-mã*, 'in the eyes'.

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In the pronouns, *hũ* is, 'I', with an agent *mērē* or *maĩ*. *Tijē* is 'to thee'. The Gujarātī *pōtũ* is used for 'self'. [LSI p. 182]

DAKHINĪ HINDŌSTĀNĪ OR MUSALMĀNĪ

484 The Musalmān armies imposed their language on their co-religionists in the Deccan from the first. At the present day, whether the language of the country is Marāṭhī, Tamil or Telugu, or some other form of speech, the Musalmāns of Southern India all employ that form of Hindōstānī, commonly known as Dakhinī the language of the Deccan, or as Musalmānī the language of the of the Musalmāns.

It is commonly said that Dakhinī is a corrupt Hindōstānī. Historically speaking it would almost be truer to say that literary Hindōstānī is a corrupt Dakhīnī, for the Hindōstanī literature took its origin in the Deccan. The Musalmān armies carried vernacular Hindōstānī to the south before it had been standardised and it then contained many idioms which are now excluded from literary prose. Some of these have survived in the Deccan. Such are, for instance the employment of the oblique genitive as a base for declension in phrases like *mērē-kū*, 'to me', where the standard would have *mujh-kō*. Again the oblique plural in *-ã* survives to the present day in the vernacular Hindōstānī and in Dakhinī, but is excluded from the Urdū prose.

Only in one respect can Dakhinī be called a currupt language. In Madras and the south of the Bombay Presidency, no doubt under the influence of the surrounding Dravidian languages, the passive construction of the past tense of transitive verbs has been abandoned. Transitive and intransitive verbs are now treated in exactly the same way and though the subject is occasionally put into the agent case with *nē*, the *nē* is altogether neglected as a factor of the idiom and the verb agrees in number and gender with the subject and not with the object. In Central Bombay, on the other hand, the presence of Marāṭhī has prevented the proper employment of the agent case from disappearing.

Roughly the Satpura Hills, south of the Narbada valley is taken as the boundary between Dakhinī Hindōstānī, as a recognised

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literary form of speech, and the standard Hindōstānī of Delhi and Lucknow. [LSI p. 58]

Nouns : Declension. The oblique form singular is formed as in standard Urdū. The nominative and oblique plural are often formed differently. The common rule is that the nominative plural usually ends in *-ē* or *-ã̄*, and the oblique plural in *-õ* or *-yaũ*. Sometimes *-õ* is used for the nominative plural and *-ã̄* for the oblique plural. Thus, *ghōṛā*, 'a horse' ; nom. plur. *ghōṛē* ; obl. plur. *ghōṛõ* ; *mahīnā*, 'a month' ; nom. plur. *mahīnyã̄* ; obl. plur. *mahīnyã̄* or *mahīnyõ*.

The usual postpositions are :

Agentive	*nē, nī*
Dative-accusative	*kū, kũ̄, kō, kē, taĩ, kataĩ, kanē*, 'to', or 'for'
Ablative	*sū, sũ, sō, sõ, sē, sẽ̄, sat*, 'from, by'
Genitive	*kā, (kē, kī)* (as in the standard)
Locative	*mē, mõ*, 'in' ; *pā, pa, par*, 'on'

[LSI pp. 59-60]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the first two personal pronouns are *maĩ*, 'I' ; *ham, hamẽ, hamõ, hamārā*, 'we' ; *tu, tũ̄, taĩ*, 'thou' ; *tum, tumẽ, tumē, tumhẽ, tumhõ*, 'you'.

The demonstrative pronouns are also used as pronouns of the third person. They are *ē, yē, yeh, inē, ī*, 'this, he, she, it', plur. *in, inū, inũ̄, inõ, inhẽ* ; *ō, wō, woh, unē, ū*, 'that, he, she, it', plur. *un, unū, unũ̄, unõ, unhẽ, wē, ō, woh*.

The relative pronoun 'who' is *jo, jõ, jinē, jin*. Interrogative pronoun 'who ?' is *kō, kõ. kōn, kinē, kin*. The neuter interrogative pronoun is *kyā* or *kā*, 'what'. [LSI pp. 60-61]

Verbs. The infinitive usually ends in *-nā*, as in standard Hindōstānī. Sometimes we have instead *-an, -n* or *-nã̄*. Thus, *mārnā, māran* or *mārnã̄*, 'to strike'.

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The present participle ends in *-tā*, or sometimes in *-at* or *-t*, as in *mārtā* or *mārat*, 'is striking' *dēt*, 'giving'. The feminine plural ends in *-tiyã* or *-tyã*. Thus, *mārtiyã* or *mārtyã*.

The past participle ends in *-ā*, or sometimes in *-yā*. Thus, *mārā*, or *māryā*, 'struck'. The feminine ends in -yã. Thus, *māryã*, 'they (fem.) struck'. This participle is sometimes used with the genitive of the subject, as in *woh mērā māra hai*, 'he is killed of me' i.e., 'I killed him.'

The verb substantive is thus conjugated ;

Present, 'I am' etc.

Sing.	Plur.
1. *hũ*	*haĩ*~*hẽ*, *hai*
2. *hai*	*haĩ*~*hẽ* (Madras) *hō* (Bombay)
3. *hai*	*haĩ*~*hẽ*, *hai*

The plural is often used for the singular.

The past tense is *thā*, as in the standard. Sometimes we have *athā*, etc., instead of *thā*.

The conjugation of the active verb closely agrees with that of the standard Hindōstānī. The following are the main points of difference.

In Madras the second person plural is the same as the first and third persons, as in *tum mārẽ*, 'you may strike'. In Bombay it ends in *-ō* as in the standard. Thus, *tum mārō*. The present subjunctive (old present) is often employed as a present or even as a plural. The singular is commonly used instead of the plural.

The future is as usual, formed by adding *-ga* (masc. plur. *-gē* ; fem. sing. *-gī*, plur. *-gyã*) to the present subjunctive or old present ; thus, *maĩ mārũ ga*, 'I shall strike.' In Madras the 2nd plural masc. is *marẽgē*, not *mārōgē*.

The conjugation of the past tense of intransitive verbs is as

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the standard. In the case of transitive verbs custom differs. In Bombay, the standard idiom is followed, as in *maĩ-nē mārā*, 'I struck'. In Madras on the contrary *-nē* is usually omitted and the verb is treated as if it were intransitive agreeing with the subject in gender and number. Thus, *maĩ mārā*, 'I (who am a man) struck.' In Bombay, the passive construction is employed, while in Madras it is not. [LSI pp. 61-62]

DAKHINĪ OF BOMBAY

485 The following are the peculiarities of the dialect spoken in Bombay Town :

The Verb *bōlnā*, 'to speak' is treated as a transitive verb, whereas in the standard dialect it is always intransitive. The agentive case is sometimes used with the past tense of an intransitive verb, as also occurs in some of the western Hindī dialects of Upper India. Thus *chhōkrē-nē gayā*, 'the boy went', literally, 'by the boy it was gone'. There are some cases of the influence of Marāṭhī. For instance *ōpan* is used not only in its proper sense of 'own', but also to mean 'we' including the person addressed. Again the forms *mājē* and *majhē*, 'to me', are both due to the same influence. *Haur* for 'and' is common in dialects of Western Hindī and of Rājasthānī.

Typical of Dakhinī are the use *jidhar* to mean, 'when' and 'where' instead of 'whither' ; *wū* for *woh*, 'he' ; *hōī-nē* for *kisī-nē* ; and *athā* for *thā*, 'he was'. [LSI pp. 186]

The Dakhinī spoken in the district of North Kanara has the following peculiarities :

The agentive case with *-nē* is regularly employed, but the Madras custom is followed of making the verb agree in gender, number and person with the subject instead of the object, inspite of the presence of the *-nē*. The agentive case is used even with intransitive verbs. Thus, we have *maĩ-nē lāyā-ũ*, 'I have brought' ; *lōkã-nē khanā dēnē lagē*, 'the people began to give food'.

Among peculiarities of pronunciation, we may note a local

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tendency to use *sh* for *s*. Thus, *usẖē* for *usē*, 'to him' ; *paisẖē*, 'pice'. The dropping of initial *h* in the auxiliary verbs in certain phrases is also noticed ; thus, *layā-ũ*, 'I have brought', for *lāyā-hũ*, and *lẽtā-ẽ*, 'you are taking'. There is a tendency to shorten long vowels when they fall in unaccented syllables, as in *lejā-kō*, for *lējā-kar*, 'having taken away', and *bazār* for *bāzār*, 'a market'. In *dalna*, 'to place', a cerebral *ḍ* has been dentalised. All these latter are regular Dakhinī peculiarities.

Other Dakhinī forms which are prominent are *athā* meaning 'was' and the regular use of the plural for the singular. Thus *un*, is over and over again used for *us*, and *hẽ*, 'they are', for *hai*, 'he is'. The verb *bōlnā* is regularly treated as transitive, as in *bhaṭ-nē bōlyā*, 'the Bhaṭ said'. Verbs of speaking and asking put the person addressed in the accusative and not in ablative ; thus, '*bhaṭ-kō pūchhyā*', 'he asked the Bhaṭ'. [LSI p. 191]

The Dakhinī spoken in the state of Savantvadi, which lies just north of Goa, closely resembles the Dakhinī of Madras, the most important exception being the use of the word *hatā* to mean 'was'. This word is used in Gujarātī, Braj and Bundelkhand in the same meaning, and a possible explanation of its presence here may be that it is a survival from the tenth century, when Ratnagiri and the neighbouring country was ruled by Yādavas.

The peculiarities of this form of Dakhinī are as follows :

Arabic words are deformed in borrowing. Such are *Garīb* for *ġarīb*, and *khātar* for *khaṭir*. We may also note as an irregular pronunciation *mũgnā*, instead of *mãgnā*, 'to demand', *hōr*, 'and', is a dialectic form in Upper India.

The sign of agentive case is *-nī*. For the dative we have *kē-nī*, as in *us-kē-nī*, 'to him'. This shows the origin of the common Dakhinī form *kanē*. We have *-tā* in *lagyā-tā*, 'had happened'. *-Tā* is also a Bundēlī form. The present tense of the auxiliary verb loses its aspiration in composition, as in *atā-ō*, 'I am coming'. The case of agent is used in the Madras fashion, i.e. the verb agrees in number and gender with the noun in the agentive case and not with the object. Thus we have *un-nī muṇḍī halāya*, 'he

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shook his head' ; *un-nī dil-mẽ lāyā*, 'he brought in his mind, he thought'.

The Gujarātī past participle in *ēlā* is common. Thus, *bharīla taplā*, 'a filled vessal' ; *milēlā māl*, 'treasure trove'.

[LSI p. 197]

VERNACULAR HINDŌSTĀNĪ

486 The vernacular Hindōstānī, the dialect of Western Hindī spoken in Western Rohilkhand, in Upper Gangetic Dōāb, and in the Panjab district of Ambala, is the form of speech on which the literary Hindōstānī took its rise in Delhi is based. Its grammar differs from that of the standard dialect in only a few minor points and most of these are cases of surplusage, in which two or more expressions can be optionally employed to connote the same idea. In such cases, literary Hindōstānī has usually selected one form as the standard and rejected the other.

The language of the state of Rampur and of the districts of Moradabad and Bijnaur east of the Ganges and in Western Rohilkhand, possesses the strongest resemblance to literary Hindōstānī. This is no doubt due to the influence of Islam which has always been strong in these parts. Crossing the Ganges we come to the upper Dōāb between the Ganges and Jamuna. Here it is spoken in the districts of Meerut, Muzaffarnagar, Saharanpur and the plains portion of Dehra Dun. The language of this part also agrees with literary Hindōstānī, but the agreement is not quite so strong, as several optional forms are employed, which do not occur in the standard dialect or in that of Western Rohilkhand. Crossing the river Jamuna we enter Panjab. Here it is spoken in the eastern part of district Ambala including the adjacent parts of Kalsia and Patiala. This speech is more or less affected by Pañjābī. In this part of the country the boundary between the two languages, Pañjābī and Western Hindī as represented by vernacular Hindōstānī may be taken to be the river Ghaggar, anciently known as Dṛishadvatī. [LSI p. 63]

Typical characteristics of vernacular Hindōstānī. The vernacular Hindōstānī shares many of its characteristics with Braj

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Bhākhā, Pañjābī and Rājasthānī. It shows the Braj Bhakhā dialect shading off into Pañjābī and Western Rājasthānī.

In all other dialects of Western Hindī the typical ending of strong *tadbhava* participles, adjectives and substantives is the letter *-ō* or *-au*. So the termination of the genitive is *-kō* or *-kan*. In Pañjābī the corresponding termination is *-ā* not *-au* or *-ō*. So we find in both vernacular and literary Hindōstānī the Pañjābī termination *-ā*. Thus, *bhalā*, 'good'; *mārā*, 'struck'; *ghōṛa*, 'a horse'; *ghōṛē-kā*, 'of a horse'.

In its consonantal system vernacular (but not literary) Hindōstānī uses the cerebral *ṇ* and *ḷ* very freely. These do not occur in the other Western Hindī dialects, but are common in Eastern Pañjābī and in Rājasthānī.

The oblique plural of nouns often ends in *-ã̄*, an in Pañjābī and Rājasthānī.

The forms of the present tense of active verbs and imperfect used in vernacular Hindōstānī are frequently met within Rājasthānī. They are also heard in that part of Braj Bhākhā area which lies between Upper Dōāb and Rajputana. [LSI p. 65]

The following is the account of peculiarities of the dialect of Upper Dōāb and Western Rohilkhand.

Pronunciation. There is a strong tendency to prefer *ē* to *ai* and *ō* to *au*: thus we have *pēr* not *pair*, 'feet'; *hē* not *hai*, 'he is'; *lōnḍa*, not *launḍā*, 'a son'. In other respects the vowels are frequently interchanged. Thus we have both *kahā* and *kehā*, 'said', and *kuhāṇā* 'to be called'. The vowel *i* in an unaccented syllable, has become *a* in *sakārī*, 'a hunter'; *maṭhaī*, 'sweetmeats'. In *kaṭṭhā* for *ikaṭṭhā*, 'in one place', an initial unaccented *i* has been elided.

The dialect shows strong preference for cerebral consonants. The dental *n* and *l*, when medial or final often become cerebral *ṇ* and *ḷ*, respectively. The latter sound is unknown to standard Hindī, and to the more eastern dialects but is common in

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Rājasthānī, Pañjabī and Gujarātī. Thus we have *māṇas* for *mānus*, *jaṅgaḷ*, 'a forest' ; *baḷad*, 'a bullock'.

In standard Hindī and to the east, a medial *ḍ* or *ḍh* is regularly pronounced *ṛ* of *ṛh* ; thus, *baṛā* and not *baḍā*, 'a great'. In the Upper dōāb, the *ḍ* sound is often preserved. Thus *gāḍī* or *gāḍḍī*, not *gaṛī*, 'a cart' ; *baḍā* not *baṛā* 'a great'.

One of the most marked tendencies of this dialect is to double a consonant after an accented vowel ; thus, we have *bāppū*, 'a father' ; *roṭṭī*, 'a bread' ; *jāttā*, 'going'. [LSI pp. 213-214]

Nouns : Declension. There is an oblique form singular of weak nouns which ends in -*õ* or -*ñ̃*. Thus *gharõ-mẽ*, 'into the houses'. The oblique plural sometimes ends in -*ũ̃*, as in *beṭyũ̃-kā*, 'of daughters'. In *chholᵃkã̄-nē*, 'husks', we have an oblique plural in -*ã̄* (as in Dakhinī). The nominative plural of feminine nouns in -*ī* ends in -*ĩ̃* as in *beṭṭĩ̃* , 'daughters'.

The postposition of the agentive case is -*nē* or -*nẽ̃* ; of the accusative-dative is -*kē*, -*kẽ̃*, or -*kō*, -*nũ̃*, and -*nē* ; thus, *bāp-kē*, 'to a father' ; *Bīrᵃbal-kũ̃*, 'to Birbal' ; *bāppū-nũ̃*, 'to a father'. [LSI p. 214]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the pronouns of the first and second person are : *mẽ̃*, 'I', *ham*, 'we' ; *tū*, 'thou' *tam*, 'you'. The singular forms of these pronouns do not take *nē* in the agentive case. Thus, *mẽ̃* (not *mẽ̃-nē*) *bhēj-diyā-thā*, 'I sent'.

The demonstrative pronouns are also used as pronouns of the third person. They have a feminine forms in the nominative. Thus :

	Nom. masc.	Nom. fem.
'this'	*yū, yah*	*yā*
'that'	*o, ō, oh*	*wa*

In other respects they are as in standard Hindī, except that the nominative plural of -*ō* is -*wẽ̃*.

Some of the other pronominal forms are ; *apᵃṇā*, 'own' ; *jō*,

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jõn, 'who' ; *kõn* or *kē*, 'who ?' ; *kē*, 'what ?' ; *ib*, 'now' ; *ibhī*, *ib-jā*, 'even now' ; *jib* is both 'when' and 'then' as elsewhere in Western Hindī dialects : *whā*, *whā-sī*, 'there'. [LSI pp. 214-215]

Verbs : Verbs substantive. The present tense is declined as under :

'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hữ*	*hẽ*
2.	*hē*	*hō*
3.	*hē*	*hẽ*

The past is *tha*, etc., as in the literary form of the dialect.

Active verb. The tense which in standard Hindī is mainly used as present subjunctive here often retains its original meaning of a present indicative. Thus, *mẽ mārữ*, 'I strike' or 'may strike'.

The present definite is formed by conjugating this simple present (not the present participle) with the present tense of the verb substantive. Thus :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārữ-hữ*, 'I am striking'	*mārẽ-hẽ*
2.	*mārē-hē*	*mārō-hō*
3.	*mārē-hē*	*mārẽ-hẽ*

Sometimes the present participle is used as in the literary dialect. Thus, *hottā-hē*, 'he is becoming'.

The imperfect is sometimes formed on the same principle as that on which the present definite is formed, substituting the past, for the present tense of the verb substantive. Thus, *mẽ mārữ tha*, or *mẽ mar^{a}ta tha*, 'I was striking'. More usually, this tense is formed as in Rājasthānī and sometimes in Braj Bhākhā, by conjugating an oblique verbal noun in *-ē*, with the past tense of the verb substantive. This form also occurs in the Magahī

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dialect of Bihārī. Thus, *mārē-thā*, 'I, thou or he was striking', lit. 'was on striking' ; *mārē-thē*, 'we, you, they were striking'.

Verbs whose roots end in long vowels are contracted in the present and the future. Thus, *khã̄-hẽ̄*, for *khaē-kẽ*, *khaga*, for *khaēga*, 'he will eat'.

The infinitive ends in *-ṇā* (obl. *-ṇē*), or *-ṇ* (obl. the same). Thus, *khāṇā*, 'to eat' ; *paṛaṇ*, 'to fall'.

The usual negative is *nahĩ̄*, 'not', *nē* and *nī* are also used.

[LSI p. 215]

VERNACULAR HINDŌSTĀNĪ OF AMBALA

487 The boundary line between Western Hindī and Pañjābī passes through the district of Ambala. The frontier between the two languages may be taken as the river Ghaggar. The east of Ambala is separated from Saharanpur by the river Jamna, and the language of the Western Hindī tract of the former district differs very slightly from the vernacular Hindōstānī of the upper Dōāb. It has naturally more of a Pañjābī flavour as we go west. The average vernacular Hindōstānī of the Hindī area of Ambala is, however, on the whole remarkably free from Pañjābī influence.

Some of the peculiarities of the dialect are as under :

The postposition is added, not to the noun itself, but to an oblique genitive, as in *chamār-kē nē* 'by a chamar'. The dialect is fond of omitting aspirates, as in *bī* ,or *bhī*, also *mujē* for *mujhē*, 'to me' ; *tā* for *thā*, 'was'. The sign of locative is *mã̄*, 'in' ; that of agentive is *nai*, *nē* or *nã̄*. Both *un-nai* and *an-nai*, are used for 'by them'. *Yũ̄* and *jũ̄* both mean, 'thus'. *Pān* is 'five'. The oblique plural ends in *-ã̄*, not *-õ*, as in *dōnã̄-nũ̄*, 'to both'.

The influence of Pañjābī is shown in the present participles like *jānda*, 'knowing' ; in past participles in *-ia*, like *laggia*, 'began', *dēkhia*, 'saw', in the use of *-nũ̄* or *-nȭ* to indicate the dative ; and *-nāl*, 'with'. [LSI pp. 240-247]

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BĀNGARŪ, JĀṬŪ OR HARIĀNĪ

488 This dialect is spoken in the tract consisting of the districts of Karnal, Rohtak, Delhi, south-east corner of the state of Patiala, the east district of Hissar, and detached portions of the states of Nabha and Jind which lie between Rohtak and Hissar. That portion of the tract which consists of the east of the district of Hissar and of the country immediately adjoining is known to the natives as Hariānā. The rest is known either as Bāṅgar or Khādir.

With the exception of Jhajjar Tahsil the language of Hariānā, the Bānger and the Khādir, is every where the same. It is a form of Western Hindī influenced in its vocabulary by Pañjābī, and strongly affected in its grammar by the Ahirwāṭī of Gurgaon which itself is a mixed dialect, partly Western Hindī and partly Rājasthānī and which might almost be classed under either language. [LSI pp. 67-68]

BĀNGARŪ OF KARNAL AND PATIALA (NIRWANA)

489 The Bāngrū of Karnal and the country round Nirwana in Patiala resembles in many respects the vernacular Hindōstānī of Muzaffarnagar on the other side of the river Jamuna. On the other hand it has all the typical peculiarities of the mixed dialects of the Eastern Panjab. It is in this latter point sharply distinguished from the dialect of Ambala, which is the same as that of the Upper Dōāb, with a varying amount of peculiarities borrowed from Pañjābī. [LSI p. 253]

Pronunciation. The vowel *ē* and the diphthong *ai* are freely interchanged. Thus, the postposition of the instrumental and dative, *-nē*, is often written *-nai*, and the postposition of ablative is both *-tē* and *-tai*. There is the same preference for cerebral *ṇ* and *ḷ* which we have noted in the Upper Dōāb, as in *apᵃṇa*, 'own' *kāḷ*, 'famine'. When *l* is doubled it is protected from cerebralisation, as in *challᵃṇā*, not *chāḷḷᵃṇā*, 'to go'. The sound of *ḍ* is preferred to that of *ṛ*, as in *baḍā*, not *baṛā*, 'a great'. There is the same tendency as in the Upper Dōāb to double medial consonants, with shortening of a preceding long vowel, as *challyā*, 'he went', *bhukhā*, 'hungry'. [LSI p. 253]

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Nouns : Declension. Nouns are declined much as in ordinary Hindōstānī, except that the oblique plural ends in *-ã̄*, not *-õ*. We have noted a few sporadic cases of this in the Upper Dōāb and some more in Ambala. Here as in Dakhinī Hindōstānī, Pañjābī, and Rājasthānī, it is the rule.

The postpositions are employed rather indefinitely. In several instances, the same postposition is used for more than one case. The genitive takes *-kā* as in ordinary Hindōstānī. Its masculine oblique form is *-kē* or *-kai*. *-Nē* or *-nai* is used not only for the agentive case, but also to indicate the dative and the accusative, corresponding to the Hindōstānī *-kō* ; thus, *par-dēs-nē*, 'to a foreign country'. *-Tī*, *-tē*, or *-tai*, is properly the sign of ablative as in Hindōstānī, but is also used for the dative and the accusative, as in *mai-nē-chhōrē-tī-māryā*, 'I struck the boy'. 'In' is *-mẽ̄* or *-maĩ*. [LSI pp. 253-254]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the first two personal pronouns are ; *maĩ*, 'I' ; *ham*, *hamẽ̄*, 'we' ; *thũ̄*, *tũ̄*, *taũ* ; 'thou' ; *tham*, *tamhẽ̄*, 'you'.

The demonstrative pronouns are *yăŭh*, *yoh*, *yū̄*, 'this' ; nom. fem. *yāh*; nom. plur. *yē*, *yaĩ*, *ăŭh*, *oh*, 'that'; nom. fem. *wāh*; nom. plur. *waĩ*, *oh*. The relative pronoun is *jō* or *jauṇ*. The interrogative pronouns are *kauṇ*, 'who ?', *kē* or *kai*, 'what ?', *ib* is 'now'. [LSI p. 254]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present tense is as follows :

'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*sũ̄*, *sã̄*	*saĩ*, *sẽ̄*, *sã̄*
2.	*sai*, *sē*	*sō*
3.	*sai*, *sē*	*saĩ*, *sẽ̄*

This is the usual form. Sometimes *h* is substituted for *s* so that we get *hũ̄*, etc. The past tense is *thā*, etc., as in Hindōstānī.

Active verb. The tense which in Hindōstānī is employed as a

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present subjunctive, is here employed in its original sense of a simple present. It is conjugated as follows, closely agreeing with Dakhinī Hindōstānī.

'I strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārũ, mārā̃*	*marai, mārẽ, mārā̃*
2.	*marai, mārē*	*marō*
3.	*mārai, mārē*	*marai, mārẽ*

The definite present is formed either by suffixing the present tense of the auxiliary verb to the present participle, as in book-Hindōstānī, or to the simple present, as in the Upper Dōāb. Thus, *maĩ mārᵃda-sũ*, or *maĩ mārũ sũ*, 'I am striking'.

The imperfect is formed by conjugating the past tense of the verb substantive with the present participle, as in book-Hindōstānī, or with the verbal noun in *-ē* as in the Upper Dōāb. Thus *maĩ mārᵃda thā*, or *maĩ mārē thā*, 'I was striking'. In Rohtak the principle followed is the same as that of the definite present as in *maĩ mārũ thā*, 'I was striking'.

The future is formed on the same principle as in Hindōstānī, by suffixing *-gā* (*-gē*, *-gī*) to the simple present. Thus, *mārũgā*, 'I shall strike'.

The past tenses are formed from the past participle on the usual principle. Thus *mannē-māryā*, 'I beat him'.

The present participle is *mārᵃda*, with *d* instead of *t*.

The past participle is *māryā* ; masc. obl. *mārē* ; fem. *mārī*.

The infinitive is *māraṇ* or *mārᵃṇā*. [LSI p. 255]

BÂNGRŪ OF ROHTAK

490 The Bāngrū of Rohtak which is locally called Jāṭū, or the language of the Jāṭs, is practically the same as that of Karnal. The only point of notice is that consonant *y* is not used in the

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past participle of verbs. Thus, *kahā*, not *kahyā*. We may also note the idiomatic use of the oblique form of the genitive as an oblique base in *mērē-sē*, 'from me'. [LSI p. 260]

BRAJ BHĀKHĀ OR ANTARBĒDĪ

491 Braj Bhākhā (also spelt Braj Bhāshā) or the Antarbēdī the language of the Antarbēd (Sanskrit Antarvēdī) is spoken in the districts of Mathura, Agra, greater part of the state of Bharatpur, states of Dholpur and Karauli, western part of Gwalior, east of Jaipur, eastern part of Gurgaon, Bulandshahr, Aligarh, Etah, Mainpuri, Budaon, Bareilly and the Tarai parganas of Naini Tal.

Over this area Braj Bhākhā exhibits a few variations. The standard form of dialect is best illustrated by the language of Mathura, Aligarh and West Agra. Taking the use of *yau*, *yō*, or *ō* in the past participles as our criterion, we are able to clarify the various dialects of Braj Bhākhā as follows :

I. Standard Braj (*chalyau*)
   Mathura
   Aligarh
   West Agra

II. Standard Braj (*chalyō*)
   Bulandshahr

III. Standard Braj (*chalau*)
   East Agra
   Dholpur
   Jādōbāṭī (Karauli plains and Gwalior)

IV. Standard Braj merging into Kanaujī (*chalō*)
   Etah
   Mainpuri
   Budaon
   Bareilly

V. Braj merging into Bhadaurī (*chalō*)

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VI. Braj merging into Rājasthānī (Jaipurī) (*chalyau* or *chalyō*)

Bharatpur
Ḍāṅg Dialects

VII. Braj merging into Rājasthānī (Mēwātī) (*chalyō*)

Gurgaon

VIII. Mixed dialect of Naini Tal Tarai. [LSI pp. 69-70]

Other variations from the standard. In the district of Aligarh, and in the east of the district of Agra, we come across a very peculiar form of the pronoun of the third person, viz. *gwa* or *gu*, 'he, she, it or that', but in the Ḍaṅg dialects we find a form *hwa*, which suggests its origin. In the districts in the east of the Braj Bhākhā tract we notice a tendency to run consonants into each other, especially when the first of them is the letter *r*. This is also a marked feature of the neighbouring Bhadaurī form of Bundēlī.

Examples are *khachchu* for *kharchu*, 'expenditure' (Mainpurī); *matt* for *marat*, 'dying' (Sikarwārī); *ṭhākussā* for *ṭhākur-sāhib* (Etah).

In the districts of Budaun and Bulandshahr, the Braj Bhākhā is much mixed with the neighbouring vernacular Hindōstānī, just as in the former district is also mixed with Kanaujī.

The Ḍāṅg dialects. In the broken country in the south of Bharatpur, in Karauli, and in the east of Jaipur, the Braj Bhākhā employed by the Gūjar inhabitants presents many notable peculiarities. Like many rude forms of speech they are of importance for the comparative philology of the Modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars. [LSI p. 71]

Characteristics of Braj Bhākhā. Braj Bhākhā is more typically Western Hindī than is literary Hindōstānī and is also more archaic. The latter dialect, based on the form of speech employed in the north-west corner of the Western Hindī area is strongly influenced by Pañjābī, and follows the latter language, more especially, in the preference for the termination *-ā* for strong masculine *tadbhava* nouns, adjectives and participles and in employing only one form of the future tense, that made by

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suffixing *gā*. In Braj Bhākhā *au* is generally preferred to *ā* and though *gau* is also employed to express the future, a form of which the characteristic sound is *h* is more commonly met with.

The archaic nature of Braj Bhākhā is well illustrated by the occasional retention of a neuter gender, which has nearly altogether disappeared from most of the dialects of northern India. For instance, the infinitive was originally a neuter, hence, in Braj Bhākhā we have not only the usual masculine form e.g. *mārᵃnau* 'to strike', but also, and more usually ; the neuter form, e.g. *mārᵃnaũ*. We also have *sōnaũ* or *sōnõ*, 'gold' ; and even a neuter adjective in phrases like *apᵃnaũ* (or *apᵃnõ*) *dhan*, 'his own wealth'.

As regards verbs, the present tense of the auxiliary does not differ materially from Hindōstānī, but this is not the case with the past tense which is *hau* or *hutau*, not *thā*, '(I) was'.

In the active verb, the present participle ends in *-tu* or *-t* (e.g. *māratu*, or *mārat*, 'striking'), not in *-tā*, as in the Hindōstānī *mārtā*. The past participle of standard Braj ends in *-yau* as in *māryau*, 'struck'.

The tense which in Hindōstānī is often called the aorist and is usually employed as a present subjunctive is in reality an old present indicative, the meaning of which has been specialised. In Braj Bhākhā it is quite common to find it used in its original meaning of a present indicative, when it is desired to define the meaning of this tense, so as to make it a present definite, this is done by adding to it the present tense of the verb substantive. Thus, *haũ māraũ-haũ*, 'I am striking' ; *tū mārai-hai*, 'thou art striking'. Another form of the present definite is made with the present participle, as in ordinary Hindōstānī.

The future tense of Braj Bhākhā may be formed by adding *-gau* to the simple present ; thus, *māraũ-gau*, thus following Hindōstānī. The more usual method is, however to add *-ih* or *-aih* to the root, and then to suffix the same terminations as those of the simple present. Thus, *mārihaũ*, 'I shall strike'.

[LSI pp. 72-73]

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Grammatical sketch : Pronunciation. In many parts of Braj Bhākhā area, especially to the east and south-east, near the Bhadauri country, the letter *r* when it precedes a consonant is often elided, and the following consonant is then doubled. Thus, we have *maddu* for *mard*, 'a man' ; *mattu*, for *marat-hũ*, 'I am dying'. *W* is often pronounced as *b*. It also often becomes as *m* especially after a long vowel. Thus, *mahã* (*bhã*) for *wahã*, 'there' ; *āmatu-ai*, 'is coming'. *H* is quite frequently dropped in the verb substantive. Thus, in Aligarh we have *ĩ*, 'I am' ; *ẽ*, 'thou art', 'he is', etc. In Aligarh we have *ky* change to *ch* in *chõ*, for *kyõ*, 'why'. [LSI p. 76]

Nouns. The sound *-ẽ* added to a noun gives the force of the indefinite article. Thus, *janẽ-kau*, 'of a certain man' ; *naukᵃrẽ*, 'a servant'. [LSI p. 76]

Case. Besides the general oblique case there are two organic cases, locative and instrumental. The locative is formed by adding *-ẽ* as in *gharẽ*, 'in a house'. There is also an instrumental in *-õ* or *-õ*, as in *bhūkhō* or *bhūkhõ*, '(I die) of hunger'. Other cases are formed by adding postpositions, which are :

Agentive, *nẽ*. *naĩ*

Acc.-Dat., *kũ*, *kũ*, *kaũ*, *kaĩ*, *kẽ*

Abl. Instr., *sõ*, *sũ*, *tẽ*, *tẽ*

Gen., *kau*, obl. masc. *kẽ*, fem. *kī*

Loc., *mẽ*, *maĩ*, *pai*, *laũ*. [LSI pp. 77-80]

Adjectives. Adjectives are as in ordinary Western Hindi, except that strong masculine forms end in *-au*, instead of *-a*. [LSI p. 80]

Pronouns. Some of the pronominal forms are ; *maĩ haũ*, *hõ*, 'I' ; *ham*, 'we' ; *tū*, *tai*, *taĩ*, 'thou' ; *tum*, 'you' ; *wō*, *wah*, *wuh*, (sing.) *wē*, *wai* (plur.), 'he, that' ; *yah*, *yih* (sing.), *yẽ*, *yai* (plur.) 'that' ; *jau*, *jaun*, 'who' ; *so*, *taun*, 'that' ; *kō*, *kau*, *kaun*, 'who ?' ; *kahā*, *kā*, 'what ?', *kachhu*, 'anything'. In the first and second person pronouns the plural can be used for the singular. [LSI p. 80]

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Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present tense is conjugated as under :

'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*haũ*	*haĩ*
2.	*hai*	*hau*
3.	*hai*	*haĩ*

The forms of the past tense are ; sing. masc. *hau*, *hō*, 'I was' ; fem. *hī* ; plur. masc. *hē* or *hẽ*, fem. *hĩ*. We also meet the Kanaujī form *hutau*, *hutī*, *hutē*, *hutĩ*. Neither of these changes for person.

Active verb. The present indicative or subjunctive and the future are conjugated as under :

'I strike', or 'I may strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārauũ*, *mārũ*	*māraĩ*, *mārahĩ*
2.	*mārai*, *mārahi*	*mārau*, *mārahu*
3.	*mārai*, *mārahi*	*māraĩ*, *mārahĩ*

'I shall strike' etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārihauũ*, *māraihauũ māraũgau*, *mārũgau*	*mārihaĩ*, *mārai haĩ*, *maraĩgai*
2.	*mārihai*, *mārai hai*, *māraigan*	*mārihau*, *māraihau*, *māraugai*
3.	*mārihai*, *māraihai*, *māraigan*	*mārihaĩ*, *māraihaĩ*, *māraigai*

Braj Bhākhā sometimes uses the Rājasthānī method of forming a definite present by adding the verb substantive to the simple present instead of the present participle. Thus, instead of *māratu haũ*, 'I am striking', we may have *maraũ-haũ*.

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The imperative is *mār*, *mārahi*, *māri*, 'strike thou' ; *mārau*, strike ye' ; *māriyō*, *mārīyai*, *mārījai*, 'be good enough to strike'.

Other tenses are formed on the analogy of literary Hindi.

Passive. This is usually formed as in standard Hindī by compounding the past participle with *jānaũ*. A passive is sometimes formed by adding *-iy* to the root. Thus, *māriyai*, 'he is being beaten'.

Causal verb. This is formed by adding *-āw* for the causal and *-ªwāw* or *-ªwā* for the double causal. Thus, *chalªnaũ*, 'to go' ; *chalāwªnaũ*, 'to cause to go' ; *chalªwāwªnaũ* or *chalªwānaũ* 'to cause to go'. Sometimes *-āw* is shortened to *-ªw*. Thus, *pujāwai* or *pujªwai*, 'he causes to be full'. In the past participle, the final *w* is often omitted. Thus, *bulāyau* (for *bulāwyau*), 'he called'.

[LSI p. 81]

BRAJ BHĀKHĀ OF ALIGARH

492 The language of Aligarh has some prominent local peculiarities or at least has peculiarities which do not occur in Mathura.

Pronunciation. There is a tendency of the consonant *r* to disappear when it precedes a consonant, which is doubled in compensation. Thus, *naukannu-sũ*, for *naukaranu-sũ*, 'from the servants'. This is very common in the Bhadauri form of Bundēlī. The sound *w* when preceded by a long vowel often becomes *m*. Thus, *manāmau*, for *manāwau*, 'to celebrate' ; *bāman*, 'fifty-two'.

Nouns. A final short *u* is added to weak nouns even more commonly than in standard Braj Bhākhā. The *u* is retained in all cases and both numbers. Thus, *bāp* or *bāpu*, 'a father' ; *khētanu-mẽ*, 'in the fields'.

The postpositions are as in standard Braj Bhākhā, but we have also *-nu* (as well as *-nē*) for the agent, as in *tum-nu mahªmānī karī-ē*, 'you have given a feast', and *-kẽ* (as well as *-kũ*) for the accusative-dative, as in *ēk janē-kẽ*, 'to a certain man'.

Pronouns. The pronoun of the third person is very peculiar.

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It is *gu* or *gwa* with an accusative-dative *gwai* and an oblique form *gwā*. The plural is *gwē*, oblique *guni*. 'This' is *ji*.

Verb. The present tense of the verb substantive is :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ĩ*	*ẽ*
2.	*ē*	*au*
3.	*ē*	*ẽ*

Ē is often pronounced *ai*, and *ẽ*, *aĩ*. The past tense masculine is *ō* (or *au*), plural *ē*. In other words, in Aligarh the initial *h* of standard Braj Bhākhā is dropped. The conjunctive participle which is *hwai* in standard Braj Bhākhā, becomes *hai* in Aligarh. Thus, *hai-gayau*, for *hawi gayau*, 'he became'. In all verbs the sign of the conjunctive participle is *kẽ* not *kai*. [LSI p. 280]

BRAJ BHĀKHĀ OF AGRA AND DHOLPUR

493 Braj Bhākhā spoken in the west of Agra, agrees with that of Mathura, and that spoken in the east closely resembles that of Aligarh.

The only important local peculiarity which also exists to a less extent elsewhere in the Braj Bhākhā tract is the tendency to drop the *y* in the past participle. Thus, *chalau* instead of *chalyau*. An instrumental singular in *-ani*, as *bhūkhani*, 'by hunger', and an oblique plural in *-enu*, as in *kamērenu-kũ*, 'to servants'.

[LSI pp. 291-293]

In Dholpur the language is good Braj Bhākhā. The above first two peculiarities are formed in this dialect. [LSI p. 296]

SIKARWĀṚĪ

494 In the Gwalior district of Sikarwar, a form of Braj Bhākhā is spoken, which is known as Sikarwāṛī. It is not nearly so pure as the dialect spoken to its south. Immediately to its east, in the rest of the Gwalior state the dialect is Bundēlī mainly the Bhadaurī

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variety. Hence Sikarwāṛī is much mixed with Bundēlī. The following are the local peculiarities which are all due to the neighbouring Bundēlī.

The termination -ō is everywhere preferred to *-au*, and the termination of the past participle is -ō, not *-yau*. Thus, *chukō*, 'he finished'; *paṛō*, 'he fell'. There is the Bhadauṛī love for contraction as in *chatt* for *charat*, 'grazing'; *matt* for *marat*, 'dying'. The past tense of the verb substantive is *-hatō* or *hō*, as in Bundēlī. The word for 'I' is *-hũ*. This is here used not only for the nominative ,but also for the oblique singular, as in *hũ -nē*, 'by me', and *hũ-kō*, 'to me'. In standard Hindōstānī, the reverse has taken place, for in it *maĩ*, 'I',is by origin an oblique form. [LSI p. 300]

BBAJ BHĀKHĀ OF ETAH & MAINPURI

495 The Etah dialect is nearly pure Braj Bhākhā. It does not show any of the peculiarities of Aligarh, but agrees much more closely with the standard of Mathura. The only local peculiarity is the preference of the termination -ō, instead of the Braj Bhākhā *-au*. Also *-y* is dropped in the past participle, so that we have forms like *chalō* instead of *chalyau*, 'he went'. We may also note the Braj Bhākhā change of *w* to *m*, as in *jāmẽ*, 'they may take away', and the usual tendency for contraction, as in *pōchō*, for *pahũchō*, 'he arrived'; *kã*, for *kahã*, 'there'. [LSI p. 303]

The dialect of Mainpuri is just the same as that of Etah. There is the same tendency to use the Kanaujī termination -ō instead of *-au* and to omit the *-y* of the past participle. [LSI p. 307]

BRAJ BHĀKHĀ OF BAREILLY

496 The dialect spoken in Bareilly is good Braj Bhākhā. The only local peculiarities which have come to notice are the use of -ō instead of *au* as the termination of strong adjectives, and the form *bau* or *bahu* for, 'he'. The verbs *dēnaũ* 'to give', and *lēnaũ*, 'to take', make their past participles *dawō* and *lawō*, after the Kanaujī fashion, instead of *diyau* or *dayau*. [LSI p. 310]

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BRAJ BHĀKHĀ OF BULANDSHAHR

497 The Braj Bhākhā of Bulandshahr does not vary much from that of Mathura. However, we sometimes meet with a few instances of borrowing from the Hindōstānī of Merrut, -usually the employment of the termination *-ā* instead of *-ō* or *-au*. Thus, *hamārā* for *hamārō*. The following are the main peculiarities of the dialect :

The sign of the accusative-dative is *-kō*, and not *-kũ*. The nominative singular of the pronoun of the third person is *-wō* or *-wā*. The past tense of the auxiliary verb is *hō*, not *hau*, and its masculine plural is *hẽ* or *hai*. Finite verbs form their present and imperfect tense with a form in *-ẽ*, instead of *-atu*. This, *ham rahẽ haĩ*, 'I am living' ; *pēṭ bharē-hẽ*, 'he was filling his belly'.

[LSI p. 313]

THE BHUKSĀ DIALECT OF THE TARĀĪ

498 The Tarai is inhabited by a number of broken hill tribes, such as Thārūs and Bhuksās, as well as by immigrants from the plains. They have developed a mongrel mixed dialect, made up of Hindōstānī, Braj Bhākhā and Kanaujī with an infusion of the Kumaunī of the hills. This would be clear from the use of *-kā* as a sign of the oblique genitive, which comes from Kumaunī, and the use of same postposition as the sign of the direct genitive which is Hindōstānī. So are *-kō*, the sign of the accusative-dative and words like *mērā*, 'my', and others. On the other hand, *hẽ*, 'were', is Braj Bhākhā, while *dāo*, 'gave', *gaō*, 'went' are Kanaujī. The only peculiar form which has been noticed is *nāī* (besides *nẽ*) as the sign of the agentive case. [LSI p. 319]

BRAJ BHĀKHĀ OF GURGAON

499 Braj Bhākhā is spoken in Palwal Tahsil, where the district meets Aligarh and Mathura. The Braj Bhākhā spoken in Gurgaon is very fairly pure. It bears slight traces of the influence of the neighbouring Rājasthānī. Such are the use of the termination *-ō*,

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instead of *-au*, for the adjectives and participles, and the masculine form of the genitive singular (e. g. *baṭ-kō*), not *baṭ-kau*, 'of a share', the oblique ending in *-ā* instead of *-ē*, and the use of the Rājasthānī form of the present definite tense. The imperfect tense is also formed as in that language, by adding the past tense of the auxiliary verb to the verbal noun in *-ē*, as in *chāhē-hō*, 'I was, thou wast, or he was wishing'. The past tense of the auxiliary verb is usually *hō* (plur. *hē*) as in Braj Bhākhā, but sometimes *thō* (plur. *thā*) is borrowed from Rājasthānī. The past participle of verbs ends in either *-yō* or *-ō*, as in *kahyō* or *kahō*, 'he said'.

[LSI p. 323]

BRAJ BHĀKHĀ OF BHARATPUR

500 The main language of Bharatpur State is Braj Bhākhā. To the west of Bharatpur lies the Rājasthānī speaking state of Jaipur. Hence although the Braj Bhākhā of Bharatpur is on the whole fairly pure, it shows traces of the influence of Rājasthānī. The following are the local peculiarities, mostly borrowed from Rājasthānī, which differentiate it from the standard dialect of Mathura.

Instead of the termination *-au* for strong adjectives and participles we usually have *-ō*. Thus, *diyō*, 'he gave'; *paryō*, 'he fell'. There is a strong tendency to nasalise a final vowel, as in *janẽ-kẽ*, 'to a man'. The sign of the accusative-dative is *-kõ* or *-kũ*, and both *bhūkhõ* and *bhūkhũ* are used to mean, 'by hunger'. Strong nouns in *-ā* do not change in the oblique form, in this following Rājasthānī; thus, *chhōrā-nẽ*, 'by the son'. Sometimes such nouns substantive end in *-au* or *-ō*, not *-ā*.

The past tense of the verb substantive is *hau*, as in Braj Bhākhā. Additional form *hatau* or *hatyau* is also met with.

In the active verb the definite present is made as in Rājasthānī by conjugating the simple present with the present of the verb substantive. This is sometimes found in the Braj of Mathura,

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but appears to be universal in Bharatpur. The tense is conjugated as follows :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārũ-hũ*	*mārai-haĩ*
2.	*mārai-hai*	*mārau-hau*
3.	*mārai-hai*	*mārai-haĩ*

The only other peculiarities worth noting is the use of *huō*, instead of *bhayau*, 'he became'. [LSI p. 326]

THE BROKEN DIALECTS OF THE ḌĀṄGS

501 The broken hill country, known as the Ḍāṅg, is the home of Ḍāṅgī. The Ḍāṅg, with its language, extends beyond the limits of Karauli state, to the north into Bayānā Tahsil of Bharatpur in the south of the state, and to the west into Jaipur. In the latter state, besides Ḍāṅgī proper, we find variations of it called Dũgar-wāṛā, Kālīmāl, and Ḍāṅgbhāṅg, all spoken in the broken country bordering on Karauli. The people who speak Ḍāṅgī are mostly Gūjars.

Ḍāṅgī exhibits Braj Bhākhā in the act of shading off into Rājasthānī. In the standard dialect of the south of the Braj tract, a form of the present definite *(Karũhaũ* instead of *kar^{a}tu-haũ*, 'I am doing') is met with, which is borrowed from that language, and in the centre of Bharatpur other examples of its influence have been noticed, but in both these cases the instances are sporadic. In Ḍāṅg dialects, on the other hand, they are quite common and give a distinct colour to the whole.

As in many rude languages. we find idioms preserved, which throw light on more abraded forms employed in more civilised speeches. For instance (as in old Gujarātī) Ḍāṅgī clearly forms a dative by putting the genitive into the locative case. Thus, *mērō*, 'of me', makes a locative *mērai*, which means 'to me'. This explains the origin of the Hindī suffix *-kō* (Braj Bhākhā *-kaũ*), which is really the locative of the genitive post-position *-ka*.

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In Braj Bhākhā nouns form (amongst several methods their oblique plural in *-n* preceded by a short vowel. Thus *ghōṛā*, 'a horse' ; *ghōṛan-kau*,' 'of horses' ; *nārī* 'a woman' ; *nārin kau*, 'of women'. In Rājasthānī, these end in a nasalised long vowel. Thus, *ghōṛã̄-kō*, *nāryã̄-kō*. Ḍāṅgī occupies an intermediate position, and exhibits a form older than either, from which both are derived. The oblique plural ends in *-n*, always preceded by a long vowel. Thus, *ghōṛān-kō*, 'of horses' ; *nārin-kō*, 'of women'.

In Western Hindī the sign of the agentive case is *-nē* or *-nai*. In Rājasthānī and Gujarātī this case takes no postposition, but *-nē* or *-nai* is used to indicate accusative-dative. In Ḍāṅgī *-nai* is used (in the case of pronouns) for both the agent and the accusative-dative. In the first case it is used with the form of the nominative, and in the latter case with the oblique form. Thus, *taĩ nai* 'by them' ; *tō-nai* or *tō-kū̃*, 'to thee'. Here we see the postposition in the actual circumstances of the change of its meaning.

In Rājasthānī the conjunctive participle may be formed by adding *-ar* to the root. Thus, *mārar*, 'having struck'. In Western Hindi it is formed by adding the suffix *-kar*, the vowel *i* being optionally added at the same time to the root. Thus *mar-kar*, or *māri-kar*. In Ḍāṅgī, it is formed by suffixing *-kar* or by adding *-ar* or *-ir*. Thus *mār-kar*, *mārar* or *mārir*. Here we see the origin of the suffix *-ar*. It is formed by the elision of the *k* of *kar*, and that this is the fact is proved by the form *mārir*, which is evidently a contraction of the form *māri-kar*.

[LSI pp. 329-331]

ḌĀṆGĪ OF KARAULI

502 The Ḍāṅgī of Karauli is a rude Braj Bhākhā, with a strange vocabulary and various infusions of Jaipurī. The following are the principal divergencies from the standard Braj Bhākhā.

Pronunciation. The sound *a* often becomes *i* in an unaccented syllable, as in *bālik*, 'a child' ; *sūrij*, 'the sun'. The letters *e* and *ai* are apparently interchangeable. It is quite common to find the same word spelt with one or other indifferently. Thus *pīṭai*

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or *pīṭẽ*, 'he beats'. So *õ* and *au* are absolutely interchangeable. Thus *maũṛā*, *mõṛa*, *mōṛā* or even *muṛā*, 'a son'.

Nouns. Strong nouns which in Braj Bhākhā end in *-ā*, here usually end in *-āu* or *-ō*. Thus, *ghōrau*, 'a horse'.

The case suffixes are the same as in Braj, but there are also some irregular forms. Thus, for the accusative-dative, besides *-kaũ*, *-kẽ*, and *-kũ*, we have *-nẽ* (properly belonging to the case of the agent). Thus, *win rupaiyān-nẽ lai-lai*, 'take these rupees'. The suffixes of the instrumental-ablative are *sĩ*, *sẽ*, *sõ*, with the usual variations, but very common is *pai-sẽ*, as in *wā-pai-sẽ-lai lai*, 'take from him'.

Besides the two ordinary genders, masculine and feminine, there are distinct traces of a neuter, which is indicated by the nasalisation of a final *-au* or *-ō*. Thus, *pānyaũ sūkhi gayõ*, 'the water has dried up'; *apⁿnõ pēṭ*, 'his own belly'.

Verbs. The verbal divergencies are few in number. There is a negative verb substantive. The only from noted is *nānẽ*, which means both 'I am not' and 'he is not'.

As in Bhadaurī Bundēlī, the initial *h* of the verb substantive is often dropped when the verb is used as an auxiliary. Sometimes *y* is inserted. Thus we have *rōpat -ẽ*, 'he sets up.

The definite present generally prefers the Rājasthānī principle of conjugating the auxiliary with the simple present, instead of the present participle.

The past participle nearly always ends in *-yau*. Sometimes the *y* is omitted. We have both *chukyau* and *chukau*, 'he finished'. [LSI pp. 332-333]

ḌĀṄGĪ OF JAIPUR

503 The Ḍāṅgī proper of Jaipur is spoken in the north-west corner of the state on the borders of Bharatpur and Karauli.

It is continuous with the Ḍāṅgī of the former state. To the west of the Ḍāṅgī proper, along the southern border of Alwar,

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there is a mixed dialect, through which Ḍāṅgī shades off into Jaipurī.

Pronunciation. Like all the Jaipur dialects, Ḍāṅgī shows a marked preference for the cerebral *ṇ* (which is strongly pronounced) over the dental *n* which we meet in Braj. There is a tendency to disaspiration in the middle or at the end of a word. Thus, we have *bhūkan* for *bhūkhan* 'by hunger' ; *hāt* or *hāth*, 'a hand'. The sound *ch* sometimes becomes *s*, as in *sōsī* for *sōchī*, 'he thought'. When the sound *a* falls in an unaccented syllable, it is liable to be changed to *i*. Thus, *bālik*, for *bālak*, 'a boy'. So *u* becomes *a* in *ṭhākar* for *ṭhākur*.

Nouns, adjectives, and participles, which in Braj Bhākhā end in *-au* in this dialect end in *-ō*. Thus *jewaṛō*, 'a rope' ; *bhalō*, 'good'. [LSI p. 341]

Nouns. Nouns are declined much as in the Ḍāṅgī of Karauli. As a rule strong masculine nouns end in *-ā* not *-ō*. The termination *-ō* is Jaipurī and is occasionally met with. Now and then we meet *-ū* ; thus, *sōnū* 'gold ; *jaṇū*, 'a person'.

The case suffixes are the following :

Agentive	*-nē*
Accusative-dative	*-kũ̄*, *-kẽ̄*, *-kai*
Obl. instr.	*-tē*, *-tẽ̄*, *taĩ*, *-pai -tē*, *-paĩ-tē*, *-kai-tē*
Gen.	*-kō*, obl. masc. *-kē*, fem. *-kī*
Loc.	*-mẽ̄*, 'in' ; *-pai*, *-mā̃ū̃*, 'on'

The obl. masculine of the genitive is sometimes (as in Jaipurī) *-kā*. The accusative-dative sometimes takes the termination *-ya*, as in *pōtaya*, 'to a grandson'. There is also an instrumental in *-an*, as in *bhūkan*, 'by hunger'. There are traces of a neuter gender. Thus, *suṇyũ̄*, 'it was heard, he heard'.

[LSI pp. 341-342]

Pronouns. The second person pronoun has it plural (nom. and obl.) *tam*, not *tum*. 'He', 'that' is *ū*, *wā* or *wha*. 'This' is *yā* or *ī*. Another word for 'that' is *jē*. *Kōn* is 'who ?', *kā*

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'what ?', and *kachhū*, 'anything'. [LSI p. 342]

Verbs. The verb substantive is the same as in Braj Bhākhā, except that one of the forms of the past is *hattyō* instead of *hutau*. *Hattyō* is also used in the present participle of *haibō*, 'to become'.

The conjugation of the active verb is on the whole the same as in Braj Bhākhā. The definite present follows the Rājasthānī principle of conjugating the auxiliary verb with the simple present tense, and not with the present participle.

The form of the conjunctive participle, is borrowed from Jaipurī, and its typical sign is the consonant *r*, as in *bōlar*, *bōlar-kaĩ*, *bōlar kaĩn* or *bōlar-kain*, 'having said'. Sometimes the termination is *ir* instead or *ar*.

There are also traces of the Braj Bhākhā conjunctive participle in *i* (or *y*), as in *jāya*, 'having gone'. [LSI pp. 342-343]

ḌĀṄGBHĀṄG

504 In the south-east corner of the Jaipur state, on the borders of Kotah and Karauli, and separated from Ḍāṅgī by Kālīmāl and the Ḍāṅgī of Karauli we have Ḍāṅg Bhāṅg. It is more infected with Jaipurī idioms than Ḍāṅgī. It even exhibits modes of expressions which have hitherto been considered to be peculiar to Gujarātī. In its grammatical forms the following are the main points in which it differs from Ḍāṅgī of Jaipur.

Pronunciation. There is a tendency for *i* to become *a*, as in *dan*, 'a day' ; *lakhyō*, 'written'. So *u* becomes *i* in *ripyō*, 'a rupee'. The tendency to disaspiration appears to be stronger even than in Ḍāṅgī. We have cases like *kusī*, 'pleasure' ; *bhūkō*, 'hungry'. It is also prominent in the conjugation of the roots *rah* 'remain', and *kah*, 'say'. *H* is often transferred to the first letter of the word, as in *mhal* for *mahal*, 'a palace' *ghadō* for *gad^{a}hō*, 'an ass'. [LSI p. 353]

Nouns. As a rule strong masculine nouns end in *-ō*, not *-ā* as in Ḍāṅgī and Braj Bhākhā, thus, *bēṭō*, not *bēṭā*, 'a son',

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There is no accusative-dative in *ya*, like the *pōtaya* of Ḍāṅgī. There is a locative in *-ã̄*, as in *mhalã̄*, 'in the palace', and in *-ai* for nouns and adjectives ending in *-ō*, as in *mahinai*, 'in a month'. When an adjective (or genitive) agrees with a noun in the locative, *-ai* too is put into that case, which is a most interesting survival. Thus, we have *āp-kai* (not *āp-kē*) *mhalã̄*, 'in his own palace'.

The postpositions are the same as in the Ḍāṅgī, except that the agent has *-nai* instead of *-nē*, and that the oblique genitive ends *-kā*, not *-kē*, as in *ũ dēs-kā raibāla kai*, 'to an inhabitant of that country'. The termination *-kai* of the dative is here clearly seen to be the locative case of *-kō*, the sign of the genitive. In other words, in Ḍāṅgbhāṅg a dative may be formed by putting the genitive into the locative, i.e. by changing the termination *-ō* to *-ai*. Thus, *raibāla-kai*, 'to an inhabitant'. [LSI p. 353]

Adjectives. Adjectives which in Braj Bhākhā end in *-au* and in Ḍāṅgī in *-ō*, often end in *-yō*, in Ḍāṅgbhāṅg. Thus, *āchhyō*, 'good'; *sã̄ chhyō*, 'true'. [LSI p. 354]

Pronouns. The first person is the same as in Ḍāṅgī. The nominative plural of the second person in *tum*, *tam* or *tamū*. As in Ḍāṅgī, the reflexive pronoun *apã̄*, 'self', is also used to mean 'we' including the person addressed or even 'I'. 'He, that' is *wō*; 'this' is *yō* (sometimes *yā*). The demonstrative pronoun 'that' is *jō* and the relative pronoun 'who' is *jad* or *jab*, 'who?' is *kuṇ*; 'what?' is *kãĩ̃*; 'where?' is *khã̄*; and 'why?' is *kyõ̃*. [LSI p. 354]

Verbs. The conjugation of verbs is generally as in Ḍāṅgī except that (as in Jaipurī) the first person plural ends in *-ã̄*, and the third person plural is not nasalised; thus, we have *mārã̄*, 'we strike', *mārai*, 'they strike'.

The auxiliary verb uses both the Braj and Jaipurī forms. Thus, (Braj) *maĩhũ̃*, 'I am'; (Jaipurī) *maĩ chhũ̃*, 'I am'. The definite present is formed by adding the auxiliary verb to the simple present. Thus, *maĩ mārã̃-hũ̃*.

The consonants *s* and *k* are often added pleonastically to the third person verbs. They are relics of old pronouns. Thus, *kai-as*, 'he said'; *mārai-k*, 'he may strike'.

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In one important point of construction Ḍāṅgbhāṅg agrees with most of the Rājasthānī dialects, and with Gujarātī. When a transitive verb occurs in Hindī in the past tense, it is used either passively, or impersonally. Thus, (passively) *us-nē strī mārī*, 'a woman was struck by him', i.e. 'he struck a woman', in which the verb (*mārī*) agrees in gender with the object (*strī*); (impersonally) *us nē strī-kō mārā*, 'by him, with reference to the woman striking was done' in which the verb (*mārā*), being used impersonally, always remains masculine whatever the gender of the object may be. In Ḍāṅgbhaṅg, as in Gujarātī, when this impersonal construction is used, the verb is attracted by the gender of the object, and becomes feminine when it is feminine. Thus, *rājā nai mait^{a}ri kũ bulāī*, literally 'by the king, with reference to the female sweeper, she (not 'it') was called' i.e. 'the king called the female-sweeper'. Here it will be observed, the word *bulāī* agrees in gender with *mait^{a}ri* although the latter has the sign of the dative *kũ* attached to it. [LSI pp. 354-355]

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505 STANDARD LIST OF SELECT WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE ḌĀÑG DIALECTS

English	*Ḍāṅgī (Karauli)*	*Ḍaṅgī (Jaipur)* (where different from Ḍāṅgī of Karauli)	*Ḍaṅgbhaṅg* (where different from Ḍāṅgī of Jaipur)
one	ēk	—	—
two	dō	—	—
three	tīn	—	—
four	chyāri	chyār	—
hand	hāt	hāt	—
foot	pām	pãw	pãw, pag
head	mãṛ	mũṛ	māthō
a father	dājū	dāū	bāp
of a father	dājū-kau	dāū-kō	—
to a father	dājū kũ	dāū-kũ	—
two fathers	dō dājū	dō-dāū	—
I am	hũ hũ	maĩ hũ	maĩ hũ, chhũ
thou art	tū hai	tū hai	tū hai, chhai
he is	wō hai	ū hai	wō hai, chhai
we are	ham haĩ	—	ham hā, chhã
you are	tum hau	tam hō	tum hō, chhō
they are	wē haĩ	—	wē haĩ, chhai
I was	mẽ han	maĩ hō, hattyō	maĩ hō, chhō
thou wast	tū hau	tū hō, hattyō	tū hō, chhō
he was	wō hai	ū hō, hattyō	wō hō, chhō
we were	ham hē	ham hē, hattē	ham hā, chhā
you were	tum hē	tam hē, hattē	tum hā, chhā
they were	wē hē	wē hē, hattē	wē hā, chhā
I shall be	hũ haũgō	maĩ hũgō	—
I beat	hũ pīṭũ	maĩ pīṭũ	maĩ mārũ
thou beatest	tū piṭai	tū pitai	tū mārai

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English	*Ḍaṅgī (Karauli)*	*Ḍaṅgī (Jaipur)* (where different from Ḍāṅgī of Karauli)	*Ḍaṅgbhaṅg* (where different from Ḍāṅgī of Jaipur)
he beats	wō pīṭai	ū pīṭai	wō mārai
we beat	ham pīṭaĩ	ham pīṭaĩ	ham mārã
you beat	tum pīṭaĩ	tum pīṭō	tum mārō
they beat	wē pīṭaĩ	wē pīṭaĩ	we mārai
I beat (past)	mẽ nẽ pīṭyau	maĩ nē pīṭyō	maĩ māryō
thou beatest (past)	tẽ-nẽ pīṭyau	tai-nē pīṭyō	tū māryō
he beat (past)	wā-nẽ pīṭyau	wā-nẽ pīṭyō	wō māryō
we beat (past)	haman-nẽ pīṭyau	ham-nē pīṭyō	ham māryō
you beat (past)	tuman-nẽ pīṭyau	tam-nē pīṭyō	tum māryō
they beat (past)	win-nẽ pīṭyau	un-nē pīṭyō	wē māryō
I shall beat	mẽ pīṭũgau	maĩ pīṭũgō	maĩ mārũgō

[LSI pp. 364-381]

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KANAUJĪ

506 Kanaujī takes its name from the city of Kanauj, which is situated on the bank of the river Ganges in the district of Farukhabad. It is spoken in its greatest purity in the Dōāb districts of Etawah and Farukhabad and north of the Ganges, in Shahjahanpur. It is also spoken in Kanpur and Hardoi, but in the latter districts it is more or less mixed with Awadhī, and in the former it shows signs of the influence not only of Awadhī, but of Bundēlī. It is also spoken in Pilibhit, but here it is mixed with Braj Bhākhā.

In the tract in which pure Kanaujī is spoken there are few variations. The only important one is that north of the Ganges and in Kanpur, there is a tendency to add a short *i* to a word ending in a consonant. Thus, *dēti* (masc), not *det*, 'giving'. Otherwise the dialect is fond of adding *-u* to the end of nouns, like Braj Bhākhā, which in ordinary Hindōstānī terminates in a consonant. [LSI p. 81]

Nouns. To form the plural *hwār* or *hwāru* is sometimes added to both nouns and pronouns.

The oblique plural is sometimes used in the sense of the singular. Thus, *jādā dāman -kō*, 'of great value'.

The cases are indicated by means of postpositions. We sometimes also meet an instrumental singular in *-õ* or *-an*, as *bhukhõ* or *bhukhan*, 'by hunger', and a locative in *-ē*, as *gharē*, 'in the house'. The postpositions are :

Agent, *nē*

Acc. -Dat., *kō*, *kã*

Abl. -Inst., *sē*, *sētī*, *san*, *tẽ*, *kari*, *kar -kē*.

Gen., *kō* (obl. *kē*) ; fem. *kī*.

Loc., *mẽ*, *maĩ*, *mã*, *mõ*, *par*, *lõ*. [LSI p. 85]

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Adjectives. Adjectives are used as in ordinary Hindī, except the strong masculine forms end in *-ō* instead of *-a*. [LSI p. 85]

Pronouns. Some of the pronominal forms are ; *maĩ*, 'I' ; *ham*, 'we' ; *tū*, 'thou' ; *tum*, 'you' ; *wahu, wahi, uhi, bau, bahu* 'he, that' ; *wē, wai bē*, 'they, that' ; *yahu yihu, ihu, yau, jau, jahu* (sing.) ; *jē, jai* (plur.), 'that' ; *jaun jaunu, jo*, 'who' *kaun, kaunu, kō*, 'who ?' ; *kahā, kā*, 'what ?'.

To any of the plurals *hwār*, or *hwāru*, may be added. Thus, *ham-hwār*, 'we'. In the personal pronouns, the plural is often used in the sense of the singular. [LSI p. 85]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present tense conjugation is as under :

Present, 'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hữ*	*haĩ, haĩ-gē*
2.	*hai, hai-gō*	*hō, hō-gē*
3.	*hai, hai-gō*	*haĩ, haĩ-gē*

The past tense forms are ; sing. masc. *thō* or *hatō*, fem. *thī* or *hatĩ*; plur. *thē* or *hatē* ; fem. *thĩ* or *hatĩ*.

Active verbs. The infinite is formed by adding *-an, -wanu, -nō*, or *-ibō* to the root ; thus, *māran, māranu, mārᵃnō*, or *māribō*, 'to strike'.

The present participle is formed adding *-at* or *-vatu* to the root ; thus *mārat* or *māratu*, 'striking'.

The past participle is formed by adding *-ō* to the root ; thus, *mārō*, 'struck'.

The present indicative and subjunctive and the future tenses are conjugated as under :

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Present indicative and subjunctive

'I strike' or 'I may strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārõ, mārũ*	*mārẽ*
2.	*mārē*	*mārō*
3.	*mārē*	*mārē*

Future, 'I shall strike' etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārihaũ, marihõ mārihũ, marõgo*	*mārihaĩ, marĩgē*
2.	*mārihai, marego*	*mārihō, mārōgē*
3.	*mārihai, marēgo*	*mārihaĩ, marẽgē*

Imperative forms are ; sing. *mār* ; plur. *mārō* ; respectful, *māriyō, māriyē*. Other tenses are formed on the anology of Braj Bhākhā, substituting for *au* in masculine terminations.

The passive is formed as in Braj Bhākhā. So also, like that dialect, Kanaujī occasionally borrows its definite present from Rājasthānī. [LSI p. 85]

MIXED DIALECTS

KANAUJĪ OF KANPUR

507 The dialect spoken in Kanpur is everywhere based on Kanaujī, but is generally mixed with Eastern Hindī, as to its east and south-east a dialect of Eastern Hindī spoken. The following is the brief sketch of the chief peculiarities of the dialect which differentiate it from standard Kanaujī.

Pronunciation. E optionally becomes *yā*, *e* optionally becomes *ya*, *ō* optionally becomes *wā*, and *o* optionally becomes *wa*. Thus, we have *ēku* or *yāku*, 'one' ; *tōrō* or *twārō*; 'they'. These peculiarities also occur in Eastern Hindī. [LSI p. 401]

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Nouns. Nouns are declined as in ordinary Kanaujī. The termination *-u* of weak nouns, as in *ghar* or *gharu*, 'a house', is very common. The sign of the accusative-dative is *-kō*, *-kaihã* or (Eastern Hindī) *-kā*. *Nitin* is 'for'. The instrumental-ablative has *-sē*, *-tē* or *-tẽ*. The genitive has the standard Kanaujī *-kō* (*-kē*, *-kī*), and also Eastern Hindī forms *-kēr* or *-kyār*, not changing for form or gender, and *-kērō* or *-kyārō*. The locative has *-mẽ*, *-mã* or (Eastern Hindī) *-mahã*, 'in'; *-par*, *-pai*, 'on'; *lō*, 'up to'.

[LSI p. 401]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the personal pronouns are; *maĩ*, 'I'; *ham*, *hamu*, or *hamaĩ*, 'we'; *tū*, 'thou'; *tum* or *tumh*, 'you'; *wah*, *wuh*, *wahu* (often written as *bahu*), or *wau* (often written as *bau*) 'he, that'; *wē*, *ui*, 'they'. In the first person, the plural is commonly used for the singular.

The pronouns of the third person are also used for 'that'. 'This' is *ī*, *yah* (or *jah*) (sing.), *yē*, *jē* (plur.). [LSI pp. 401-402]

Verb. The verb is irregular in the first person plural, which may optionally end in *-anu*. This seems to be a consideration of the Eastern Hindī *-an*, with the favourite Kanaujī termination *-u*. The verb substantive is thus conjugated:

	Present, 'I am', etc.		*Past*, 'I was', etc.	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*haũ*	*hanu* ~ *haĩ*	*rahaũ*	*rahru*~*rahaĩ*
2.	*hai*	*hau*	*rahai*	*rahau*
3.	*hai*	*haĩ*	*rahai*	*rahaĩ*

We sometimes find present forms borrowed from Eastern Hindī, such as *ham ahinu* (for *ham ahen*), 'we are'.

For the past we have also the typical Kanaujī *thō*.

In the active verb, the infinitive is *māran*, *māranu*, *mār^{a}nō*, *mārab*, *mārabu*, or *mār^{a}bō*. The present participle is *mārat*, *māratu* or *mar^{a}tō*. Sometimes *-i* is added to these forms as *mārati*, *awati*, *banawati*, etc. The past participle is *marō*.

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The present tense, 'I strike', or 'I may strike', is sing. *mārauँ*, *mārai*, *mārai* ; plur. *māranu*, or *mārauँ*, *mārau*, *mārauँ*. *Mārat-hauँ*, etc. is also common.

The future is *marihauँ*, *marihai*, *marihai* ; *marihanu* or *marihauँ*, *marihan*, *marihauँ*.

In other respects the conjugation of the verb follows standard Kanaujī. Sometimes we meet stray Eastern Hindī forms, such as *dīnheni*, 'he (or they) gave' *ham maribē*, 'I shall strike'.

[LSI p. 402]

THE MIXED DIALECT OF EASTERN HARDOI

508 The principal dialect of the district of Hardoi is Kanaujī slightly mixed with the Awadhī dialect of Eastern Hindī. But in the eastern portion of the district, i.e. in Tahsil Sandīla and the neighbourhood the dialect is, it is true, based on Kanaujī, but is largely mixed with Awadhī. The following are its main peculiarities :

The termination of strong masculine nouns, adjectives, and participles is no longer *-ō*, but is the Awadhī *-ā*. Thus, we have *ghōṛa*, 'a horse', not *ghōṛō*.

In the conjugation of the past tense, we have both the Kanaujī principle of using the past participle alone (*mārā*, 'I, thou, he, she, it struck), or else the conjugated form peculiar to Awadhī. Thus, (masc.) :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārauँ*	*mārā*
2.	*māris*	*mārea*
3.	*māris*	*mārin*

The conjugation of the future in Awadhī differs only from that in Kanaujī in the third person singular. In this dialect Awadhī custom is followed.

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As in the case of present participles in Kanpur *-i* is added to the words ending in a consonant, as in *bādi*, 'after'; *bar*^{a}*bādi*, 'ruined'. This also occurs elsewhere in Hardoi. [LSI p. 411]

BUNDĒLĪ OR BUNDĒLKHAṆḌĪ

509 Bundēlī or Bundelkhaṇḍī is spoken in the districts of Hamirpur, Jalaun, Jhansi, eastern portion of Gwalior state, in the southern portion of the districts of Agra, Mianpuri and Etawah, Bundelkhand Agency, a small portion on the west side of the Baghelkhand Agency, districts of Narsinghpur and Hoshangabad. It is also spoken on the Satpura plateau of the district of Seoni, and also on the same plateau in a broken form by the Lōdhīs of Balaghat and over the centre of the district of Chhindwara. A large number of speakers of this dialect have found their way into the great Nagpur plain and are heard speaking a mongrel *patois* in the district of Nagpur proper, the vernacular of which is Marāṭhī. [LSI p. 86]

Varieties. Bundēlī is, on the whole, a very homogeneous form of speech. There is one uniform type current over the greater part of the area in which it is heard. There are, however, towards the north of the Bundēlī tract some intermediate forms of speech which deserve notice, and there are also the broken dialects of the south. The mixed dialects are Banāpharī, Kuṇḍrī, and Nibhaṭṭa, on the east, shading off into Eastern Hindī, and Bhadauri, on the west, shading off into Braj Bhākhā. Of these Banāpharī is the most important. The broken dialects of the south are not like the mixed ones of the north, as they are not intermediate links each between two neighbouring languages. There is a broken *patois* which is a purely mechanical mixture of the two forms of speech. The speakers who are familiar with both, sometimes use the idioms of one and sometimes of the other, and usually show so strict impartiality that in one sentence they will use the one for expressing a particular idea, and in the next will employ the other for expressing it over again. These broken dialects are Lōdhī, Kōshṭī Kumbhārī and Nagpurī 'Hindī', which are Bundēlī mainly mixed with Marāṭhī, and the Bundēlī of central Chhindwara, which is mixed with ordinary Hindōstānī. [LSI pp. 86-88]

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Pronunciation. *R* is often substituted for *ṛ*, as in *parō*, 'he fell', *daur-kē*, 'having run'; *ghurᵃwā*, 'a horse'. The most prominent feature of the dialect is the constant elusion of a medial *h*. Thus, we have *kaī* or *kayī* for *kahī*, 'he said'; *ran* for *ṛahan*, 'to remain', *y*, sa an initial sound is unknown, its place being supplied by *j*. So also *b* is substituted for initial *w*. Thus, *jō* for *yah*, 'this' and *bō* for *wah*, 'that'. [LSI p. 91]

Nouns. The use of long forms of nouns, usually in a diminutive or non-honorific sense is very common. Masculine long forms mostly end in *-wā* and feminine ones in *-yā*. Thus, we have both *ghōrō* and also more commonly *ghurᵃwā*, 'a horse'; *bēṭī* and *biṭiyā*, 'a daughter'. We also often meet redundant forms in *aïva* as in *bilaïvā*, 'a cat', and *chiraïvā*, 'a bird'.

Masculine *tadbhava* words which in Hindōstānī end in *-ā*, in Bundēlī usually end in *-ō*. Thus, Hindōstānī, *ghōṛā*, but Bundēlī *ghōṛō*, 'a horse'. The feminine often has *-nī* where standard Hindōstānī has *-in*, as in *tēlᵃnī*, 'an oilman's wife', but Hindōstānī *tēlin*.

The declension of nouns closely follows that of Hindōstānī.

The cases are made as usual by postpositions. The following are the principal :

Agentive *-nē* ~ *-nẽ*

Accusative-dative *-kō̃* ~ *khō̃*

Ablative *-sē*, *sẽ* ~ *sō̃*

Locative *-mai* ~ *mẽ*

Genitive *-kō* (fem. *kī*) [LSI pp. 91-92]

Adjectives. *Tadbhava* adjectives in *-ō* change in the same way as the suffixes of the genitive. The obl. masc. ends in *-ē* and, their feminine, direct and obl. in *-i*. Thus, *sabᵃrō*, 'all'; obl. masc. *sabᵃrē*; fem. *sabᵃrī*. [LSI p. 93]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the first two personal

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pronouns are ; *mē*, *mẽ maĩ*, 'I' ; *tũ*, *taĩ*, 'thou' ; *ham*, 'we', *tum*, 'you'.

'He' or 'that' is *bō* or *ũ*, 'she' is *bā*. 'This' and 'who' are both *jō* (fem. *jā*). *kā* is 'what ?' ; *kōū* is 'anyone' ; *kachhū*, 'anything'. [LSI p. 93]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The following are the present and past tense conjugations :

Present, 'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hõ*, *ãũ* ~ *ãw*	*hẽ*, *ãy*
2.	*hē*, *āy*	*hō*, *aw*
3.	*hē*, *āy*	*hẽ*, *ãy*

Past, 'I was', etc.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
1.	*hatō*, *tō*	*hatī*, *tī*	*hatē*, *tē*	*hatĩ*, *tĩ*
2.	*hatō*, *tō*	*hatī*, *tī*	*hatē*, *tē*	*hatĩ*, *tĩ*
3.	*hatō*, *tō*	*hatī*, *tī*	*hatē*, *tē*	*hatĩ*, *tĩ*

Active verb. The infinitive and verbal noun is formed by adding *-an* or *-bō* to the root ; thus, *māran* or *mār*^{a}*bō*.

The past participle is formed by adding *-o* and present participle *-at* to the root ; thus, *mārō*, 'struck' ; *mārat*, 'striking'.

The present subjunctive and future tenses are conjugated as under :

Present subjunctive, 'I may strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*marũ*	*marẽ*
2.	*marē*	*marō*
3.	*marē*	*marẽ*

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Future, 'I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*marihõ̃*	*marihẽ̃*
2.	*mārihẽ*	*mariho*
3.	*marihẽ*	*marihẽ̃*

In the future the vowel *a* is often substituted throughout for *i* ; thus, *mar^{a}hõ̃*. Another form of the future is made by adding *-gõ* to the present subjunctive, which is liable to change for gender and number. Thus, first person masc. *mārũ̃gõ*, (sing.), *mārẽ̃-gẽ* (plur.) ; first person fem. *mārũ̃-gī* (sing.), *mārẽ̃-gĩ̃* (plur.).

The imperative is the same as the present subjunctive, except the second person singular, which is the base root ; thus, *mar*, 'strike'.

Tenses formed from the past participle. In the case of transitive verbs, these tenses are constructed passively, exactly as in Hindōstānī, the subject being put in the case of the agent with *nē*. They, *maĩ-nē mārō*, 'I struck' ; *maĩ-nē mārō-tō*, 'I had struck'. [LSI pp. 93-94]

BUNDĒLĪ OF JALAUN

510 Practically pure standard Bundēlī, except the eastern border, is spoken all over the district of Jalaun. Although in the north of the district it is more affected by Kanaujī than in the south. To the west of the district it varies slightly.

The influence on Kanaujī is most evident in the pronunciation. This is not so broad as in Bundelkhand proper. The vowel *ē* is preferred to *ai* and *ō* to *au*. Thus, we have *ēsō* instead of *aisō*, 'of this kind' ; and *ōr* for *aur*, 'and'.

In nouns the oblique form in *-an* is often used for the singular, as in *ḍēran-pē*, 'at the house'. This is more common in Hamirpur immediately to the south-east. [LSI p. 423]

The principal distinction between the dialect of the west of

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Jalaun and that of the rest of the district is that the pronunciation is much broader. *Aī* and *au* are preferred to *ē* and *ō*, respectively. Thus we have *pai* not *pē*, 'on' : *kau* as well as *kō*, 'of' ; *kaũ* as well as *kõ*, the sign of the accusative-dative ; *baṛau*, 'great' ; *chalau* and *gaau*, 'he went'.

In pronouns, 'he that' is *ba*, not *bo*, and 'this' is *ja*, not *jo*.

[LSI p. 430]

LODHĀNTĪ OR RĀṬHŌRĀ BUNDĒLĪ OF HAMIRPUR AND JALAUN

511 The north-western portion of the district of Hamirpur and the neighbouring country of Pargana Urai in Jalaun, across the river Betwa, have a population consisting largely of the Lōdhā caste. The tract is accordingly known as Lodhānt. The most important fiscal division in it is Pargana Rāṭh of Hamirpur, and the form of Bundēlī here spoken is known as Lōdhāntī or Rāṭhōrā. In the heart of the Hamirpur district there are portions of the native states of the Bundelkhand Agency. Here also the language is Rāṭhōrā.

The Lodhāntī dialect is nearly pure Bundēlī. It shares many of its peculiarities with Bundēlī spoken in Orchha. Some of the peculiarities are ; the sign of the accusative-dative is *-kaũ* or *-khã* : of instrumental-ablative is *-saĩ* of the agentive is *-naĩ* and of the conjunctive participle is *-kaĩ*.

Generally speaking the pronunciation of Lodhāntī is more broad than elsewhere in Hamirpur. The sound of *au* is often preferred to that of *ō*. Thus, we have *kau* instead of *kō* to mean 'of', and *mautī* instead of *mōtī*, 'a pearl'. Most of the strong nouns end in *-ō* or *-au*, but some, especially nouns of relationship like *byaṭā*, end in *-ā*.

The oblique form of such nouns in *-ā* also ends in *-ā*. Thus, accusative *lar^{a}ka-khã*, 'a boy'.

Nouns are declined as usual. As in many other dialects there are instances of locative or instrumental ending *-ē*. Thus, *gharē*, 'in a house',

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Among the pronouns we may note *bau*, 'he' ; *bā*, 'she' ; *jau* is 'this'. 'Any one' is *kōu*. [LSI pp. 465-466]

Pāwārī of Datia and the neighbourhood hardly differs at all from ordinary Bundēlī. It has a few local peculiarities, most of which it shares with the Lodhāntī, described above. [LSI p. 473]

THE MIXED DIALECTS OF THE NORTH

512 Between the districts of Hamirpur and Banda on both sides of river Ken, is a dialect called Kuṇḍrī. The Kuṇḍrī on the Banda side is a form of Jūṛar-Baghēlī, That on the Hamirpur side of the stream is also a mixed language, but is mostly Bundēlī. South-east of Hamirpur, i.e. in the north-east of Bundelkhand Agency of Central India and the neighbouring portions of the Baghelkhand Agency, Banāpharī dialect is spoken. It is also a mixed dialect, although containing many peculiarities which are distinctly those of Eastern Hindī, it is in the main Bundēlī. In district Jalaun, there is a small tract in which Tirhārī, a form of Baghēlī, fades off into the general Bundēlī, of that district. But this form of speech is called Nibhaṭṭā. It is based on Bundēlī, but has many of the peculiarities of Eastern Hindī. On the north-west, Bundelī shades off into Braj Bhākha through what is known as Bhadaurī, which is spoken along the river Chambal in the districts of Agra, Mainpuri and Etawah, and also over nearly the whole of the home districts of the Gwalior state. [LSI p. 480]

BANĀPHARĪ

513 Banāpharī is the form of Bundēlī spoken by members of Banāphar tribe of Rajputs and in the country inhabited by them. This tract consists mainly of the north-centre and east of Bundelkhand Agency of Central India, i e. the Chandla Pargana of the state of Charkhari, the Lauri Pargana of Chhatarpur, the Dharampur Pargana of Panna, the Jāgirs of Naigawan Rebai, Gaurihar, and Beri, and the states of Ajaigarh and Baoni. It also extends into the south-east corner of the district of Hamirpur, and (to the east) into the western parts of the Nagode and Maihar states of the Baghelkhand Agency. Although a mixed dialect,

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Banāpharī is one of the most important forms of Bundēlī, as in it are preserved the many bardic songs regarding the famous heroes Ālhā and Ūdal, which together form a large cycle of epic poetry.

Banāpharī is a mixture of Bundēlī and Baghēlī in proportions varying according to locality and to the personality or caste of the speakers. In Hamirpur the Baghēlī influence predominates, but further south in Bundelkhand proper, the Bundēlī element certainly predominates everywhere. [LSI pp. 481-482]

Pronunciation. This closely follows ordinary Bundēlī. The diphthongs *ai* and *au* are commonly used for *ē* or *ō*, respectively. Thus, *sai* instead of *sē*, 'from'. For more common is the change of *ō* to *wā* and of *ē* to *yā*. This is quite optional, so much so that we often find the same word spelt in both ways. Thus, we have *yāṛ*, for *ēṛ*, a support ; *ghōṛ* and *ghwāṛ*, 'a horse'. As regards consonants, *n* often becomes *l* ; thus, *jalam*, for *janam*, 'birth'. *L* on the other hand often becomes *r*, as in *tar*^{a}*wār* or *tal*^{a}*wār*, 'a sword'. [LSI p. 482]

Nouns. Many faminine nouns end in the termination *-aĩ* (corresponding to Hindōstānī) which is not changed in the oblique case. Strong *Tadbhava* nouns usually end in *-ō*, as in Bundēlī, but sometimes the Eastern Hindī form *-ā* is employed.

The use of the agentive case is rather capricious as the termination *-nē* or *nai* is often omitted. The case is used before all forms of the past tenses of transitive verbs, whether the simple past participle is used, as in Western Hindī, or whether a conjugated form of the tense is used, as in Eastern Hindī. Hence, even in the latter case, the verb agrees in gender with the object. Thus, we have *bānī-nai lag taul-daī*, 'the shopman weighed out the ration' ; *yā bāt brāhman sunī*, 'the Brāhman heard this thing' ; *bābā pūchhis*, 'the recluse asked'.

The following are the usual forms which the case terminations take :

Agentive, *-nē*, *-nai*

Accusative-Dative, *khā̃* (not *khō̃*), *kā̃*, *kā*, *kaū*, *kai*

Dative, *lānē*, *khitir*, *kājē*, 'for'

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Instrumental-ablative, *sai, saĩ, khaĩ, tai, sō, saũ, pai, san*

Genitive, *kēr kyār* (common gender) *kēran kyārau, kau, kā* (masc.) *kērī kyārī, kai, kī* (fem.)

Locative, *mai, mã, mā, māhĩ, mahanī.* [LSI pp. 482-483]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of personal pronouns are ; *mai, maĩ*, 'I' ; *ham*, 'we' ; *tuĩ, taĩ, tai*, 'thou' ; *tum*, 'you' ; *ū, wā*, 'he, that' ; *ũy, ũy*, 'they'. *Ī, yā*, is 'this'.

In the case of personal pronouns the plural is frequently used instead of the singular.

Kāhū or *kōū* is 'anyone' *kō* or *kaun* is 'who ?', *kā* is 'what ?'. [LSI p. 483]

Verbs. In all the tenses formed from participles without auxiliary verbs there are two forms, one, the participle alone, as in western Hindī, and the other the participle with suffixes indicating the number and person, as in Eastern Hindī. In the latter case, the suffixes are added to the strong form of the participle in ō, and not to the simple base. Thus, *mārō-s*, not *māra-s*, 'he struck'.

The verb substantive is conjugated in the present and past tenses as follows. The past tense has three different forms.

Present, 'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*āhũ, haũ*	*āhaĩ, āhen, āhan, hau*
2.	*āhī, hī*	*āhū, āhā, hā*
3.	*āhī, āhai, hai, āi*	*āhaĩ, āhĩ, haĩ, ãi*

Hawaũ may be substituted for *haũ* and so throughout.

The first form of the past tense does not change for person exactly like the Hindōstānī *thā*. Its masc. sing. is *hatō* or *tō* ; fem. sing is *hatī* or *tī* ; masc. plur. is *hatē* or *tē* ; fem. plur. is *hatĩ* or *tĩ*.

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Second conjugation

	Sing.		Plur.	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
1.	*hatõy ~ tõy*	*hatyũ ~ tyũ*	*hatyan ~ tyan*	*hatin ~ tin*
2.	*hatōy ~ tōy*	*hatī ~ tī*	*hatyō ~ tyō*	*hatyū ~ tyū*
3.	*hatō ~ tō*	*hatī ~ tī*	*hatē ~ tē*	*hatį̃ ~ tį̃*

Third conjugation

	Sing. (com. gen.)	Plur. (com. gen.)
1.	*rahaũ*	*rahan, rahaĩ*
2.	*rahas*	*rahā*
3.	*rahai*	*rahaĩ*

Active verb. The present conjunctive as usual is often employed in the sense of the simple present. It is conjugated as under :

'(If) I strike' etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārаũ*	*māran*
2.	*māras*	*mārа*
3.	*mārai*	*māraĩ*

The future tense has two forms. One is formed by adding *-ab* to the root ; thus, *mārab*. It is used for all genders, numbers, and persons, as in old Eastern Hindī. The second form is conjugated as under :

'I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*marihaũ ~ mar^{a}haũ*	*mar^{a}bē, marihē ~ har^{a}hē*
2.	*marihai ~ mar^{a}hai*	*marihā, marihau, mar^{a}hā ~ mar^{a}hau*
3.	*mārі*	*marihaĩ ~ mar^{a}haĩ*

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Tenses formed from participles. The present participle is formed by adding *-at* (com. gen.) or *-to* (masc.) *-ti* (fem.) to the root. Thus, *mārat*, *mar^{a}tō*, *mar^{a}tī*. For the past participle either the root alone is used or *-ō* (masc.), *-ī* (fem.) is added to the root. Thus, *mār* (com. gen.) *mārō*, *mārī*. From these the usual tenses are formed.

The present tense is formed by conjugating the auxiliary verb in the present tense with the present participle. Thus, we have *mārat-haũ*, 'I am striking' and so on. Similarly, the imperfect is formed by conjugating any of the past tense forms of the auxiliary verbs with the present participle. Thus, *mārat-hatõy*, 'I am striking', etc.

The past tense is formed in two ways. Either the past participle alone is used (exactly as in Hindōstānī), or else we have a tense conjugated on the model of Eastern Hindī. In both cases, if the verb is a transitive one, the construction is passive. The subject is put into the agentive case, and the verb agrees in gender with the object.

In the second conjugated form, it agrees with the subject in person. Thus, *maĩ-nai* mārõy, means 'I struck something masculine', but *maĩ-nai māryῖ*, means, 'I struck something feminine'. The following is the ordinary method of conjugating the past tense of a transitive verb. The conjugation of an intransitive verb differs in the third person.

'I struck', etc.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
1.	*mārõy*	*māryῖ*	*māryan*	*mārin*
2.	*mārōy*	*mārī*	*māryō*	*māryῑ*
3.	*mārōs*	*māris*	*mārōn*	not known

These may be taken as the standard forms, but other forms for the third person singular are met. These are *māras*, *māris*, and *mārus*.

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In the case of an intransitive verb, the third person singular, as noted alove, is not used. Only the past participle alone is employed. Thus, *baiṭh* or *baiṭhō*, 'he sat down' ; *baiṭh* or *baiṭhē*, 'they (masc.) sat down'. [LSI pp. 483-486]

KUṆḌRĪ OF HAMIRPUR

514 Kuṇḍrī is spoken in the extreme north-east of Hamirpur district, on the left bank of the river Ken. It is much more influenced by the Bundēlī spoken in the rest of Hamirpur, and is based on that dialect, with a mixture of Baghēlī. In this broken dialect the verbs follow Bundēlī in the formation and use of the past tense, except in the case of *rahaĩ*, 'were', which is Baghēlī. On the other hand the postpositions, *mã̄*, 'in', and *ka*, 'to', are Baghēlī. The general structure of the sentences is throughout pure Bundēlī, with the typical use of the agentive case before the past tenses of transitive verbs, which is unknown to Baghēlī. [LSI p. 527]

NIBHAṬṬĀ OF JALAUN

515 On the south bank of the Jamuna, we find a dialect locally known as Nibhaṭṭa, which is a continuation of the Tirhārī of Hamirpur, found on the bank of the same river.

Like Tirhārī this riverain dialect is a mixture of Baghēlī and Bundēlī. Tirhārī is certainly based on the former of these tongues, but Nibhṭṭa, which being further west is more in the Bundēlī country, might fairly be classed with either. The dialect struggles between two idioms. There are Baghēlī past tenses like *kahasi*, 'he said', *dihis*, 'he gave', which require the subject in the nominative case, and yet here it is (as in Bundēlī) in the agentive case. Besides the Baghēlī infection, traces are also seen of the Kanaujī, spoken in Kanpur on the other side of the river. Such is *wā-nē*, 'by him'. [LSI p. 529]

BHADAURĪ OF TÕWARGAṛHĪ

516 Bhadaurī of Tõwargaṛhī is considerally mixed with the Braj Bhākhā spoken in Agra. It varies slightly from place to place,

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being naturally more and more infected with Braj as we go north. It is spoken over nearly the main portion of the Gwalior state. It runs down the centre of the state from the Chambal to the border of the Guna Agency, having Braj Bhākhā and Harautī to its west, and Pāwārī Bundēlī to its east. To the south it merges into Mālwī. In Agra it is spoken in the south of the district in the tract bordering on the Chambal. In Mainpurī it has a few speakers in the Kharka tract on the banks of the Jamna to the south-west of the district. In Etawah it is spoken in the tract between the Jamna and the chambal, and across the latter river.

Pronunciation. *Au* occurs as often as *ō*, and *ai* as *ē*. In the same sentence we often find the same word spelt both ways, e.g. *mārō* and *mārau*. In consonants there is a strong tendency to contraction. This is especially noticeable in the case of *r*. For instance, instead of *barisan*, 'years', and ; *kar^{a}tu*, 'doing', we have, *bassan* and *kattu*, respectively.

Nouns. Strong nouns usually end in *-au* or *-ō*, e.g. *sahārau*, 'help'. As elsewhere in Bundēlī, strong nouns of relationship and same others end in *-ā*, which is not changed in the oblique singular or nominative plural. The influence of Braj (or perhaps Kanaujī) is noticeable in the optional employment of a weak termination, *u* of nouns. Thus, *jwābu*, 'an answer' ; *mattu*, 'dying'.

There is the usual instrumental singular in *-an*, as in *bhūkhan*, 'by hunger'. The postposition of the accusative dative is *-kẽ* or *-kõ*. In other respects the declension follows standard Bundēlī, due allowance being made for pronunciation.

Pronouns. In the pronouns the influence of Braj has brought into use the form *hõ* or *haũ* for 'I' as well as *mẽ* or *maĩ*. So also, besides the usual Bundēlī forms (*tumārō* and *tumāō*), we have *tihārō*, meaning 'they' or 'your'. As in Jalaun, 'he' and 'she' are *bā*, plur. *bē*. 'This' is *ja*, *ji* or *jē*. The word for 'what' is the Braj *kahā*.

Verbs. In verbs, we have the Braj *haũ*, 'I am' and (very common) *hō*, 'was'. The initial *h* of the auxiliary verb is often dropped, so that we have forms like *khat-aĩ*, 'they eat' ; *rēhat-ē*, 'they were living',

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There is an interesting survival of an old neuter form in *chāhaũ*, instead of *chāhau*, 'it was wished (by him)', i.e. 'he wished'. In other respects the conjugation of the verb shows no divergencies from standard Bundēlī. [LSI pp. 531-532]

THE BROKEN DIALECTS OF THE SOUTH

517 South of the Narbada valley lies the Satpura tableland, including the districts of of Balaghat, Seoni, Chhindwara, and Betul. In Balaghat the members of the Lodhī tribe, speak a mixture of Bundēlī and Marāṭhī. In Seoni standard Bundēlī is spoken. In Chhindwara which is linguistically separate from the Bundēlī of Hoshangabad by the Satpura range, has a broken form of Bundēlī in the centre of the district and Marāṭhī in the south. South of the Satpura table-land lies the great Nagpur plain, of which the language is Marāṭhī. In the district of Nagpur, however, a number of tribes scattered over the whole area use a language which, locally known as Hindī, is a broken mixture of Bundēlī and Marāṭhī. Some members of the Kōshṭī tribe in Chhindwara, Chanda, Bhandara, and Berar and of the kumbhār tribe in Chhindwara and Buldana speak a dialect very similar to Nagpur 'Hindī' [LSI p. 547]

DIALECTS OF CENTRAL CHHINDWARA

518 The dialect spoken in central Chhindwara varies from place to place and according to the castes of the people who use it. Besides having peculiarities of its own, the dialect is everywhere freely mixed with ordinary Hindōstānī. This is no doubt due to the fact that a large portion of the Aryan population claims to have come from northern India. The mixture is a purely mechanical one. In one sentence we will find a Hindōstānī expression, and in the next, the same idea is expressed by a Bundēlī one. For instance, the agent case of the third personal pronoun is sometimes the Hindōstānī *us-nē*, and sometimes the local Bundēlī *ō-nē* or *wō-nē*. On the other hand, we find the suffix *-kō* sometimes used as in Hindōstanī, for the accusative-dative (as in *rahan-kō chalō-gaō*, 'he went to live'), and sometimes as in Bundēlī, for the genitive (as in *tērō aur Bhag^{a}wān-kō kasūrwār*, 'a sinner of (i. e. before) thee and god'.

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The following peculiarities which are not due to Hindōstānī occur in the various Chhindwārā dialects.

Nouns. For the sign of the accusative-dative (besides the Hindōstānī *-kō*) *khũ̃*, corresponding to the pure Bundēlī *-khō*, occurs ; thus, *mē-khũ̃*, 'to me'. We also find *-kha* and *-khe*. For ablative-instrumental both *-sē* and *-sa* occur.

Pronouns. The oblique forms of *maĩ*, 'I' ; *taĩ*, 'thou' ; and *jō* 'this' or 'who' are *mē* (not *mō*) ; *tē* (not *tō*) and *jē* (not *jə*), respectively. The pronoun of the third person is *ō* or *wō* (not *bō*). All the pronouns form a dative in *hē* ; thus, *mēhē*, 'to me' ; *tēhē*, 'to thee' *jēhē*, 'to whom, to this' ; *ōhē*, 'to him, to that'.

Verbs. The past tense of the verb substantive is usually *hatō*, but we also have *hathō* (especially among kurmīs) (compare Dakhinī Hindōstānī *athā*) and *thō* (a Bundēlī or Kanauji corruption of the Hindōstānī *thā*). We may note the usual Bundēlī fondness for contractions as in *kahũ̃* for *kahᵃhũ̃*, 'I will say'.

In other respects these dialects closely follow ordinary Bundēlī. [LSI pp. 550-551]

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519 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS

English	*Hindōstanī* (Delhi)	*Dakhinī* of Bombay	*Vernacular Hindōstanī* (Upper Dōab)
one	ēk	ēk	ēk
two	dō	dō	dō
three	tīn	tīn	tīn
four	chār	chār	chār
hand	hāth	hāth	hāt
foot	pā̃w	pā̃w	pā̃
head	sir	sir	sir
a father	bāp	bāp	bāppū
of a father	bāp-kā	bāp-kā	bāppū-kā
to a father	bāp-kō	bāp-kō, kū	bāppū-kū̃,-nū̃-nē̃
two fathers	dō bāp	dō bāp	dō bāppū
I am	maĩ hū̃	maĩ hū̃	me hū̃
thou art	tū hai	tū hai	tū hē
he is	woh hai	wō hai	ō hē
we are	ham haĩ	ham hai	ham hẽ̃
you are	tum hō	tum ho	tam hō
they are	wē haĩ	wō hai	wẽ̃ hā̃
I was	maĩ thā	maĩ thā, athā	mẽ̃ thā
thou wast	tū thā	tū thā, athā	tū thā
he was	woh thā	wō thā, athā	ō thā
we were	ham thē	ham thē, athē	ham thē
you were	tum thē	tum thē, athē	tam thē
they were	wē thē	wō thē, athē	wẽ̃ thē
I shall be	maĩ hōū̃gā	maĩ hōū̃gā	mẽ̃ hū̃gā

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AND SENTENCES IN WESTERN HINDI

Bangrū	*Braj Bhakha*	*Kanauji* (Kanpur)
ēk	ēk, ēku	ēku
dō	dwai	dui
tīn	tīni, tīn	tīni
chār	chār, chāri	chāri
hāth	hāthu, hātu	hãt
pair	pãũ	pāũ
sir	mũru	mūṛu
bābbū	dāū	bāpu
bābbū-kā	dāū-kau	bāpu-kō
bābbū-tī, -tē	dāū -kũ, -kaũ, -kaĩ	bāpu-kō
dō bābbū	dwai dāū	dui bāpu
maĩ hũ, sũ, hã, sã	mai hũ, maĩũ	maĩ haũ
tũ hai, sai, hē, sē	tū hai, tū ai	tū hai
oh hai, sai, hē, se	wuh hai, guai	wahu hai
ham haĩ, saĩ	ham haĩ, ham aĩ	hamu hanu
tham hō, sō	tum hau, au	tum hau
oh haĩ, saĩ	wē haĩ, gwē aĩ	wē haĩ
maĩ thā	maĩ hau∼au hō∼ō	maĩ rahaũ, thō, hatō
tũ thā	tu hau, hō	tū rahai, thō, hatō
oh thā	wah hau, gu hō	wahu rahai thō, hatō
ham thē	ham hai, hē	ham rahnu, thē, hatē
tham thē	tum hai, hē	tum rahau, thē, hatē
oh thē	wē hai, gwē hē	wē rahaĩ, thē, hatē
maĩ hũgā	maĩ hōũgau	maĩ huihaũ

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English	*Bundēlī*	*Bundēlī* (Banāpharī)
one	aik, ēk	yēk
two	dō	duy
three	tīn	tīn
four	chār	chār
hand	hāt	hãt
foot	pãu	gwāṛau
head	mũṛ, mũṛī	mũṛ
a father	bāp	bāp
of a father	bāp-kō	bāp-kau, kērau, *etc.*
to a father	bāp-khõ	bāp-saũ, *etc.*
two fathers	dō bāp	duy bāp
I am	maĩ hõ, ãũ	maĩ āhũ
thou art	taĩ hẽ, āy	taĩ āhī hī
he is	bō hẽ, āy	wā āhai, hai, āi
we are	hām hẽ, ãy	ham āhaĩ, āhen, han
you are	tum hō, āw	tum āhū, āhā, hā
they are	bē hẽ, ãy	ũy āhaĩ, āhĩ, haĩ, ãi
I was	maĩ hatō, tō	maĩ hatō, tō, hatõy, tõy, rahaũ
thou wast	taĩ hatō, tō	taĩ hatō, tō, hatōy, tõy rahas
he was	bō hatō, tō	wā hatō, tō, rahai
we were	ham hatē, tē	ham hatē, tē, hatyan, tyan, rahan rahaĩ
you were	tum hatē, tē	tum hatē, tē, hatyō, tyō rahā
they were	bē hatē, tē	ũy hatē, tē, rahaĩ

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English	*Bundēlī*	*Bundēlī* (Banāpharī)
I shall be	maĩ hōũgō	maĩ huihaŭ, hūhaŭ
I beat	maĩ mārū̃, mārat-hō̃	maĩ mārat-haū
thou beatest	tū̃ mārat hai	taĩ mārat-hī
he beats	bō mārat-hai	wā mārat-hai
we beat	ham mārat haĩ	ham mātta-haĩ
you beat	tum mārat-hā	tum mātta-hō
they beat (past)	ũy mārat-haĩ	bē mātta-haĩ
I beat (past)	maĩ-nai mārō, mārō̃y	maĩ-nē mārau
thou beatest (past)	tai nai māro, mārōy	tē-nē mārau
he beat (past)	wā-nai mārō, mārōs	bā-nē mārau
we beat (past)	ham-nē mārō	ham-nai mārō, māryan
you beat (past)	tum-nē mārō	tum nai mārō, māryō
they beat (past)	un-nē mārō	un-nai mārō, mārōn
I shall beat	maĩ mārihō̃, mār^{a}hō̃, or mārū̃-gō	maĩ mari haŭ

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English	*Hindōstanī* (Delhi)	*Dakhinī* of Bombay	*Vernacular Hindōstanī* (Upper Dōab)
I beat	maĩ mār^{a}tā-hū̃	maĩ-nē mārtā hū̃	mẽ mārū̃
thou beatest	tu mar^{a}tā-hai	tū-nē mārtā hai	tū māre
he beats	wo mār^{a}ta hai	wō mārtā hai	ō mārē
we beat	ham mār^{a}tē-haĩ	ham mārtē hai	ham mārẽ
you beat	tum mār^{a}tē-hō	tum mārtē ho	tum mārō
they beat	wē mār^{a}tē-haĩ	wō mārtē hai	wẽ mārē
I beat (past)	maĩ nē mārā	maĩ nē mārā	mẽ mārā
thou beatest (past)	tū-nē mārā	tū-nē mārā	tẽ mārā
he beat (past)	un-nē mārā	unnē mārā	us-nē mārā
we beat (past)	ham nē mārā	ham-nē mārā	ham nē mārā
you beat (past)	tum nē mārā	tum nē mārā	tam nē mārā
they beat (past)	unhõ̃-nē mārā	un-nē mārā, wō mārā	un-nē mārā
I shall beat	maĩ mārũ̃gā	maĩ mārũ̃gā	mẽ mārũ̃gā

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Bāngrū	*Braj Bhakha*	*Kanauji* (Kanpur)
maĩ mārũ-sũ	maĩ māratu (māttu) -hũ, maĩ māttũ	maĩ mārat -haũ
tū mārē sai	tū māratu (māttu) -hai, tū māttai	tū mārat hai
oh mārē sai	wah māratu (māttu) -hai, gu māttai	wah marat-hai
ham mārē-sai (not saĩ)	ham māratu (māttu) -haĩ, ham māttaĩ	ham mārat hanu
tam hẽ mārō-sō	tum māratu (māttu) -hau, tum māttau	tum mārat hau
waĩ mārẽ-sai (not saĩ)	we māratu (māttu) haĩ, gwē māttaĩ	wahu mārat-haĩ
mai-nē māryā	maĩ-nẽ māryau	maĩ-nē mārō
tai-nē māryā	taĩ-nẽ māryau	tū-nē mārō
us-nē māryā	wā-nẽ (bē-nẽ, gwā-nẽ) mārayau	uĩ mārō
mhā-nē māryā	ham-nẽ māryau	ham-nē mārō
thā-nē māryā	tum nẽ māryau	tum-nē mārō
un-nē māryā	win nẽ (bin-nẽ, gun-nẽ) māryau	unhan-ne mārō
maĩ mārũgā	maĩ mārũgau	maĩ marihaũ

[LSI p.p. 569-605]

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PAÑJĀBĪ

520 Pañjābī is spoken over the greater part of the eastern half of the Province of Panjab, in the northern corner of the state of Bikaner in Rajputana, and in the southern half of the state of Jammu. To its north and north-east Pañjābī is bounded by the Pahāṛī of the lower ranges of the Himalayas. On the east it has verious forms of Western Hindī, apoken in country immediately to the west of Jamna. On the south it has Bāgrī and Bīkānērī dialects of Rājasthānī spoken in west Hissar and Bikaner. We may roughly put the boundary between Pañjābī and western Hindī, as coinciding the course of the river Ghaggar. The people to the east of Ghaggar valley, excepting stray colonies of Sikhs, all speak Western Hindī. To the south on the other hand, there is a gradual merging into Rājasthānī, through an intermediate dialect named Bhattiānī. On the north there is a distinct dialect of Pañjābī, Ḍōgrā,—which is intermediate between standard Pañjābī and the Pahāṛi of the lower Himalayas. To the west of Pañjābī, Lahndā or Western Pañjābī is spoken. It is quite impossible to point to any boundary line or approximate boundary line between the two forms of speech as the process of merger between the two languages is very gradual. On the basis of vocabulary a conventional line has been drawn commencing from the northern end of Pabbī range in Gujarat district, passing through the Gujranwala and Montgomery district reaching the southern corner of the latter district on the Sutlej, following the Sutlej for a few miles and then crossing the northern corner of the state of Bhawalpur meeting the southern border of Bhaṭṭiānī.

[LSI pp. 607-608]

521 *Dialects and sub-dialects.* Pañjabī has two dialects,—the ordinary idiom of the language, and Ḍōgrā or Ḍōgrī. The latter in various forms is spoken over the submontane portion of the Jammu state and over most of the headquarters division of the

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Kangra district with an overflow into the neighbouring parts of the districts of Sialkot and Gurdaspur and of the state of Chamba.

Ordinary Pañjabī is spoken over the rest of the Pañjābī area in the plains of the Panjab, and has also encroached into the neighbouring Simla Hill States. This standard Pañjābī varies slightly from place to place, and its purest form is admitted to be that of the Mājh or middle part of the Bari Doab, centring round Amritsar. We may take Mājhī as the standard form of Pañjābī but owing to the accidental circumstances that the first serious European students of Pañjābī lived at Ludhiana and not at Amritsar, another standard Pañjābī, which we may call the European standard Pañjābī, has also come into existence. It is this Pañjābī which is described in most grammars and dictionaries.

The other sub-dialects of ordinary Pañjābī are the dialects of the Jullundur Doab, Pōwādhī, Rāṭhī, Malwaī, Bhaṭṭiānī and the Pañjabī of Rechna Doab and north-east Gujarat.

[LSI pp. 609-610]

522 *Characteristics of the Language.* Pañjābī, together with Western Hindī, Rājasthānī, and Gujarātī is one of the members of the Central Group of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars. Of these the only pure member of the group is Western Hindī. The others are mixed languages. Although in the main possessing the essential characteristics of the Central Group they each present signs of another language which has been superseded or overlaid by a central one. [LSI p. 614]

523 *Relationship to Lahnda and Western Hindī.* To the west of Pañjābī, Lahndā a language of the Outer Circle is spoken, which is closely connected with Sindhī, Kāshmīrī and the languages of the Indus Kōhistān. A language closely akin to this Lahndā was once spoken over the entire area of which Pañjabī is now a vernacular. Immediately to the east of Panjab we have the Hindōstānī forms of the Western Hindī, which are spoken on both sides of the river Jamnā and in the upper Gangetic Doab. It is clear from the present linguistic conditions that an old form of this Hindōstānī has gradually

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spread over the whole of Eastern Panjab, superseding or overlying the old Lahndā language, as far, at least, as the upper half of the river Chenab. In the extreme east of the Pañjābī tract, on the banks of the ancient Sarasvatī, few traces of ancient Lahndā are observable, but in the Bari Doab where standard Pañjābī is spoken, we find several traces of Lahndā still surviving. In the Rechna Doab these characteristics become more prominent and here we come to the conventional boundary between Pañjābī and Lahndā. Thus Pañjābī is a composite language, or it can be said, that its substratum is a language of the Outer Circle akin to modern Lahndā, while its superstructure is a dialect of Western Hindī. The superstructure is so important, and has so concealed the foundation, that Pañjābī is rightly classed, at the present day, as a language of the Central Group.

[LSI pp. 614-615]

Pronunciation. An initial *w* or *v* in Western Hindī always becomes *b*, while in Pañjābī it is in certain cases retained. Thus, Western Hindī *bīch*, but Pañjābī *vichch*, 'in'. This is also characteristic of Sindhī, Lahndā and Kāshmīrī. Pañjābī as also the Hindōstānī of Upper Gangetic Doab following Prakrit dialects have the tendency to retain the medial double consonants, with initial short vowel. Thus we have *makkhan*, not *mākhan*.

[LSI p. 615]

Nominal termination. In the declension of nouns, we find that the termination of strong masculine substantives with *a*-bases, is *ō*, not *au* or *ō* as in pure Western Hindī. Thus, we have *ghōṛā*, 'a horse', not *ghōṛau* of *ghōṛō*, as in Western Hindī. This is typical of all the languages of Outer Circle. [LSI p. 616]

Termination of the genitive. A characteristic of Pañjābī is the employment of the termination *-dā* for the suffix of the genitive, instead of the *-kau*, *-kō* (or *kā*) of Western Hindī. This termination is also employed in southern Lahndā, and no doubt belongs to the original form of the language which once spread all over the Panjab. [LSI p. 616]

Personal pronouns. The plurals of the pronouns of the first and second persons (*asī*, 'we', obl. form *asā*, and *tusī*, 'ye',

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obl. form *tusă*), are relics of the old Lahndā basis of the language, which has *ham* and *tum*, respectively. [LSI p. 616]

Pronominal suffixes. One of the most striking characteristics of the languages of the Outer Circle is the free use they make of the pronominal suffixes added to verbs (a procedure totally strange to the languages of the Central Group). In the Mājh dialect of Pañjābī these also occur. Thus, *ākhius*, 'he said'. We rarely hear these further east. [LSI p. 617]

Pronunciation. The only sounds which require special notice are *h* and some of the aspirated consonants. In Lahndā these are pronounced in a peculiar way and the same fact is evident in the western districts of the Pañjābī area. In these districts, when *h* commences a word, or precedes an accented syllable it has a strong guttural sound resembling that of a somewhat strongly pronounced *ain* in Arabic. In other positions, i.e. when it is not at the beginning of a word or preceding an accented syllable, it is hardly audible or may be altogether inaudible, but it strongly raises the pitch of the preceding vowel, often altering the whole tone of word. Thus, *lắh*, 'bring down', is very different in sound from *lă*, 'attach', although the *h* in the former is often quite inaudible. The same remarks apply to the *h* shown in transliteration of soft (not hard) aspirated consonants, but not in the case of hard aspirated consonants. Thus, *bhrā*, 'a brother', is pronounced *b'rā*, *ghumắ*, 'a measure of land', *g'umắ*. On the other hand, in *kúṛh*, in which *ṛh* follows an accented vowel, the *h* is inaudible, but the *u* is pronounced in a higher tone than in *kúṛ*', 'the joint of a plough'. [LSI p. 628]

Nouns: Gender. This closely follows Hindōstānī. The most important exception is *rāh*, 'a road', which is masculine in Pañjābī.

Number and case. The nominative plural closely follows Hindōstānī. Oblique plurals terminate in *-ắ*. Thus, *bhaī*, 'a brother'; obl. plur. *bhaīắ*.

Besides the vocative there are also other cases occasionally met with; viz. an agent plural in *-ī̃*, as in *tusī̃ lokī̃ paia* 'you

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people have obtained' ; a locative singular in *-ē*, as in *gharē*, 'in the house' ; a locative plural in *-ī̃* as in *gurmukhī akkharī̃*, 'in Gurmukhi letters' ; an ablative singular in *-ō̃*, as in *gharō̃*, 'from the house' ; and an ablative plural in *-ī̃* as in *hatthī̃*, 'by hands'.

The case postpositions are :

Agent. *-nai* (often omitted)

Dative. Acc. *-nū̃*.

Instr. Abl. *-te, tō̃-thō̃, -thī̃, -dō̃* '*by, with, from*'.

Gen. -dā, 'of'.

Loc. *-vichch*, 'in', *pur*, 'on', *pās, pāh* 'near' *naḷ*, 'with'.

Many of these may be used with the oblique genitive masc., as *ghar vichch* or *ghardē vichch*, 'in the house'. [LSI p. 630]

Adjectives. Adjectives ending in *-ā* and genitives agree with their qualified nouns in gender, number and form. Thus, *nikkā muṇḍa*, 'a good boy' ; *nikkē muṇḍē*, 'good boys' ; *nikkiā muṇḍiā-nū̃*, 'to good boys'.

The Hindōstānī system of using the termination *-ē* for all oblique masculine cases, and *-ī* for all fem. cases is also employed.

Comparison of adjectives is as in other Indian languages. [LSI p. 630]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of pronouns are ; *haũ* (obs.), *maĩ*, 'I' ; *tū̃*, 'thou' ; *uh, ōh, ōhu, auh*, 'he, it, that' ; *asī̃*, 'we' ; *tusī̃*, 'you' ; *ōh*, 'they' ; *ih, ēh, ah, āh, āhī*, 'this' ; *jō, jihṛā, jēhṛā*, 'who, which' ; *kauṇ, kihṛā, kēhṛā*, 'who ?' ; *kī, kiā*, 'what ?' ; *kōī, kaī*, 'anyone, someone'. *Āp*, 'self' has its genitive *apṇā*. In the sense of 'your honour' the use of the word is borrowed from Hindōstānī. The usual respectful pronoun of the second person is the plural *tusī̃*.

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. These are conjugated in present and past tenses as under :

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Present, 'I am', etc.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
1.	*hã, hãga, haĩ*	*hã, hãgī, haĩ*	*hã, hãgē, haĩgē*	*hã, hãgīã, haigiã*
2.	*haĩ, haĩga, ẽ*	*haĩ, haĩgī, ẽ*	*hō, hõ, hōgē, haigōē*	*hō, hõ, hogiã*
3.	*hai, haiga, haisu, haī, ī, ĩ, ē, nē, jē*	*hai, haigī, haisu, haī, ē, ī, ĩ, nē, jē*	*han, han-gē, haĩ-gē, hain, hainī, hainsu, nē, jē*	*han, han-gīã, haĩ-gīã, hain, hainī, hainsu, nē, jē.*

Past, 'I was', etc.

Sing.

	masc.	fem.
1,2,3,	*sa, sāga, sī, siga, tha*	*sī, sīgī, thī*
also		
1.	*sã, sãga, haisã*	*sã, sãgī, hai-sã*
2.	*hai-sī*	*hai-sī*
3.	*hai-sī, saī*	*hai-sī, sāī*

Plur.

	masc.	fem.
1,2,3.	*sē, sēgē, sī, sīgē, thē*	*sīã, sī-gīã thīã*
also		
1.	*sã, sãgē, haisē*	*sã, sã-gīã, haisīã*
2.	*hai-sē, saü*	*hai-sīã, sīō*
3.	*san, san-gē, sain, sān, hai-san*	*san, san-gīã, sain sān, hai-san*

Some of the above forms are only of local occurrence. The most usual forms are :

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Present, (com. gen.)

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hã*	*hã*
2.	*haĩ*	*hõ*, *hō*
3.	*hai*	*han*

Past

	Sing.		Plur.	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
1.	*sā*, *sī*	*sī*	*sã̄*, *sī*, *sē*	*sīã̄*
2.	*sā*, *sī*	*sī*	*saü*, *sī*, *sē*	*sīã̄*
3.	*sā*, *sī*	*sī*	*san-sī*, *sē*	*san*, *sīã̄*

Active Verb. The infinitive is formed by adding *-ṇā* and *-aṇ* to the root; thus, *ghallṇā*, *ghallaṇ*, 'to send'. If the root ends in *-ṇ*, *-ṛ*, *-ḷ* the infinitive ends in *-nā*, not *-ṇā*. Thus, *jaṇnā*, 'to know'; *mārnā*, 'to strike'.

The present participle is formed by adding *-dā* to the root. Roots ending in a vowel or *-h* form the present participle in *-ndā*. Thus, *āundā*, 'coming'. Sometimes the present participle takes the termination *-nā*. Thus, *dēkhnā* for *dēkhdā*, 'seeing'.

The past participle is formed by adding *-iā* to the root; thus, *ghalliā*, 'sent'. Roots ending in *-i*, and a few others form the past participle in *-ā*, not *-iā*. Thus, *rahiā*, 'remained'.

Present subjunctive (old simple present) is conjugated as under:

'I may send', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ghallã̄*	*galliyē*
2.	*ghallẽ̄*, *ghallĩ̄* (obl.)	*ghallō*, *ghallõ*, *ghalliō* (obs.)
3.	*ghallē*	*ghallaṇ*

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Future is formed by adding *-gā* (sing. masc.), *-gī* (sing. fem.), *-gē* (masc. plur.) and *-gīã* (fem. plur.) to the present subjunctive. The first plur. is *ghallāgē*. The verb agrees with its subject in gender, number and person as in Hindōstānī.

Tenses are formed from the present participle and from the past participle as in Hindōstānī. Thus, *jō maĩ ghallda*, 'if I had sent' ; *maĩ ghallda hã*, 'I am sending' ; *maĩ āiā-sī*, 'I had come'.

Tenses formed from the past participles of transitive verbs are treated exactly as in Hindōstānī. The construction may be passive personal or passive impersonal. Thus, (passive personal) *uhnai ikk chiṭṭhī likhī*, 'by him a letter was written, he wrote a letter', ; (passive impersonal) *unhãnai kuṛīnũ māriā*, 'by him with reference to the girl it was beaten (or a -beating-was-done), he beat the girl'.

Passive voice. The passive voice may be formed as in Hindōstānī by conjugating the past participle with *jāṇā*, 'to go'. Thus, *muṇḍa mārā giā*, 'the boy was struck'. Or *-ī* may be added to the root. Thus, *ũ mārīdā-hai*, 'he is being beaten'.

Causal verbs. These are formed much as in Hindōstānī. There are causals and double causals. Thus, *uṭṭhnā*, 'to rise' ; *uṭhāuṇā*, 'to raise' ; *uṭhwāuṇā*, 'to have lifted'.

Compound verbs are formed as in Hindōstānī.

[LSI pp. 631-632]

MĀJHĪ

524 Mājhī is the dialect of the Mājhā of the Panjab. The Mājhā, or Midland, lies in the Dōāb between the rivers Ravi and Beas-cum-Sutlej. It therefore includes the districts of Amritsar and Gurdaspur and most of the district of Lahore.

Mājhī Pañjābī is by universal consent the purest form of the language, but is not the standard adopted by most of the

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grammars. These are mainly based on the dialect of Ludhiana, which lies some way to the south-east.

The following are the main points of difference, exhibited by this dialect, from the Ludhiana standard.

The cerebral *ḷ* is never sounded in Amritsar. The ordinary dental *l* is always substituted for it. Thus, *nal* not *naḷ*, 'with'. The consonant *ḍ* is often doubled. Thus, *tuhāḍḍa*, for *tuhaḍa*, 'your'; *waḍḍa*, for *waḍa*, 'a great'. On the other hand, the consonants which are doubled in the standard dialect of Ludhiana are often not doubled in Amritsar. Thus, *uṭh-kē* for *uṭṭh-kē*, 'having arisen'; *vich*, not *vichch*, 'in'.

Nasalisation is frequent. Thus, *apṇā̃ dhan*, 'his own wealth'; *jā̃wā̃ga*, 'I will go'; *chummiā̃*, 'it was kissed'. Some of these nasalised forms are relics of the old neuter gender.

In the declension of nouns, the initial *v* of the postposition *vich*, 'in' is often elided, and the remainder of the postposition is attached to the main word as a termination, as in *gharich*, for *ghar-vich*, 'in the house.' The postposition of the agent case is *nai* or *naĩ*.

In the pronouns, the nasal *asĩ*, 'we' and *tusĩ*, 'you', is omitted, so that we have *asī* and *tusī*. Other forms to be noted are *maĩ naĩ*, 'by me; *sāḍḍa*, 'our'; *taĩnaĩ*, 'by thee'; *tuhāḍḍa*, 'your'. *tū̃*,' 'thou' has its oblique singular *tudh*.

In the verbs substantive, we have *haĩ* and *hau*, both meaning 'we are' and 'they are.' The past tense has the following forms:

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*sā̃*	*sā̃*
2.	*saĩ*	*sau*
3.	*sī*	*sē*

The present participle of finite verbs often ends in *-nā* instead of *-dā*. Thus, *marnā̃-hā̃*, 'I am striking.'

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Irregular forms noted are *dēu* ; 'give thou' ; *dēh*, 'give' ; *jah*, 'go' ; *ãunda* ~ *ānda*, 'is coming'.

In Mājhī we occasionally find the use of personal terminations, with the past tenses in the third person of transitive verbs. The terminations for the singular are *us*, *ōs*, or, *ōsu* and for the plur. *ōnē*. Thus, instead of regular *us ākhia*, 'he said, 'we frequently hear *ākhiōs*, and instead of *unhã* (or *unã*) *ākhia*, 'they said', *ākhiōnē*. So *dittōs*, 'he gave' ; *kahiōs*, 'he said' ; *kitōnē*, 'they did.' [LSI pp. 651-652]

PAÑJĀBĪ OF THE JULLUNDUR DOAB

525 The Jullundur Doab, or the country lying between the rivers Beas and Sutlej, includes the two districts of Jullundur and Hoshiarpur and the states of Kapurthala, Bilaspur and Mangal. The Pañjābī of this tract is locally known as Dōābī, but it differs hardly at all from the standard Pañjābī of Ludhiana.

We find both *bich* and *vich*, 'in' ; *hundā* and *honda*, 'being.' Cerebral consonants are employed capriciously ; thus, *baḷd*, 'a bullock', but *nāl*, not *naḷ*, 'with.' So, *honā* not *hoṇā*.

In *kamīn-kan*, we have *kān* used as a sign for the dative. Compare the Lahndā *kan*. *Kuj* is, 'anything' not *kujh*. As in Amritsar 'these' is *inã*, not *inhã*.

The form *haĩ* for the first person singular of the present of the verb substantive is peculiar to this part of the Panjab.

The initial consonant of *vich*, 'in' is often elided, as in Amritsar and Ludhiana. [LSI p. 671]

PŌWĀDHĪ

526 The word 'Pōwādh' means 'east', and Pōwādhī Pañjābī is the Pañjābī spoken in that portion of the Eastern Panjab known as the Pōwādh.

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From Ropar in Ambala district up to its junction with the Beas, the river Sutlej runs nearly east and west. To its north lies the Jullundur Doab. To its south lie the districts of Ludhiana and Ferozepore. The whole of the latter district, and the greater portion of the former are included in the tract known as the Mālwā, but that part of Ludhiana which lies near the river is known as Pōwādh. The Pōwādh extends as far as river Ghaggar in Ambala district. To the south it occupies those parts of the states of Patiala, Nabha and Jind which lie east of say, the 76th degree of the east longitude, upto the country in which Hindōstānī and Bāngrū are spoken. This tract also includes a few outlying portions of the Hissar district.

As might be expected, Pōwādhī differs from the standard Pañjābī of Amritsar mainly in approaching the dialect of Western Hindī spoken in East Ambala and in Karnal. The further east we go the more and more infected with Hindōstānī or Bāngrū does it become. The most western Pōwādhī-that spoken in the Pōwādh tract of Ludhiana-is almost the same as the standard.

Most of the variations which Pañjābī undergoes in the Pōwādh tract are due to the influence of the neighbouring Western Hindī. Such are the occasional use of the words like *kahna* instead of *ākhṇa*, 'to say', substitution of *m* for *w* between two vowels, as in *amãga*, for *awãga*, 'I will come.'

We find (as in Western Hindī dialects and in Rājasthānī) the locative of the genitive employed to form a dative, as in *ihdē pāō*, 'put on (*pāō*) to him (*ihdē*).'

In pronouns we find the forms *hamãnũ*, 'to us', *tumãnũ*, 'to you', alongside of the true Pañjābī forms; and the genitive of the reflexive pronoun is *apṇā*, not *āpṇā*. *Jad* is used for both, 'then' and 'when' exactly as in the dialects of Western Hindī and as in Rājasthānī.

In verbs, *thā* is more common for 'he was' than *sī*, though both are used. The first person plural sometimes ends in Western Hindī *-aĩ*, instead of in *-ā*. Thus, *hōwaĩ*, 'let us become'; *chhakaĩ*, 'let us eat'.

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Other peculiarities not so directly traceable to the influence of Western Hindī are the following :

The insertion of an aspirate in *bhalad* (Patiala), 'an ox'. The pronunciation of *vichch*, 'in', as *bichch*. In pronouns, the occasional employment of *tōhāḍā* for 'your', and of *ōh* for the oblique form singular of the third personal pronoun. In the verb substantive the 2nd plural of the present tense is often *ō*, for *hō*, 'you are'. Also the frequent transposition of an aspirate, as in *unhũ*, for *uhnũ*, 'to them' ; *ōdhā*, for *ōhdā*, 'of him' ; *īdhā*, for *īhdā*, 'of this' ; *jēṛhā*, for *jēhṛā*, 'who'.

[LSI pp. 679-680]

RĀṬHĪ

527 This dialect, known as Pachhāḍī or Rāṭhī, is spoken by Musalmān tribes settled in the Ghaggar valley in the district of Hissar. A similar dialect called Jāṇḍ or Nailī is spoken in the Ghaggar valley in the Kularan Thānā of the Jind state. Under whatever name it is called, it is the same form of speech, i.e. Pōwādhī Pañjābī, strongly mixed with the Bāṅgrū dialect of Western Hindī spoken immedialely to its east. The pronunciation is fond of nasal sounds. Here and there we meet a form borrowed from the Mālwāī Pañjābī spoken immediately to the west.

As it is a mixed form of speech it is unnecessary to give its grammatical sketch. It is sufficient to note that the genitive is sometimes formed by adding *-kā*, and sometimes by adding *-dā*. The oblique form (or locative) of the genitive *mērē*, is used to mean 'to me' ; so *jaṭ-kē*, 'to a Jāṭ'. The sign of dative is *-nũ* or *-nē*. Sometimes we have the Bāṅgrū *sã*, 'I am' ; *sai*, 'he is'. Mālwāī future *jãsũ*, 'I will go', occurs.

The nasal pronunciation of *chãhãdā*, 'wishing' ; *aũdā* 'coming' ; *jãsũ*, 'I will go' is noteworthy. [LSI p. 696]

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MĀLWĀĪ

528 Mālwāī is spoken in whole of the district of Ferozepore and the greater part of Ludhiana. It also includes the states of Faridkot and Maler-Kotla and parts of the states of Patiala, Nabha, Jind and Kalsia. We may say that the western boundary of the Mālwā is Sutlej. Its northern is the Pōwādh country of Ludhiana, and (in Ferozepore) again the Sutlej. Its eastern boundary may be roughly taken as the 76th degree of East Longitude, east of which Pōwādhī Pañjābī is spoken.

Mālwāī does not differ materially from the standard Pañjabī of the grammars. The principal peculiarity of Mālwāī is that, as we go south, a dental *n* and *l* are substituted for a cerebral *ṇ* and *ḷ*, respectively. Thus, in Ferozepore we have *jānā*, not *jaṇa*, 'to go' ; *hun* not *huṇ*, 'now'. The sounds *b* and *v* are freely interchangeable. Thus, *bēkh* for *vēkh*, 'see' ; *bich* or *vich*, 'in'. The final consonant in Mālwāī is not doubled ; thus, *vich*, not *vichch*, 'in', *ik*, not *ikk*, 'one'. In Ferozepore, sometimes even the medial consonants are not doubled as in *ghalia* (*ghallia*), *jutī* (not *juttī*). *W* between two vowels is changed to *m*. Thus, *hamāga*, for *howāgā*, 'I shall be'. This also occurs in Pōwādhī.

In pronouns *āpā* is used to mean, 'we'. In Ferozepore *awdā* is regularly employed to mean 'own', instead of the standard *apṇā*. *Apnā*, with the first *a* short and a dental *n*, is also commonly met with over the whole tract. In other pronouns *t* is often substituted for *s*. Thus, *ut* (for *us*) *vēlē*, 'at that time' ; *it* (for *is*) *kar-kē*, 'for this reason'. *kuchh* or *kush* is 'anything'. Indeed *chh* seems to be often pronounced as *ś* or *sh* in other words.

In verbs the second person singular often loses its nasal and takes the Western Hindī form. Thus, *hai*, for *haĩ*, 'thou art'.

Other borrowings from Western Hindī are :

I. The occasional employment of the agent case for the subject of an intransitive verb in the past tense. Thus, (Ferozepore)

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chhōṭē putrnē gia, literally, 'by the younger son it was gone', i.e. 'the younger son went'.

II. The occasional employment of *kā* for the genitive. Thus, *satā dinā-kī muhilat*. 'a delay of seven days'.

In Ludhiana the village people are fond of adding *-u* to words ending in a consonant. Thus, *chiru*, 'a space of time'; *mālu*, 'property'; *dudhu*, 'milk'. This also occurs in Braj Bhākhā dialect of Western Hindī.

In the declension of nouns *vichch*, 'in', becomes *chi*, added directly to the noun as a termination. Thus, *mulakchi*,' in a country'.

The first two personal pronouns often take the forms *hamā* and *tumā* in the oblique plural. Thus, *hamānũ* 'to us'; *tumānũ*, 'to you'. These are still more common in the neighbouring Pōwādhī, where Pañjābī merges into Hindōstānī.

[LSI pp. 709-711]

BHAṬṬIĀNĪ

529 Bhaṭṭiānī is known by the name of Rāṭhī in Bikaner and Bāgṛī and Rāṭhaurī in Ferozepore. This dialect is simply a corrupt Pañjābī much mixed with Bāgṛī. The proportions of the two forms of speech differ according to locality, but over the whole of these three areas, the general characteristic of the language is the same. [LSI p. 734]

PAÑJĀBĪ OF WEST LAHORE

530 Directly we cross the Ravi into the western portion of Lahore district we find that Lahndā basis of Pañjābī makes itself much more strongly felt. There are also a few local peculiarities.

In pronunciation we may notice the total absence of the

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cerebral *ḷ*, as is also the case in the Pañjābī of Mājhā. The cerebral *ṇ* is very capriciously used.

In the declension of nouns we may note that the postposition of the agent case is *-nē* not *-nai*, which is very often omitted (as in Lahndā). *Nē* is also occasionally used instead of *-nũ*, as the sign of the dative. Thus, *naukar-nē ākhiā*, 'he said to the servant'.

In the pronouns, we have *tũ* used for the agentive case singular, as well as for the nominative. *Asā̃* and *tusā̃* are often used for the nominative to mean 'we' and 'you', respectively. The usual word for 'he' is the Lahndā *ō* with an oblique singular *us* or *un*. 'Own' is *apnā* not *āpṇā*, 'what' ? is *kīh*.

The verb substantive regularly takes the Lahndā forms ; thus we have *hin* 'they are' ; *ahā* or *hā*, 'he was'. In the finite verb we have both the Lahndā form of the future, as in *uṭhisā̃ (gā)*, 'I will arise', and the Pañjābī one, as in *rehā̃gā*, 'I will remain.'

Now and then we find instances of pronominal suffixes attached to verbs, exactly as in Lahndā. Thus, *dittōī*, 'given by thee.' The Lahndā present participle is also very common. Thus *karẽdā* for *kardā*, 'doing'.

There are also a number of Lahndā expressions. Such are the use of the root *chā*, 'raise', prefixed to a verb in order to intensify the meaning. [LSI p. 745]

PAÑJĀBĪ OF SIALKOT, EAST GUJRANWALA AND NORTH-EAST GUJRAT

531 The conventional boundary line between Lahndā and Pañjābī starts at the north end of the Pabbī range in Gujrat, and entering Gujranwala at Ramnagar, divides that district into two nearly equal parts. The tract to the east of this line embraces the whole of Sialkot, the eastern half of Gujranwala, and the north-east of Gujrat. On the east it has the Mājhī Pañjābī of

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Gurdaspur, on its south, the mixed dialect of West Lahore just described.

The dialect of this tract closely resembles that of the West Lahore. We note the following peculiarities, nearly all of which are due to the influence of Lahndā.

There is a strong tendency to drop the sound *h* after an accented syllable, and even elsewhere. Thus, *rá'ẽ*, for *ráhẽ*, 'they remained'; *ẽ* or *hẽ*, 'is' and so on. We see the origin of the standard Pañjābī present participle in *-nā* instead of *-dā* in the word *dẽ̃da* or *dẽnnā*, 'giving'. All over Indo-Aryan India, a *d* preceded by a nasal may optionally be pronounced as *n*.

In the declension of nouns, the postposition of the genitive is treated as in Lahndā, so that we have *diã̃* or *dẽ̃ã̃* instead of *dẽ* agreeing with a masculine noun in the plural.

The pronouns present some irregularities. 'Our' is *sāḍḍā*, *asãḍḍa* or *asāḍḍā*. 'Your' is *tusāḍḍā* or *tohāḍḍā*. The oblique form singular of the pronoun of the third person is *ōs* (as the oblique form sing. of *ih*, 'this' is *ēs*), and its oblique plural is *ōnã̃* or *ōhnã̃*.

The following forms of the verbs substantive may be noted :- *ã̃* or *hã̃*, 'I am, we are'; *ẽ̃*, 'thou art'; *ẽ* or *hẽ*, '*he*, she, it is'; *saṇ* or *haisaṇ*, 'they were'. [LSI p. 751]

ḌŌGRĀ OR ḌŌGRĪ

532 The Ḍōgrā or Ḍōgrī dialect of Pañjābī takes its name from Ḍogar or Ḍugar, the title of the submontane portion of the Jammu State. To the east of Jammu lies the state of Chamba. The main language of Chamba, Chaměaḷī, is also a form of Pahāṛī, but a mixed form of speech called Bhaṭěālī, which is based on Ḍōgrā, is spoken in the west of the state, near the Jammu frontier. South of Jammu in the northern borders of Panjab districts of Sialkot and Gurdaspur Ḍōgrā is spoken. South-east of Jammu lies the district of Kangra ; here a dialect of Pañjābī is spoken which is closely allied to Ḍōgrā. [LSI p. 637]

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Sub-dialects. There are three sub-dialects of Ḍōgrā, namely, Kaṇḍiālī, the Kāṅgṛā dialect, and Bhaṭṭĕālī. Kaṇḍiālī is a mixture of standard Pañjābī and Ḍōgrā spoken in the hills of the north-east of Gurdaspur. The Kāṅgrā dialect is the main language of the tahsils of Kangra district, and Bhaṭĕālī is spoken in Western Chamba. Like Kaṇḍiālī, the Kāṅgrā Dialect is a mixture of Ḍōgrā and standard Panjabi, with also a few peculiarities of its own, while Bhaṭĕālī is a mixture of Ḍōgrā, Kāṅgrī, and Chaměālī.

[LSI p. 637]

Nouns : Gender. This follows standard Pañjābī.

Number and case. All nouns even those ending in consonants, have an oblique form singular differing from the nominative. In the case of masculine nouns, this oblique form usually ends in the indeterminate short vowel, sometimes written *e* sometimes *ai*, sometimes *ā*. The termination of the feminine oblique form singular is *-ā*. These terminations also occur in the northern dialects of Lahndā and Western Pahāṛī.

Vocative and (optionally) the accusative-dative are formed without postpositions.

The postpositions are, -acc. -dat., *-kī* or *-gī*, *-kachh*, 'to' ; instr., *-kane*, 'by' ; abl., *-thwā*, *-thō*, *-kachha*, 'from' ; gen. *-dā* as in standard Pañjābī, obl. masc. also *-dai* ; loc., *vich*, 'in' ; *pās*, 'near' ; *par*, 'on' ; agent *-ne* or *-nai*, 'by'. [LSI pp. 643-644]

Adjectives. Adjectives ending in *-ā* are thus declined : Masc. sing., direct, *kālā*, 'black, ; obl., *kāle* ; plur., direct, *kāle* ; plur. obl., *kālẽ* ; fem. sing., direct, *kālī* ; obl. *kālīā* ; plur., direct *kalīã* ; obl.. *kālīẽ*. In other respects adjectives are treated as in standard Pañjābī. [LSI p. 644]

Pronouns. The nominative pronominal forms are ; *aũ*, *maĩ*, *mẽ*, 'I' ; *as*, 'we' ; *tũ*, 'thou' ; *tus*, 'you' ; *ō*, *oh*, 'he, she, it, that' ; *ie*, *eh*, *ehe* ; 'this' ; *jō*, 'who' ; *seh*, 'he, that' ; *kun*, *kaun*, 'who ?' ; *keh*, 'what ?' ; *kichh*, *kijh*, 'anything' ; *apū*, 'self'.

The accusative-dative forms of the personal pronouns are note-worthy. They are *mikī*, *migī*, or *mī*, 'me' ; *tukī* or *tugī*, 'thee'; *usī*, 'him'. [LSI pp. 644-645]

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Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The conjugation of the present tense is as under :

'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hã̃, ã̃*	*haĩ̃, hẽ̃, aĩ̃, ẽ̃*
2.	*haĩ̃, hẽ̃, aĩ̃, ẽ̃*	*hō, ō*
3.	*hai, he, ai, e*	*haĩ̃, hẽ̃, aĩ̃, ẽ̃, hain*

The past tense is *thā*, or *sā*, which, as usual, is treated like an adjective. Thus, masc. plur. *the* ; fem. sing. *thī* ; fem. plur. *thiã̃*. 'I was' is *sã̃*.

Active verb. The infinitive is formed by adding *-nā*, to the root ; thus, *mārnā*, 'to strike'.

The present participle is formed by adding *-dā* or *-nā* to the root ; thus, *mārdā*, or *mārnā*, 'striking'.

The present participle is formed by adding *-iā*, *-iāda* or *-idā* to the root ; thus, we have *māriā*, *mariāda* or *mārīdā*' 'struck'. There are occasional instances of neuter participles as in *chūmiã̃*, 'kissed'.

The present subjunctive (old present indicative) and the future are conjugated as under :

'I may strike, I strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārā*	*marẽ̃, mārche*
2.	*mārẽ̃*	*mārō*
3.	*māre*	*mārẽ̃, māren*

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'I shall strike' etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*māran*	*māran, mārge* (fem. *-giă*)
2.	*marga* (fem. *gī*)	*mārgiō, mārge* (fem. *-giă*)
3.	*marag*	*mārgă, mārgan, mārañge, mārañgaṇ*

Instead of *mārga* (*-gī*) we may have *mārgha* (*-ghī*), and, instead of *mārge* (*-giă*), *mārghe* (*-ghiă*).

The imperative forms are *mār*, 'strike thou'; *marō*, 'strike ye'; *mārche, mārchai*. 'let me, thee, him, us, you, them, strike'.

The participle tenses are formed as in standard Pañjābī.

The passive voice is formed with *janā*, as in Pañjābī.

Causals and double causals are also formed as in standard Pañjābī. [LSI pp. 643-645]

THE KĀṄGRĀ DIALECT

533 The district of Kangra proper (excluding Kulu, Lahaul, and spiti) lies to the north of Hoshiarpur and to the south of the Chamba state. The language of Hoshiarpur is standard Pañjābī, those of Chamba and Mandi are forms of Western Pahāṛī and the main languages of that portion of Gurdaspur which lies to the west of Kangra are various forms of Ḍōgrā. In Kangra itself, on a part of the northern border, near Chamba, the Gādīs who inhabit that tract speak a form of Pahāṛī. Over the rest of the district we meet with a form of Pañjābī, which is mixed with the neighbouring Ḍōgrā and Pahāṛī, and even shows traces of the influence of Kāshmīrī.

In pronunciation, a short *e* is common, as in *seh* 'he'; *ṭehl*, 'service'. Sometimes a long *ū* is substituted for the final *a* of

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nouns, as in Kāshmīrī ; thus, *mahṇū* (almost pure Kāshmīrī), 'a man' ; *chhēlū*, 'a kid'. This is also common in the neighbouring Pahāṛī dialects.

In the declension of nouns all masculine nouns have an oblique singular form in *-e*, whether they end in a consonant or in a vowel. Thus, *babbe*, oblique form of *babb*, 'a father'. This method of forming the masculine oblique case singular, and the formation of the accusative-dative with *-kī* are both typical of Ḍogrā. Feminines ending in vowels and some ending in consonants form the oblique case singular by adding *-ā*, while others ending in consonants form it by adding *-ī*.

The suffix of the accusative-dative is *-kī* or *-jō*. That of the locative is *bich*. In other respects the declension of nouns follows Pañjābī.

Adjectives follow the rules of Pañjābī, except that an adjective agreeing with a noun in the agent case is itself put in that case. Thus, *lauhkẽ puttrẽ*, 'by the younger son'.

The nominative forms of the personal pronouns are ; *maĩ*, 'I' ; *assã*, 'we' ; *tū*, 'thou' ; *tussã*, 'you' ; *oh*, 'he, she, it'. Genitive forms *mhārā* and *tumhārā* are taken from Pahāṛī. This is *eh* ; 'who' is *jō*, *jeh* ; 'who ?' is *kuṇ* ; 'what ?' is *kyā* ; 'anything' is *kichh* ; 'self' is *appū*.

The verb substantive is conjugated in the present as follows :

'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hã, hai*	*hã, hĩ, haĩ*
2.	*hẽ, hai*	*hã, hā, haĩ*
3.	*hẽ, hai*	*hã, hai, hin, han*

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The past tense is sing. masc., *thā* or *thū* ; fem., *thī* ; plur. masc., *the* ; fem., *thiā*.

In the active verbs the infinitive and participles follow Pañjābī. Thus, the present participle is *mārdā* or *mārnā*, 'striking'. The present subjunctive follows the analogy of the verb substantive. Thus, *marē* or *mārai*, 'thou mayst strike' ; *marā̃*, 'I' or 'we may strike'. The first person plural may be *marīē*, as in Pañjābī. The only other tense which present irregularities is the future, which is conjugated as follows in the masc .

'I shall strike' etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārgā, marghā, marā̃gā, maragha*	*mārge, marghe*
2.	*mārgā, marghā*	*mārge, marghe*
3.	*mārgā, mārgha*	*mārge, marghe*

We now and then meet stray Pahāṛī forms of the future, such as *hōn*, 'he will be' ; *bhōla*, 'he will be'.

Contrary to the Pañjābī and Hindōstānī construction, the verb *bōlṇa*, 'to speak', is treated as a transitive verb in the past tenses. Thus, *lauhkẽ puttrẽ bōlia*, 'the younger son said'.

[LSI pp. 776-778]

BHAṬĔĀLĪ

534 The main dialect of the state of Chamba is known as Chamĕāḷī, and is a form of Western Pahāṛī. In the west of the

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state towards Jammu we find a dialect called Bhaṭĕālī. It is a kind of Ḍōgrā, but like Kāngrā is a mixed form of speech.

The case postpositions are :

Dat.-Acc., *kĕa, ki~kanē*

Abl., *kachhā~kichhā, vichchā~bichchā*

Gen., *dā*

Loc., *vichch~bichch*, 'in'

Nominative forms of personal pronouns are *maĩ*, 'I' ; *asā̃, asĩ̃*, 'we' ; *tū*, 'thou' ; *tusā̃, tusī*, 'you' ; *sē, hē, ō*, 'he, that'. The genitive plural forms of the first two personal pronouns are ; *sāṛā*, 'we' ; *tusāṛā, tuhāṛā, tuāṛā*.

'This' is *ēh* ; 'who' is *jē* ; 'who ?' is *kuṇ* ; 'what ?' is *kyā*.

Verbs. The verb substantive closely follows Kāṅgrā. Thus :

Present, 'I am', etc.

Sing.	Plur.
1. *hā̃*	*hā̃*
2. *haĩ*	*hā̃*
3. *hai*	*han, hin*

The past tense is *thā*, fem. *thī*, pl. *thē*, fem. *thiā̃*.

The active verb follows Kaṅgrā.

Besides the present tense formed in the usual way, by suffixing the verb substantive to the present participle, there is

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another present tense, in *nā*, resembling the infinitive in form. Thus *karnā*, 'I do (service)'. The Ḍōgrā present participle may end in *-nā*.

When *r* immediately precedes *n*, the two often become *ṇ*. Thus, *marnā*, 'I die', becomes, *maṇā*, and *karnā*, 'to do', becomes *kaṇā*. [LSI pp. 794-796]

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535 STANDARD LIST OF SELECT WORDS AND

English	*Majhī* (Amritsar)	*Pōwādhī* of Ambala
one	ikk	ikk
two	dō	dō
three	tinn, trai	tinn
four	chār	chār
hand	hatth	hatth
foot	pair	pair
head	sir	sir
a father	piō	piu
of a father	piōdā	piudā
to a father	piōnū̃	piunū̃
two fathers	dō piō	dō piu
I am	maĩ hã̃	ṃaĩ hã̃
thou art	tū̃ haĩ	tū̃ haĩ
he is	uh hai, ī	ōh hai
we are	asī hã̃, haĩ	asī hã̃
you are	tusī hō	tusī ō
they are	uh haĩ, han	ōh haĩṇ
I was	maĩ sã̃	maĩ sã̃
thou was	tū̃ saĩ	tū̃ saĩ
he was	uh sī	ōh sī
we were	asī sã̃	asī sã̃
you were	tusī sau	tusī sāō
they were	uh sē	ōh saṇ
I shall be	maĩ hōã̃gā	maĩ hōwã̃gā
I beat	maĩ mārdā-hã̃, mārnā-hã̃	maĩ mārdā-hã̃ (~mānā hā *and so throughout*)

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SENTENCES IN PAÑJĀBĪ

Malwaī (Ferozepore)	*Ḍogrī*	*Kangra*
ikk	ik	ikk
dō	dō	dō
tinn	trai	trai
chār	chār	chār
hatth	hath	hatth
pair	pair	pair
sir	sir	sir, muṇḍ
pēō	bab, babbā	babb
pēōdā	babbaidā	bābbedā
pēōnū̃	babbaigī	babbejō, babbe-ki
dō pēō	dō bab	dō babb
maĩ hã̄	aū̃ hã̄, ã̄	maĩ hã̄
tū̃ haĩ, hai	tū hẽ̄, ẽ̄	tū hē, hai
ōh hai	oh hai, ai, ē	seh hē, hai
asī̃ hã̄	as haĩ, aī̃, ẽ̄	assã̄ hã̄, haĩ, hū̃
tusī̃ ho	tus hō, ō	tussã̄ hã̄, haĩ, hā
ōh han	oh haĩ, aĩ, ẽ̄	seh hã̄, haĩ, hin, han
maĩ sã̄, sī	āū̃ sā, thā, sã̄	maĩ thā, thū
tū̃ saĩ, sī	tū̃ sā, thā,	tū thā, thū
ōh sī	oh sā, thā	seh, thā, thū
asī̃ sã̄, sī	as sē, thē	assã̄ the
tusī̃ sē, sī	tus sē, thē	tussã̄ the
ōh san, sī	oh sē, thē	seh the
maĩ hōmãgā	aū̃ hon	maĩ hū̃gā, hō̃ghā bhōla
maĩ mārdā-hã̄	āū̃ mārnā, mārdā	maĩ mārdā-hã̄

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English	*Majhī* (Amritsar)	*Pōwadhī* of Ambala
thou beatest	tū mārdā haĩ, mārnā haĩ	tū mārdā haĩ
he beats	uh mārdā-hai, mārnā hai	ōh mārdā-hai
we beat	asī mārdē haĩ, mārnē haĩ	asī mardē-hã
you beat	tusī mārdē-hō mārnē-hō	tusī mārdē-ō
they beat	uh mārdē-han, mārnē han	ōh mārdē-han
I beat (past)	maĩnaĩ māriā	maĩ māriā
thou beatest (past)	taĩnaĩ māriā	taĩ māriā
he beat (past)	uhnaĩ māriā	ōh nē māriā
we beat (past)	asānaĩ māriā	asã māriā
you beat (past)	tusãnaĩ māriā	tusã māriā
they beat (past)	unhãnaĩ māriā	ōhnã māriā
I shall beat	maĩ marãgā	maĩ mārãgā

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Malwaī (Ferozepore)	*Ḍōgrī*	*Kāngrā*
tũ mārdā-haĩ	tũ mārnā, mārdā	tū mārdā-hē
ōh mārdā-hai	oh mārnā, mārdā	seh mārdā-hē
asĩ mārdē hã̃	as mārnā, mārdā	assã̃ mārde-hã̃
tusĩ mārdē-hō	tus mārnā, mārdā	tussã̃ mārde-hã̃
maĩ māriā	mẽ̃ māriā	maĩ māriā
ōh mārdē han	oh mārnā, mārdā	seh mārde-hã̃
tū māriā	tudh māriā	taĩ (~ tudh māriā)
us māriā	us māriā	tinī māriā
asī māriā	asẽ̃ māriā	assã̃ māriā
tusĩ māriā	tusẽ̃ mariā	tussã̃ māriā
ohnã̃-nē mariā	unẽ̃ māriā	tinã̃ (~ tinhã̃) mariā
maĩ mārã̃gā	āũ māran	maĩ mārgā, mārghā, mārã̃gā.

[LSI pp. 806-823]

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VOL. IX, PART II

INDO-ARYAN FAMILY

CENTRAL GROUP

RĀJASTHĀNĪ AND GUJARĀTĪ

LSI—123

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RĀJASTHĀNĪ

536 The name Rājasthānī, as connoting a language, has been invented for the purposes of this Survey, in order to distinguish it from Western Hindī on the one hand, and from Gujarātī on the other.

Language boundaries. On its east, Rājasthānī is bounded by the Braj Bhākhā and Bundēlī dialects of Western Hindī. On its south, it has Bundēlī, Marāṭhī, Bhīlī, Khandēśī, and Gujarātī. On its west it has Sindhī and Lahndā, and on its north it has Lahndā, Pañjābī and Bāngrū dialects of Western Hindī.

[LSI p. 1]

537 *Relationship to neighbouring languages.* As explained in the general introduction to the group, the areas now occupied by Pañjābī, Gujarātī, and Rājasthānī, which are classed as languages of the Central Group, were originally occupied by languages belonging to the Outer Circle. Over them the language of the Central Group, now represented in its purity by Western Hindī, gradually spread in a wave which diminished in force the further it proceeded from the centre, Rājasthānī and especially Western Rājasthānī presents several traces of the older outer language which once occupied Rajputana and Central India. Such are, in Western Rājasthānī, the pronunciation of *ā* like *a* in 'ball', of *ē* and *ai* like that *a* in 'hat', and of *au* like the *o* in 'vote'. Such, too, are the common pronunciation of *chh* as *s* and the inability to pronounce a pure *s* when it really does occur, an *h*- sound being substituted. Again Rājasthānī nouns have the oblique form in *-ā*, as in most outer languages, and in the west it forms the genitive with *-r* as in Bengali. Eastern Rājasthānī, like the Outer Lahndā, forms its future in *-s*, and in the west we find a true passive voice, forms unknown or almost unknown at the present day in Western Hindī. [LSI pp. 1-2]

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538 *Dialects.* Rājasthānī contains five dialects, those of the West, of the Central-East, of the North-East, and two of the South-East. The most important of all, whether we consider the number of its speakers, or the area which it covers is the Western dialect, commonly known as Marwāṛī. It is spoken, in various forms, in Marwar, Mewar, Eastern Sindh, Jaisalmer, Bikaner, the South Panjab and the North-West of the Jaipur state. The area occupied by Mārwāṛī is greater than that occupied by all the other Rājasthānī dialects put together. The Central-East Dialect is recognised under two well-known names, Jaipurī and Hāṛauṭī, and there are other varieties as well. North-Eastern Rājasthānī includes the Mēwātī of Alwar, Bharatpur, and Gurgaon, and the Ahīrwāṭī of the Ahīr country south and south-west of Delhi. It is the form of Rājasthānī which agrees most closely with Western Hindī. The principal South-Eastern dialect is the Mālvī, spoken in Malwa and the adjoining country. It is an intermediate form of speech between Bundēlī and Gujarātī. The other South-Eastern dialect is Nīmāḍī. [LSI pp. 2-3]

Rājasthānī dialects form a group among themselves, differentiated from Western Hindī on the one hand and from Gujarātī on the other hand. They are entitled to the dignity of being classed as together forming a separate independent language. If they are to be considered as dialects of some hither to acknowledged language, then they are dialects of Gujarātī.

In the inflexion of nouns they agree with Gujarātī and differ from Western Hindī. The postpositions they use in the declension of nouns are either peculiar to them or else agree more often with Gujarātī than with Western Hindī.

The conjugation of verbs differs but slightly in all the Rājasthānī dialects, but even in this Rājasthānī has struck out a path for itself in the formation of the first and third personal plural, and of the imperfect tense. In one important point, the formation of the present definite, it agrees with Gujarātī in adopting a principle which is altogether foreign to the genius of Western Hindī.

Taking the dialects separately, Mēwātī is the one which most nearly resembles Western Hindī. Here and there we find in Mālvī

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a point of agreement with Bundēlī, while Jaipurī and Mārwāṛī agree most closely with Gujarātī. [LSI p. 15]

MĀRWĀṚĪ

539 Standard Mārwāṛī is spoken in the Rajputana state of Marwar-Mallanī. The dialect, in a more or less impure condition, is also spoken on the east, in the neighbouring British districts of Ajmer and Marwara and in the states of Kishangarh and Mewar; on the south in the states of Sirohi and Palanpur; on the west in the Sind district of Thar and Parkar and in the state of Jaisalmer; and on the north in Bikaner, in the Shēkhāwāṭī tract of the state of Jaipur, and in the south of Panjab. [LSI p. 16]

Compared with Jaipurī. Standard Mārwāṛī varies but little from Jaipurī. We may note three main points of difference. In Jaipurī the postposition of the genitive is *-kō*, while in standard Mārwāṛī it is *-rō*. In Jaipurī the verb substantive is *chhũ*, 'I am', *chhō*, 'was'; in Mārwāṛī it is *hũ*, 'I am', *hō*, 'was'. In Jaipurī there are two forms of the future. One of the typical sounds in *-s*, as in *mar^{a}syũ*, 'I shall strike'. The other takes the suffix *-lō*, which changes for gender and number; thus, *marũ-lō*, 'I shall strike'. In Mārwāṛī, there are three forms. In one of these the typical sound is *-h*, as in *mar^{a}hũ*, 'I shall strike'. In another *-la* is added, which does not change for gender or number, as in *marũ-la*, 'I shall strike', while the third adds *-gō*, like the Hindī *-gā*. [LSI p. 16]

Sub-dialects. Standard Mārwāṛī is spoken in the centre of the Marwar state. In the north-east of the state, and in Kishangarh, Ajmer and West Merwara the dialect is somewhat mixed with Jaipurī. Further to the south-east in Mewar and the neighbourhood, there is a well-known eastern form of Mārwaṛī known as Mēwāṛī or Mērwāṛī, according to locality. In south Marwar, in the state of Sirohī, and in the north of Palanpur in Gujarat, the Mārwāṛī is affected by Gujarātī, and we have a southern sub-dialect. In west Marwar, in Jaisalmer and in Thar and Parkar of Sind, the influence of Sindhī makes itself felt.

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Finally there is a northern Mārwāṛī in Bikaner, the neighbouring parts of Bahawalpur, and Shēkhāwāṭī of Jaipur, in which we again find Mārwāṛī merging into Jaipurī, and Bāgṛī of north-east Bikaner, and the south Panjab, in which it merges into Pañjābi and Bāngarū. [LSI pp. 16-17]

Pronunciation. In *ã*, the termination of the oblique plural of nouns, the *ā* is pronounced broadly something like the *a* in 'all'. The diphthongs *ai* and *au* have each two sounds. In *tatsama* words they are pronounced as in Sanskrit. In *tadbhava* words they are pronounced more shortly. The *ai* is sounded almost like the *a* in 'hat' and the *au* almost like the *o* in 'hot'. The letters *ch* and *chh* are quite commonly pronounced *s*. Thus, *chakkī*, 'a millstone', is often pronounced *sakkī* and *chhāchh*, 'buttermilk', as *sās*. The cerebral *ḷ* is very common. It usually represents a single *l* in Prakrit. Thus, the Prakrit *chaliō*, 'gone', becomes, in Mārwāṛī, *chaḷiyō*. A dental *l* represents a Prakrit double *ll*. Thus, Prakrit '*challiō*, 'gone' becomes, in Mārwāṛī *chāliyō*. [LSI p. 20]

Nouns. The nominative plural of *tadbhava* masculine nouns in *-ō* is formed by adding *-ā*, and the nouns ending in a consonant remain unchanged. The obl. plural of such nouns is formed by adding *-ã*. Thus, *ghōḍã*. The *tadbhava* feminine nouns also form their plural nominative as well as oblique by adding *-ã*.

The usual postpositions are :

Acc. Dat.	*nãĩ̃*, *nãĩ*, *kanãĩ*, *rãĩ*
Instr. and Abl.	*-sũ̃*, *ũ̃*
Genitive	*-rō*, *kō*
Locative	*-mẽ̃*, *mãĩ*, *māhãĩ*, *māī*, *mãy*.

The genitive terminations are liable to change in eastern Rajputana. *Rō* changes to *rā* before a masculine noun in the oblique singular or plural ; to *-rī* before any feminine nouns ; and to *rẽ* or *rãĩ* (or somtimes *ra*) before any masculine noun in the

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agent or locative. As all postpositions of the dative are by origin the locative of genitive postpositions, we often find *rāĭ* used as a postposition of the dative, but in such cases it is attached, not to the oblique form, but to the locative of the noun. Thus, *ēk giṇāĭ-rāĭ dō ḍaw^{a}rā hā*, 'to a certain man there were two sons'.

[LSI pp. 20-22]

Adjectives. Adjectives nearly follow the customary Hindōstānī. The oblique masculine of *tadbhava* adjectives ending in *-ō* end in *-ā*, and the feminine in *-ī*. Thus, *kāḷō ghōḍō*, *kāḷa ghōḍa*, *kāḷī ghōḍī*. When a noun is in the agent case singular the adjective is put in the agent case also. Thus, *kāḷē ghōḍē lāt mārī*, 'the black horse kicked'.

In comparison the ablative is used, or (as in Gujarātī) the word *kar^{a}tā̃* is employed in the sense of 'than', as in *uchhāraṇ-mē mūḷ swarā̃ kar^{a}tā̃ lamba bōlijāĭ*, 'in pronunciation they are uttered longer than the original vowels'. [LSI pp. 22-23]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the first two personal pronouns are ; *hū̃*, *mhū̃*, 'I' ; *apā̃* (including the person addressed), *mhē*, *mē* (excluding the person addressed), 'we' ; *tū̃*, *thū*, 'thou', *thē*, *tamē*, 'you'. The honorific pronoun of the second person is *āp*, 'your honour'. The reflexive pronoun is also *āp*. *Āp-rō* is 'one's own'. The pronoun of the third person is supplied by the demonstrative pronoun *ō*, 'this', and *wō*, 'that'. They have feminine forms in the nominative singular only. The feminine forms are *ā*, *yā*, 'this' ; *wā*, *uwā*, 'that'. The relative and correlative pronouns are *jō* or *jikō*, 'who', and *sō* or *tikō*, 'he'. They have also a feminine form in the nominative. The relative pronoun is quite commonly used as a demonstrative, as is also the case in Eastern Rājasthānī. The interrogative pronouns are *kuṇ*, 'who ?' and *kā̃ī*, 'what ?'.

The pronouns have, as usual, special forms for the accusative-dative and for the genitive. [LSI pp. 23-25]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The verb in the present tense is conjugated as under :

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'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hã*	*hã*
2.	*hăĭ*	*hō*
3.	*hăĭ*	*hăĭ*

The past tense, masc. sing., is *hō*, plur., *hã*, fem. sing. and plur. *hī*, 'was'. It does not change for person.

The finite verb. The present participle is formed by adding *-tō* to the root ; thus *mārtō*, 'striking'.

The past participle is formed by adding *-iyō*, or *-yō* to the root ; thus, *māryō*, *māriyō* (fem. *mārī*), 'struck'.

The infinitive is formed by adding *-ṇ*, *-ṇō*, *-ṇũ*, or *-bō*, to the root ; thus, *māraṇ*, *mārᵃṇō*, *mārᵃnũ*, *mārᵃbō*, 'to strike'.

The simple present is conjugated as under :

'I strike, I may strike, I shall strike,' etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārũ*	*marõ*
2.	*mārăĭ*	*mārō*
3.	*mārăĭ*	*mārăĭ*

This tense is often employed as a present subjunctive or even as a future.

The present definite is formed by conjugating the simple present with the present tense of the auxiliary verb. Thus we have, *marũ-hũ*, 'I am striking', and so on.

The imperfect has two forms. Either it is formed as in Hindī, with the present participle, and the past tense of the auxiliary verb,

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or else the past tense of the auxiliary verb is added to a verbal noun is *ăĭ*. Thus, we have, *mārato-hō*, and *mārăĭ-hō* 'I was striking', and so on.

The future tense has three forms. The first form is formed directly from the root. It is conjugated as under :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mar^{a}hũ̃, mār^{a}sũ̃, marũ̃*	*mar^{a}hẵ, marã̃*
2.	*mār^{a}hī, mār^{a}sī, mārī*	*mār^{a}hō, marō*
3.	*mār^{a}hī, mār^{a}sī, mārī*	*mār^{a}hī, marī*

The forms with *s* belong to Eastern Rājasthānī and in Mārwāṛī, are only employed in the singular.

The second form is formed by adding *la* to the simple present. *La* corresponds to the *lō* of Eastern Rājasthānī, but does not change for gender or number, as *lō* does. Thus, *marũ̃-la*, 'I shall strike', and so on.

The third form is formed by adding *-gō*, which changes for gender and number, to the simple present. It properly belongs to Eastern Rājasthānī. Thus, *mārũ̃-gō*, 'I shall strike', and so on.

The past tenses are formed from the past participles as in Hindī. Transitive verbs use the passive or the impersonal construction, and intransitive ones the active or the impersonal construction. The impersonal construction, with the subject in the case of the agent, can be used with intransitive as well as with transitive verbs. Thus, *năĭn^{a}kiăĭ ḍaw^{a}răĭ gayō*, 'by the younger son it was gone, i.e. the younger son went'.

Causal verbs. These are formed generally as in Hindī except that the causal suffix is *-aw* not *-ā*, and, the double causal suffix is *-waw*, not *-wā*. Thus, *uḍ^{a}nō*, 'to fly', causal *uḍaw^{a}ṇō*, double causal, *uḍ^{a}waw^{a}ṇō*.

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Passive voice. Mārwāṛī has a regular inflected passive voice, formed by adding *-ij* to the root of the primitive verb. Thus *mār^{a}ṇō*, 'to strike' ; *marīj^{a}ṇō*, 'to be struck'. Even neuter verbs can take this passive, and are then constructed impersonally. Thus, from *āw^{a}ṇō*, 'to come', we have *awīj^{a}ṇō*, 'to be come'. *Mhăĭ-sũ awījăĭ nahĩ*, 'by me it is not come, I cannot come'.

Compound verbs. These are as in Hindī, except that intensive verbs are often formed by prefixing *rō*, *parō*, or *warō*, which are adjectives and agree in gender with the object of any tense (not only the past tenses) of a transitive verb, and with the subject of an intransitive verb. [LSI pp. 25-30]

EASTERN MÂRWĀṚĪ

540 The language of the East of Marwar state differs slightly from the standard form of the dialect.

To the east of the state lie, in order from north to south, the states of Jaipur and Kishangarh, and the districts of Ajmer and Merwara, Down the centre of Ajmer-Merwara, from north to south run the Arvali Hills which in Ajmer may be taken as the boundary between Mārwāṛī and Jaipurī. Further north in Merwara the range bifurcates, enclosing the Pargana of Beawar. The dialect spoken in the east, known as Mēwāṛī is an eastern form of Mārwāṛī slightly affected by Jaipurī, and on the west is the ordinary dialect of eastern Marwar, with its vocabulary here and there influenced by that of the neighbouring Bhīl tribes.

As has been stated above the language of the eastern part of the state of Marwar differs slightly from the standard. In the north-east it is approaching Jaipurī more and more as we go eastwards. We find here and there the Jaipurī genitive in *kō* instead of the Mārwāṛī one in *rō* ; the Jaipurī verb substantive *chhũ*, 'I am', instead of Mārwāṛī *hũ*, and the Jaipurī future with *-s*, instead of the Mārwāṛī future ending in *-la*.

[LSI pp. 70-71]

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MĒWĀṚĪ

541 Mēwāṛī, a form of Mārwāṛī is spoken over the whole of the Mewar state, except in the south-west and south, where the hill country is inhabited by Bhīls, who have their own language. This dialect is also spoken in two tracts which fall geographically in the same area These are the Gangapur pargana of the Nimach district of Gwalior and the Nimbahera pargana of Tonk. It is also spoken in various areas bordering on Mewar, viz., in the north of the Partapgarh state, in the north-east of Merwara, in the south of Ajmer, in the south of Kishangarh, and in the hilly tract known as the Khairāṛ, where the three states of Mewar, Jaipur, and Bundī meet.

The Mēwāṛī spoken in Udaipur partakes of the general character of all the dialects of Eastern Mārwāṛī. It is really a mixture of Mārwāṛī and Jaipurī. The typical Jaipurī *chhũ*, 'I am', *chhō*, 'was', do not occur ; instead we have Mārwāṛī *hũ* and *hō*. On the other hand, the suffix of the genitive is *-kō* as in Jaipurī, *-rō* only occurring in pronominal forms such as *mhārō*, 'my'. The other postpositions are *-nē* or *-kē* for the accusative-dative *hũ* (=Mārwāṛī *ũ*) for the ablative, and *mã* for the locative. The pronouns are usually declined as in Mārwāṛī, but we sometimes meet Jaipurī like *vī*, the oblique form of *ū*, 'that'. In verbs there are some slight divergencies from the standard. Before the past tense of the transitive verbs the nominative is sometimes used instead of the agent, as in *lhōṛ^{a}kyō kahyō*. 'the younger (son) said'. The plu-perfect takes the force of the imperfect, as in *khāwa-hā*, 'they were eating' ; *chawōhō*, 'he was wishing'. The verb *dēṇō*, 'to give' ; makes its past tense *didō*, 'he gave', and similarly we have *kidō*, 'he made'. The word for 'and' is the Jaipurī *ar* or *har*. [LSI pp. 78-79]

SOUTHERN MĀRWĀṚĪ

542 In the south-east of the Marwar state we come upon a new disturbing element. This is the Bhīl dialects of the Arvali Hills. They are closely connected with Gujarātī, but here and there have borrowed from Mālvī. We hence see in the dialects of south-east

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Marwar and of Sirohi, many forms some of which are almost pure Gujarātī, and some which are Mālvī. Near the southern boundary of Marwar, where it marches with Palanpur, the Gujarāti element is still stronger and is borrowed direct from that language and not through Gujarātī.

Four sub-dialects may be classed as falling under southern Mārwāṛī. There are (1) Gōḍwāṛī, immediately to the west of the Bhīl country, (2) Sirōhī, spoken in Sirohi state and the adjoining part of Marwar, (3) Dēorāwāṭī, spoken immediately to the west of Sirohi, and (4) Mārwāṛī-Gujarātī. [LSI p. 87]

GŌḌWĀṚĪ

543 In Marwar, immediately to the west of Nyār kī bōlī, a Bhil dialect, in the eastern part of parganas Sojat, Balī, and Desuri, the Mārwāṛī is called Gōḍwāṛī. It is a mixed dialect, possessing many Gujarātī (Bhīl) and some Mālvī forms. The consonant *ch* usually becomes *s* as in *sarāwō* for *charāwō*, 'to graze (cattle)'. *S* becomes *h*. Thus, *svkh-dēv*, 'a proper name', pronounced *hukh-dēv*, *hārō* for *sārō*, 'all'. The following Gujarātī borrowings may be noted :—*bē*, 'two' ; *ḍīkᵃrō* (Gujarātī *dikᵃrō*) 'a son' ; *tī* (Gujarātī *thī*), 'from' ; *hatō*, 'he was'. *Karē-nē* (Gujarātī *karī-nē*), 'having done'. The use of *thō* (fem. *thī*) for 'was' is borrowed from Mālvī. The future is as in Standard Mārwāṛī. [LSI p. 88]

SIRŌHĪ

544 The Sirōhī dialect is spoken in the state of Sirohi and in a small tract of Pargana Jalor of Marwar, which lies on the Sirohi frontier.

In this dialect the mixture of Gujarātī is very strong. Nouns usually follow the Mārwāṛī declension, and the verb substantive partly belongs to that dialect, but nearly the whole conjugation of the finite verb is pure Gujarātī. The only exception is the

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future tense which follows Mārwāṛī. The neuter gender of Gujarātī is regularly employed, and as in that language ends in *-ũ*, with a plural in *-ā̃*.

The following peculiarities may be noticed :

W, is often dropped when initial, as in *waṇ* or *aṇ*, 'him', and it is equally often added at the beginning of a word as in, *wuō* for (*h*) *uō*, 'became'.

Ch, *chh*, *ś* and *sh* are regularly pronounced *s*. Thus, *sarāwō* for *charāwō*, 'to graze (cattle)' ; *sēr* for *śuhr*, 'a city' ; but uncompounded *sha* is pronounced *kha* or *ka*, as in *minak* for *manush*, 'a man'.

The aspiration of aspirated consonants is usually dropped. Thus, *dērũ* for *dēharũ*, 'a temple' ; *gar* and *ghar*, 'a house' ; *jāḍ* and *jhāḍ*, 'jungle'.

Initial *s* is pronounced as *h*. Thus, *hārũ*, 'all' ; *hūr*, 'swine'. When it is final it is not pronounced at all. Thus, *das*, 'ten' is pronounced as *da*.

The past tense of verb substantive is *tō*, 'was', which has the following forms :

	Sing.	Plur.
masc.	*tō*	*tā*
fem.	*tī*	*tī*
neut.	*tũ*	*tā̃*

[LSI pp. 90-91]

WESTERN MĀRWĀṚĪ

545 The country to the north and west of Marwar is one vast sandy plain called the *Thaḷ* or sandy waste, which, commencing in Marwar, stretches into Bikaner on the north and into Jaisalmer, Sind and Mallani on the west and south. The dialect of the *Thaḷ*

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of Bikaner will be dealt with later on. The dialect of the rest of the *Thaḷ* may be styled Western Mārwāṛī.

Immediately to the west of Mārwāṛī, the language is Sindhī, and hence Western Mārwāṛī is Mārwāṛī more or less mixed with that language. Everywhere it is clearly Mārwāṛī in the main, the Sindhī element, even when it is most prominent, playing quite subordinate part. We may consider Western Mārwāṛī under two heads—Thaḷī proper and the mixed dialects.

Thaḷī proper is spoken in the north-west Marwar and in east Jaisalmer. It is in the main good Mārwāṛī, it has a slight admixture of Sindhī, and also of the Gujarātī spoken further south.

The following are the main peculiarities of the dialect :

Amongst the signs of the influence of Sindhī we may note that a final short *a* is often pronounced in a monosyllabic word with a long vowel. Thus, *tīna*, not *tīn*, 'three', *satta*, 'seven' ; *gāya*, 'cow' ; but *kan*, not *kana*, 'an ear', because the vowel is not long one. So also as in Sindhī, we often find short vowels where other Indian languages have long ones. Thus, *nak*, not *nāk*, 'nose' ; *hath* not *hāth*, 'a hand'. The pleonastic termination *-ḍō* or *-ṛō* occurs both in Eastern and Western Rājasthānī, but it is especially common in Thaḷī and Sindhī. Thus, *chhōṭō-ṛō*, 'the younger'. The words *mā̃-jō*, 'my', *tā-jō*, 'thy', have the Sindhī suffix *-jō* of the genitive.

On the other hand the influence of Gujarātī is seen in words like *bē*, 'two' ; *dikᵃrō*, 'a son', and the future is formed with *ś* as in *jaīś* (pronounced *jaīsh*) 'I will go'.

In the declension of nouns, we may note that nouns, etc., of the form *ghōṛō*, with a final *ō*, form the oblique singular in *-ē*, not *-ā*. Their nominative plural ends in *-ā* and the oblique plural in *-ā̃* as usual. Thus, *bhalō māṇas*, 'a good man' ; *bhalē māṇas-rō*, 'of a good man'.

The postposition of the accusative-dative is *-nā̃*. In other

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respects the declension of nouns does not differ from that in standard Mārwāṛī.

The declension of personal pronouns is peculiar. The words for 'my' and 'they' (only in the singular) take the Sindhī termination *-jō* of the genitive instead of the Mārwāṛī *-rō*. Thus, *mā-jō*, 'my' ; *tā-jō*, 'thy' ; but *mahā-rō*, 'our' ; *thā-rō*, 'your'. Another form of a possessive genitive occurs in *mayālō*, 'mine' ; *tayalō* or *teālō*, 'thine', 'I' is *hũ* and 'thou' is *tū*.

The demonstrative pronouns are *ē*, 'this' and *ō* 'that'.

'Who ?' is *kūṇ* ; 'of whom ?' is *kē-rō* ; 'what ?' is *kī* ; 'anything' is *kĩ* ; and 'why ?' is *kyā*.

The present tense of verb substantive is *āi* 'am, art, is, are', which does not change for number or person. Sometimes it appears in the form *ē* or *ī*, and *ī* is the regular form used as an auxiliary.

The past is *hātō*, fem. *hātī*, plur. (masc.) *hātā*, (fem.) *hatī*. We also have *tō* instead of *hātō*.

Finite verb. The present definite is formed by adding the auxiliary *ī* to the simple present. Thus :

'I am striking', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*marā-ī*	*marā-ī*
2.	*marē-ī*	*marō-ī*
3.	*marē-ī*	*marē-ī*

The imperfect is formed with *hātō* or *tō*. Thus, *mar^{a}tō-hātō* or *mar^{a}tō-tō*.

The future is formed on the Gujarātī system. Thus :

'I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*marīś*	*mar^{a}śā*
2.	*marīś*	*mar^{a}śo*
3.	*mar^{a}śe*	*mar^{a}śe*

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The second person singular is the same as the first person singular, thus agreeing with some of the dialects of north Gujarat.

In other respects the regular conjugation does not differ from that of the standard Mārwāṛī.

There are, as usual, many contracted forms, such as *kayō*, 'said' ; *rayō*, 'remained' ; *rē-ī*, 'is remaining' ; *payō*, 'fallen' ; *mō*, 'dead'. [LSI pp. 109-111]

NORTHERN MĀRWĀṚĪ
BĪKĀNĒRĪ-SHĒKHĀWĀṬĪ

546 To the north of the Marwar state lie the state of Bikaner and the Shēkhāwāṭī tract of the state of Jaipur. In the north-east of Bikaner, in the country near Hissar, the language is Bāgṛī. Over the rest of the state the language is Bīkānērī. Bīkānērī is also spoken in Bhawalpur along the common frontier of the two states.

Immediately to the east of the Bikaner state lies the Shēkhāwāṭ tract of Jaipur. The language of Shēkhāwāṭī bears the same name as the tract in which it is spoken Bīkānērī and Shēkhāwāṭī are the same languages. They are simply Mārwāṛī with an infusion of Jaipurī, which naturally increases as we go eastwards.

The following peculiarities of the dialect may be noted :

In the declension of nouns the oblique form of strong *tadbhava* nouns in *-ō*, like *ghōṛō*, 'a horse' often ends in *-ai* (especially in the ablative) as in *bīkai-sũ*, from *bīkā* (nom. *bikō*). In Bīkānērī, the postposition of the genitive is the Mārwāṛī *-rō*, while in Shēkhāwāṭī it is the Jaipurī *-kō*. This is one of the few points of difference between the two dialects.

In the pronoun of the first person, the form of the genitive varies, we have *mhārō*, *mhār^{a}lō*, *mērō*, and *mēr^{a}lō* 'my', so we have *thārō*, *thār^{a}lō*, *tērō* and *tēr^{a}lō*, 'thy'. In Shēkhāwāṭī we often find Jaipurī forms of the pronoun of the third person, such as *bō*, 'he' ; *bī̃*, 'by him'. In Bīkānērī, the Mārwāṛī forms are used. *Kā* is 'what ?'.

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Over the whole tract, both the Mārwāṛī and the Jaipurī forms of the verb substantive are in constant use. Both *hũ* and *chhũ*, 'I am', and *hō* and *chhō*, 'was'.

In the finite verb, the future is usually formed with *-s*, as in *mar^{a}syũ*, 'I shall strike'. In Shēkhāwāṭī, we also now and then find the Jaipurī (Tōrāwāṭī) form with *-gō* (*mārũgō*). Tōrāwāṭī is the form of Jaipurī spoken immediately to the east of Shēkhāwāṭī. In other respects the verb is conjugated as in Mārwāṛī.

[LSI pp. 130-131]

BĀGṚĪ

547 The word Bāgṛī literally means the language of the Bāgaṛ country. The home of the standard Bāgṛī is the north-east corner of the Bikaner state. Immediately to its east and north lies the Panjab district of Hissar. The part of Hissar which lies to the north is mainly Sirsa, in the south of which Bāgṛī is spoken. Bāgṛī is also spoken in that part of the rest of the Hissar district which lies to the east of Bikaner. It extends north even into a small tract of the Patiala state. Here it has to its north Pañjābī, and to its east Bāṅgarū. The western boundary of Bāṅgarū may be defined as a line passing through Fatehabad, Hissar and Kairu. There is, however, no hard and fast division between the two forms of speech. West of the line just described there is a good deal of debatable ground, a considerable portion of the tract being held by Bāgṛī immigrants, and the effect of their immigration has been to introduce a decidedly Bāṅgrū element into their Bāgṛī rather than the reverse. South of Hissar lie the state of Loharu and the Dadri Nizāmet of the Jind state. In Loharu the language is Bāgṛī, and so it is in Dadri, except in the eastern and, where it is Bāṅgarū.

[LSI pp. 147-148]

Pronunciation. The pronunciation of Bāgṛī mainly differs from that of the neighbouring Pañjābī and Bāṅgarū in being broader in its vowel sounds. The vowel *ā* sounds almost like the

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a in 'all'. Thus, *kākā*, 'an uncle', is pronounced *cawcaw*, and the people themselves often spell this sound with *o* not *a*. Similarly in pronouncing the other vowels a speaker of Bāgṛī makes them as broad as he can, while a speaker of Pañjābī often cuts them short, at the same time often doubling the following consonant, e g. Bāgṛī *ṭabar*, 'a child', Pañjābī *ṭabbar*, 'a family'. The Mārwāṛī pronunciation of *ē* or *ai* like the *a* in 'hat' also prevails.

As in standard Mārwāṛī, a medial *h* is commonly dropped, as in *kasũ*, for *kah*^{a}*sũ*, 'I will say'; *kayō* for *kahyō*, 'said'. In Bikaner and Sirsa Bāgṛī often prefers an initial *b* to *w* or *v*. Thus, *bō*, not *wō*, 'he', but in other parts of the Bāgṛī area which are more under the influence of Pañjābī, Bāṅgarū, or Ahīrwāṭī, the *w* or *v* sound is retained. Bāgṛī having Pañjābī to its north, and Bāṅgarū and Ahīrwāṭī to its east, varies considerably from place to place, as it comes under the influence of these languages.

[LSI pp. 148-149]

Nouns. The declension of nouns closely follows Mārwāṛī. Strong *tadbhava* nouns of the *a* base, have their nominative singular in *-ō*, as in Mārwāṛī. The case of agent of these nouns ends in *-ē* in the singular and *-ã* in the plural. Thus, *ghōṛē*, *ghōṛa*. The suffix *nai* or *nē* is not used for this case except under the influence of neighbouring languages. The oblique plural of all nouns ends in *-ã*.

The Rājasthānī locative in *-ē* or *-ã* is also common. Thus, *gharē* or *gharẽ*, 'in a house'.

For the case postpositions, the dative-accusative suffixes are *-gē*, *-nē* and (in Hissar) *-nai*, *-nũ*. The last is borrowed from Pañjābī. The suffixes of the instrumental-ablative are *-sũ* and *-ta*.

The genitive suffix is peculiar to Bāgṛī, and is typical of the dialect. It is *-gō*, oblique *-gā*, locative and agent, *-gē*, fem. *-gī*. Instead of *-gō*, *-gā*, *-gē*, *-gī*, the true Mārwāṛī forms *rō*, *rā*, *rē*, *rī* also often appear and subject to same rules, and *mutatis mutandis*.

[LSI pp. 149-150]

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Adjectives. Strong *tadbhava* adjectives of *a*-bases, end in *-ō*, and are treated exactly like the genitive terminations.

[LSI p. 150]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the personal pronouns are ; *hũ*, 'I' ; *mhẽ*, 'we' ; *tũ*, 'thou' ; *thẽ*, 'you'. The agentive singular forms are *maĩ* and *taĩ*. The demonstrative pronouns are *yō* or *ō*, 'this', and *bō*, 'that'. They have feminine forms in the nominative singular only, viz. *yā* or *ā*, 'this' ; *bā*, 'that'. The Hissar forms which differ slightly from the standard Bāgṛī ones, are ; *yeh* ; fem. *yā*, *ā*, 'this' ; *woh*, fem. *wā*, 'that'.

The interrogative pronouns are *kuṇ*, 'who ?', and *kẽ*, 'what ?', In Hissar we have *kīhyã* and *kãĩ* for 'what ?'. [LSI p. 150]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present tense is conjugated as under :

'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hũ*	*hã*
2.	*hai*	*hō*
3.	*hai*	*hai*

It will be seen that it follows Mārwāṛī. In Sirsa, and other parts affected by Bāṅgrū or Ahirwāṭī we have :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*sũ*	*sã*
2.	*sai, sẽ*	*sō*
3.	*sai, sẽ*	*san*

The forms of the past tense are :

	Sing.	Plur.
masc.	*hō*	*hā*
fem.	*hī*	*hī*

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In Hissar and other parts affected by Bāṅgrū and Ahīrwāṭī, we have *thō*, *thā*, *thī*.

Finite verb. As usual in Rājasthānī the tense which in Hindōstānī is the present subjunctive is used in its original sense of a present indicative. Thus :

'I strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārũ*	*mārā̃*
2.	*mārē*	*mārō*
3.	*mārē*	*mārē*

In Hissar, the third person plural is *marẽ*.

The definite present is formed by conjugating the preceding tense (not the present participle) with the verb substantive. Thus, *mārũ-hũ̃*, 'I am striking', etc.

The imperfect is formed by conjugating the past tense of the auxiliary verb with a verbal noun in *ē*. It does not change for person. Thus, *mārē-hō*, 'I was striking', etc. In Hissar and neighbourhood the present participle is used, as in Hindōstānī. Thus, *hũ̃ mārᵃtō-thō*.

The future, as in Bikaner and elsewhere in Rajputana has the sound s as its characteristic. It is conjugated as follows :

'I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārᵃsyũ̃*	*mārᵃsā̃*
2.	*mārᵃsī*	*mārᵃsō*
3.	*mārᵃsī*	*mārᵃsī*

In Hissar the *s* becomes *ś*, pronounced like an English *sh*,

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and we have the following conjugation :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārᵃśũ*	*mārᵃśā*
2.	*mārᵃśī*	*mārśō*
3.	*mārᵃśī*	*marᵃśan*

The infinitive is formed by adding *-bō*, *-ṇō*, or *aṇ* to the root ; thus, *mārᵃbō*, *mārᵃṇō*, *māraṇ*, 'to strike'.

The present participle is formed by adding *-tō* to the root ; thus, *mārᵃtō*, 'striking'. The past participle is formed by adding *-yō* to the root ; thus, *māryō*, 'struck'.

From the participles the remaining tenses can be formed as in Hindōstānī. Tenses formed from the past participle of a transitive verb require as usual the subject to be in the agentive case. [LSI pp. 151-152]

CENTRAL FASTERN RĀJASTHĀNĪ

548 The Central Eastern dialect of Rājasthānī contains four forms of speech. These are Jaipurī, Ajmērī, Kishangaṛhī, and Hāṛauṭī. All these four forms of speech differ so slightly that they are really one dialect which can be named Eastern Rājasthānī. Of the four, Jaipurī is the most important and may be taken as typical of the rest.

Eastern Rājasthānī is spoken in the centre and south of the Jaipur state and in the Thakurate of Lawa and those parts of Tonk which are close to Jaipur, in the greater part of Kishangarh state, and the adjoining portion of Ajmer district, in the Hāṛā states of Bundi and Kota (hence the name Hāṛauṭī), and in the adjoining portions of the states of Gwalior, and Jhallawar.

[LSI p. 31]

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Sub-dialects. There are in all nine sub-dialects. Six have been reported from Jaipur. These are Tōrāwāṭī, of the Tomar country in the north of the state, standard Jaipurī in the centre, Kāṭhairā and Chaurāsī in the south-west, and Nāgarchāl and Rājāwāṭī in the south-east. Kishangaṛhī is spoken over nearly the whole of the state of Kishangarh and in a small piece in the north of Ajmer, and Ajmērī over the east centre of the latter district. Hāṛauṭī is the dialect of Bundi and Kota, and also of the neighbouring portions of Jhallawar, Tonk, and Gwalior.

[LSI p. 31]

Pronunciation. There is a frequent interchange of the vowel *a* and *i*. Thus, *piṇḍat*, 'a *paṇḍit*' ; *siṛ gayō*, Hindōstānī *saṛ gayā*, 'it decayed'. In words borrowed from Persian ending in *h* followed by a consonant, an *i* is inserted as in *jhair* for *zahr*, 'poison', *sair* for *shahr*, 'a city'. In words usually the medial *h* is dropped and instead the initial consonant becomes aspirated ; thus, *khāṇī*, 'a story' ; *mhārāj* for *mahārāj*, 'a king'. Cerebral *ḷ* and *ṇ* are also met within the dialect.

Some monosyllabic words are enclitics, and are written as part of the preceding word. In such cases, when the enclitic word commences with *a* and the preceding word ends with a vowel, the initial *a* of the enclitic is usually, but not always, elided. Such enclitic words are *ar*, 'and' ; *ak*, 'that' ; *k* (for *kai*), or *as*, 'he, by him, his, she', etc. [LSI pp. 34-35]

Nouns. The genders are masculine and feminine. There are occasional occurrences of neuter, as in *suṇyā̃*, 'it was heard'. The masculine would be *saṇyō*, and the feminine *suṇī*.

Tadbhava nouns, which in Hindōstānī end in *-ā*, in Jaipurī end in *-ō*. Thus, *ghōṛō*, 'a horse'. The normal oblique form singular and nominative plural of these nouns ends in *-ā*, thus, *ghōṛā-kō*, 'of a horse' ; *ghōṛā*, 'horses'. The oblique plural ends in *-ã̄*, as *ghōṛã̄*. These nouns have also another oblique form in the singular ending in *-ai* ; thus, *ghōṛai*. This is employed as a locative, and means 'in a horse'. It is also used to form the case of the agent 'by a horse'.

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The postpositions which form cases are as follows :

Accusative	:	*nai, hai*
Dative	:	*nai, kanai*
Ablative	:	*sũ, saĩ*
Genitive	:	*kō*
Locative	:	*maĩ* (in), *ūpar~mālai* (on)

[LSI pp. 35-37]

Adjectives. The oblique masculine of *tadbhava* adjectives ending in *-ō* end in *-ā*, and feminine in *-ī*, as in Mārwāṛī.

Comparison is formed with the ablative, as in Hindōstānī. Thus, *ū-kō bhāī ũ-kī bhaĩṇ-sũ lambō chhai*, 'his brother is taller than his sister'. [LSI p. 37]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the first two personal pronouns are *maĩ*, 'I' ; *mhē* (excluding the person addressed), *āpā* (including him), 'we' ; *tū*, 'thou' ; *thē*, 'you'. The demonstrative pronouns, including the pronoun of the third person, are *yō*, 'this' ; and *wō* or *jō*, 'he, it, that'. Each of these pronouns has a feminine form ; *yā*, *wā*, and *jā*, respectively, in the nominative singular only. The reflexive pronoun is *āp*, 'self'. The interrogative pronouns are *kuṇ*, 'who ?' and *kãĩ*, 'what ?'. Neither changes in declension. The word *kãĩ* is typical of Jaipurī, which is hence locally called the *kãĩ-kãĩ-kī bōlī*. [LSI pp. 37-39]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The verb substantive in the present tense is declined as follows :

Present, 'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*chhũ*	*chhã*
2.	*chhai*	*chhō*
3.	*chhai*	*chhai*

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The past, 'I was', etc. is sing., masc., *chhō*, fem., *chhi*; plur., masc., *chhā*, fem. *chhī*. It does not change for person.

Finite verbs. The conjugation of the finite verb differs widely from that of the Hindōstānī. Not only are the auxiliary verbs different, but so are the radical tenses and participles of the verb.

In Hindōstānī the old simple present has lost its original meaning, and is now employed exclusively as the present subjunctive. In Jaipurī it is used not only as a present subjunctive but also in its true sense of a simple present indicative. It is conjugated as under:

'I strike', or 'may strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārũ*	*mārā*
2.	*mārai*	*mārō*
3.	*mārai*	*mārai*

The present definite is formed by conjugating not the present participle, but the simple present with the auxiliary. Thus, not *mārᵃtō-chhũ*, but *mārũ-chhũ*, 'I am striking'.

The imperfect is formed by appending an auxiliary verb to an oblique verbal noun in *ai*. Thus, *maĩ mārai-chhō*, not *maĩ mārᵃtō-chhō*, 'I was striking', literally, 'I was on-striking'.

The future has two forms. One is formed on the analogy of the Hindōstānī future, *-lā* or *-lō* being substituted for *-gā*. Thus, *maĩ mārũ-lā* or *maĩ mārũ-lō*, 'I shall strike'. In the plural *-lā* is alone used, and not *-lō*.

The second form of the future has *-sy* or *-si* for its characteristic sound and is the direct descendant of the old Saurasēnī Prakrit future. Thus, *maĩ-mārᵃ syũ*, 'I shall strike'.

The infinitive ends in *-bō* or *-ṇū*; thus, *mārᵃbō* or *mārᵃṇū*.

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The present participle ends in *-to* ; thus, *mārᵃtō*, 'striking'. The past participle ends in *-yō* (obl. sing. and nom. plur. masc. *-yā* ; fem. *-ī*). Thus, *māryō* (*māryā*, *marī*) 'struck'.

The past tenses of transitive verbs are constructed passively as in Hindōstānī, but it must be remembered that in Jaipurī the agent takes no termination, while it is the accusative that takes the termination *-nai*. Thus 'he struck the horse', would be :

Hindōstānī—	*usnē*	*ghōṛē-kō*	*mārā*
Jaipurī—	*wo*	*ghōṛā-nai*	*māryō*
English—	by-him	to-the-horse	it-was-struck.

The causals are formed as in Hindōstānī. [LSI pp. 39 42]

JAIPURĪ (TŌRĀWĀṬĪ)

549 The hilly district in the north of Jaipur state is known as Tōrāwāṭī, the ancient home of the Tōmar or Tuar Rajputs of Delhi. Tōrāwāṭī differs from standard Jaipurī in being mixed with Shēkhāwāṭī and Mēwātī, which are spoken to its north and west. It represents Jaipurī shading off into these two dialects.

We note the typical Jaipurī disuse of aspirates in the word *mē* for *mēh*, 'cloud or rain'. We may also note that *k* and *g* are interchangeable as in the root *thak* or *thag*, 'to be weary'. This is a very old peculiarity, dating from at least the 12th century.

The genitives singular of the first and second personal pronouns are *mērō* and *tērō*, 'my' and 'thy', respectively. The plurals are *mārō*, 'our', and *thārō*, 'your'.

The demonstrative pronouns are *ō*, *au*, or *yō*, 'this' ; *bō*, 'that'.

The interrogative pronouns are *kuṇ*, 'who ?' ; *kyā*, 'what ?'. *Janā* is 'then'.

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In other respects the grammar follows that of standard Jaipurī, and standard forms are also freely used instead of those given above. [LSI p. 173]

JAIPURĪ (KĀṬHAIṚA)

550 The dialect of that portion of Jaipur state which lies to the south of Sambhar lake and to the north-east of the Kishangarh state is known as Kāṭhaiṛā. It is Jaipurī with a few minor variations.

In this dialect *kī̃* may be used as the sign of the accusative-dative and *syū̃* as that of ablative. The agentive case of the second personal pronoun is *taĩ*, the nominative being *tū̃*. The demonstrative pronouns are ; *aĩ* or *ō* (fem, *a*), 'thus' ; *waĩ* or *bō* (fem. *ba*), 'that'.

All pronouns except those of the first and second persons, form the agent by adding the postposition *-nai*. This is not used with substantives.

In verbs, the verb 'to become' has the following irregular forms ; *haitā-ī̃*, 'immediately on becoming' ; *haibalō*, 'one who becomes' ; *kaī* (not *khaī*) is 'he said' ; *kiyo* is 'a thing said'. 'Gone' is *giyō*, *gayō* and *gyō*.

In other respects Kāṭhaiṛā is the same as standard Jaipurī. We may note the change of *i* to *a* in forms like *bakai-lī*, 'it will be sold' ; *bachārī*, 'considered'. There is usual disaspiration in *ādī*, 'half', *baṛ* for *baṛh*, 'enter'. [LSI p. 178]

JAIPURĪ (RĀJĀWĀṬĪ)

551 To the north-east of the area in which Nāgarchāl Jaipurī is used, and lying to the east of the portion of the Tonk state which is itself to the east of the Chaurāsī area, in the heart of the Jaipur territory, we find Rājasthānī Jaipurī spoken. Towards the north it

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is more mixed with standard Jaipurī. Rājāwāṭī has immediately to its east the Ḍāng dialects which have been grouped under Braj Bhākhā. It hence presents some irregularities. They nearly all appear in the conjugation of the verb *haibō* (Jaipurī *whaibō*), 'to become'. Its principal parts are as follows :

Infinitive, *haibō* or *haĩṇū*, 'to become'. Present participle, *haitō*. Past participle, *hīyō*, obl. masc. *hīyā* fem. *hī*.

The present tense is conjugated as under :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hũ̃*	*hã̃*
2.	*hai*	*hō*
3.	*hai*	*hai*

The future is *hũ̃-lō*, etc., or *haisyũ̃* etc. We may note the occurrence of the Gujarātī form of the impersonal construction in which the verb is attracted to agree with the object with *nai*. Thus, *chaṛī bachchã̃-nai dēkhyā* (not *dēkhyō*), 'the hen-sparrow saw the young ones'. Similarly, *chaṛī chaṛā-nai kīyō*, 'the hen-sparrow said to the cock'. [LSI p. 195]

HĀṚAUṬĪ

552 Hāṛauṭī is the language spoken in the states of Bundi and Kota, which are mainly inhabited by Hāṛā Rajputs. It is also spoken in the adjoining states of Gwalior, Tonk (Chabra), and Jhallawar.

As a dialect Hāṛauṭī belongs to the group of Eastern Rajasthānī dialects of which we have taken Jaipurī as the standard. It has to its east and south the Bundēlī dialect of Western Hindī and the Mālvī dialect of Rājasthānī and any peculiarities which it possesses are due to the influence of these two forms of speech.

We may take the dialect of the states of Bundi and Kota

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and of the north of Jhallawar as being the standard form of Hāṛauṭī, and here we recognize the following peculiarities. Over the whole of this area it hardly changes.

The vowel *e* is often preferred to *ai*. Thus, where Jaipurī has *kai*, 'to', Hāṛauṭī has *kē*.

The influence of Bundēlī is most marked in the case of the agent, which regularly takes the postposition *-nē*, while in Jaipurī the agent never takes this suffix. Thus, we have *chhōṭ^{a}kyā nē kahī*, 'the younger son said'. *-Nē* is, however, also used as a sign of the dative-accusative, like the *-nai* of Jaipurī, as in *kōī -nē kāī̃ nhai dētō*, 'no one used to give anything to him'.

Verbs of saying do not govern the dative with *nai* of the person addressed, as in Jaipurī, but take the ablative with *sū̃*, as in Western Hindī. Thus, *bāp-sū̃ kahī*, 'he said to the father'.

The pronouns show greater divergence from Jaipurī. All the Jaipur forms occur, but we have also *mhū̃* or *mū̃*, 'I'; *mhā*, 'we'; *mūī̃*, *mhāī̃* or *mēī̃*, 'to me'; *ma-nē*, 'by me (Agent)'; *tēī̃*, 'to thee'; *wāī̃* or *āī̃*, 'to him'. For 'this' (besides *yō*, feminine *yā*) we have *ī̃* used in the nominative as well as in the oblique form; similarly *ū̃* is both nominative and oblique for 'he', 'that'.

Saving for a few words peculiar to its vocabulary, Hāṛauṭī does not otherwise differ (if we allow for the frequent preference of *ē* to *ai*) from standard Jaipurī. [LSI pp. 203-204]

NORTH-EASTERN RĀJASTHĀNĪ

553 North-eastern Rājasthānī represents Jaipurī merging into Western Hindī, it possesses two sub-dialects; in one, Mēwātī, Jaipurī is merging into the Braj Bhākhā dialect, and in the other, Ahīrwāṭī, it is merging, through Mēwātī, into the Bāṅgarū dialect. Each is described separately in the following pages. [LSI p. 43]

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MĒWĀTĪ

554 Mēwātī is, properly speaking, the language of Mewat, the country of the Mēōs, but it covers a larger tract than this. It is the language of the whole of the state of Alwar, of which only a portion is Mewat. Mēwātī is also spoken in the north-west of the state of Bharatpur and in the south-east of the Punjab district of Gurgaon. These last two areas do fall within Mewat. To the north-west of the Alwar state there is situated the Kot Kasam Nizāmat of the Jaipur state and the Bawal Nizāmat of the Nabha state. Here also Mēwātī is spoken.

Sub-dialects. Mēwātī itself is a border dialect. It represents Rājasthāni fading off into the Braj Bhākhā dialect of Hindī. It varies slightly from place to place, and, in Alwar, is said to have four sub-dialects, viz. standard Mēwātī, Rāṭhī Mēwātī, Nahēṛā Mēwātī, and Kaṭhēr Mēwātī. The sub-dialects are all mixed forms of speech and are of no importance.

[LSI pp. 44-45]

Nouns. The declension of nouns closely follows that of Jaipurī. The only difference is that the agentive case can take the postposition *-nai* as well as accusative and dative, and that the postposition of the ablative is generally *-taĩ* instead of *-sũ*. The genitive suffixes *-kō*, *-ka*, *-kai*, and *-kī* are used exactly as in Jaipurī. [LSI pp. 45-46]

Adjectives: Adjectives often end in *-yō*, where in Hindī they end in *-a*, and in Jaipurī in *-ō*. Thus, *āchhyō*, 'good'; *bhāryō*, 'severe'. [LSI p. 46]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the first two personal pronouns are; *maĩ*, 'I'; *ham*, *hamā*, 'we'; *tū*, 'thou'; *tam*, *tum tham*, 'you'. Their genitive forms are; *mērō*, *mhārō*, *tērō*, *thārō*. The demonstrative pronouns are *yō*, 'this' and *wō* or *bō*, 'he, it, that'. As in Jaipurī, the nominative singular has a feminine form for each, viz., *-yā* or *ā*, 'this'; *wā*, 'she'. 'Who' is *jō jyō*; 'who?' is *kaun*; 'what?' is *kē*. The pronominal declension closely follows Western Hindī. [LSI p. 46]

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Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present and past tense conjugations are as under :

Present, 'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hũ*	*hã*
2.	*hai, hā*	*hō*
3.	*hai*	*haĩ*

Past, 'I was', etc.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
1.2 and 3.	*hō* ~ *hau*	*hī*	*hā*	*hī*
	~ *thō*	*thī*	*thā*	*thī*

Finite verb. The infinitive is formed by adding *-bō* or *ṇū* to the root ; thus, *mārᵃbō*, *mārᵃṇū*, 'to strike'. The present participle is formed by adding *-to* to the root ; thus *mārᵃtō*, 'striking'. The past participle is formed by adding *-yō* to the root ; thus *māryō*, 'struck'.

The simple present is conjugated as under :

'I strike' or 'may strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārũ*	*mārã*
2.	*mārai, mārā*	*mārō*
3.	*mārai, mārā*	*māraĩ*

The definite present is formed as usual in Rājasthānī, by conjugating the verb substantive with the simple present. Thus, *mārũ-hũ*, 'I am striking', and so on.

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The imperfect is formed by conjugating the past tense of the verb substantive with a verbal noun in *ai*. It remains same for all persons. Thus, *mārai-hō*, 'I was striking', etc.

The future tense is formed with *-gō* (Hindī-*ga*) as in North Jaipurī ; thus, *marū̃-gō*, 'I will strike'.

In other respects the dialect closely follows Jaipurī

[LSI pp. 47-48]

AHĪRWĀṬĪ

555 Ahīrwāṭī is spoken in the west of the district of Gurgaon (including the state of Pataudi). It is also found in the Ḍābar tract of the district of Delhi, round Najafgarh. In the same direction it covers the Jhajjar Tahsil in the south of the district of Rohtak. To the west of Gurgaon lies the southern tract of the state of Nabha. Here, except in the north of the tract, where Bāṅgarū is spoken, the language is also Ahīrwāṭī. The language of Narnaul of Patiala is also Ahīrwāṭī, but, as may be expected, it is much mixed with the surrounding dialects.

Ahīrwāṭī represents the connecting link between Mēwātī and three other dialects, Bāṅgarū, Bāgṛī, and Shēkhāwāṭī. It has various local varieties due to the influence of the neighbouring dialects. Its backbone is, however, throughout Mēwātī, and it can only be classed as a form of that dialect of Rājasthānī.

In its grammar Ahīrwāṭī differs but little from Mēwātī. It is the stepping stone between that dialect and the Bāṅgarū dialect of Western Hindī spoken in Delhi, Rohtak, East Hissar, and Karnal. In south Rohtak and in the Ḍābar tract of Delhī Ahīrwāṭī shows some points of connection with Bāṅgarū, the principal being the use of the word *sū̃*, instead of the Mēwātī *hū̃*, to mean 'I am'.

The following are the main particulars in which Ahīrwāṭī differs from Mēwātī ; the Ahīrwāṭī of Gurgaon being taken as standard.

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The nominative of strong masculine nouns of the *a* base ends in *-ō*, with an oblique singular in *-ā*, thus agreeing with Mēwātī as against Bāṅgarū which has *-ā*, with an oblique *-ē*. The same rule is followed in adjectives and in the suffixes of the genitive, it being understood that when they agree with nouns in the locative, they, as usual in Rājasthānī, end in *-ē*, not *-ā*. Thus, *mhārē* (not *mhārā*) *ghari*, 'in my house'. Nouns of this class form the locative singular in *-ē* or *-ai* as *ghōṛē* or *ghōṛai*, 'in a house'. Masculine nouns ending in consonants form the locative in *-ī*, as in *ghari*, 'in a house'. The usual suffix of the dative is *-nai* or *-nẽ*, and the same suffix is also used for the agentive case. The genitive suffix is *-kō*, as in Mēwātī. The agentive case is regularly used before the future passive participle, which is the same in form as the infinite, as in *tū-nẽ kar^{a}ṇō thō*, 'it was to be done by you'.

The personal pronouns are as in Mēwātī.

The demonstrative pronouns are *yō* or *yoh* (feminine *yā*), 'this', *wō* or *wɔh* (feminine *wā*) 'that'. As usual the relative pronoun is often employed in the sense of a demonstrative. So *jab*, 'then', as well as 'when'.

In other respects pronouns follow Mēwātī.

In verbs, the only thing to note is the verb substantive. In the present this is :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*sũ*	*sã*
2.	*sā*, *sai*	*sō*, ~ *saĩ*
3.	*sai*	*saĩ*

The past is *thō*, 'was', feminine *thī*, masculine plural *thā*. In the country round Bawal of Nabha and Kot Kasam of Jaipur, *sō* (*sī*, *sā*) is also used as well as *thō*.

The *saĩ* of the second plural present is borrowed from Bāgṛī. The syllable *gō* is sometimes added to the present, like the *yā* of Pañjābī. Thus, *sai-gō*, 'he is', corresponding to the Pañjābī *hai-yā*.

In other respects verbs are conjugated as in Mēwātī.

[LSI pp. 49-51]

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MĀLVĪ

556 Mālvī is spoken in the Malwa tract, i.e. in the Indore, Bhopal, Bhopawar, and Western Malwa Agencies of Central India. On the east it also extends into the south-west of the Gwalior Agency into the adjoining Rajputana state of Kota (the main language of which is Hāṛauṭī), and into neighbouring Chabra Pargana of Tonk. It is also spoken in the Nimbahera Pargana of Tonk, on the eastern border of Mewar, which is geographically a portion of the Western Malwa Agency. It has crossed the Narbada and is spoken in a corrupt form in the western part of the Hoshangabad district, and in the north of the Betul district of the Central Provinces, and also by some tribes in Chhindwara and Chanda. [LSI p. 52]

Relationship to Mārwaṛī and Jaipurī. Mālvī is distinctly a Rājasthānī dialect, having relations with both Mārwāṛī and Jaipurī. It forms its genitive by adding *-kō* as in the latter language, while the present tense of the verb substantive follows Mārwāṛī and is *hũ*, not *chhũ*. The past tense of the verb substantive is formed on independent lines, and is *thō*, thus closely agreeing with Western Hindī. The future of the finite verb is formed from the simple present by adding *-gā*, which (like the Mārwāṛī *-la*) does not change for number or gender. The imperfect tense is formed by adding the past tense of the verb substantive to the present participle (as in Hindōstānī), and not by adding it to a verbal noun in *-ē* or *-ai*, as in other Rājasthānī dialects. [LSI p. 52]

Sub-dialects. Mālvī is remarkably uniform over the whole area in which it is spoken. Towards the east we may see the influence of the neighbouring Bundēlī, and speak of an Eastern Mālvī, but it is hardly worthy of being considered to be a separate sub-dialect. A recognised sub-dialect, however, is Sōṇdwāṛī, spoken by the Sōṇdiās, a wild tribe who inhabit the north-east of the Western Malwa Agency, the adjoining Chaumahla Pargana of the state of Jhalawar, and the neighbouring portion of the Bhopal Agency. The Mālvī of the Central Provinces is corrupt, but

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hardly a sub-dialect. The form of Mālvī spoken by Rajputs of Malwa proper is called Rāṅgṛī. It is distinguished by its preference for Mārwāṛī forms. [LSI p. 52]

As Mēwātī represents Rājasthānī merging into Braj Bhākhā and Pañjābī, so Mālvī represents Rājasthānī merging into Bundēlī and Gujarātī. We may take the language of the Indore Agency of central India as the standard form of the dialect. The following grammatical sketch is based on that dialect. Unless it is otherwise stated the remarks apply both to Rāṅgṛī and to Mālvī proper. [LSI pp. 53-54]

Pronunciation. There is the usual Rājasthānī tendency to pronounce *ai* as *ē*, and *au* as *ō*. Thus, we have *hē* or *hai*, 'is'; *ōr* for *aur*, 'and'. As usual *i* and *u* are often changed to *a*; thus, *dan*, 'a day'; *maṭṭi* for *miṭṭhī*, 'a kiss'. There are numerous examples of the dropping of an aspirate. Thus, *aḍaī* for *aḍhāī*, 'two and a half'; *dūd* for *dūdh*, 'milk'. As compared with Rāṅgṛī Mālvī shows a decided, but not universal preference for dental over cerebral letters. Thus, Mālvī has *ap^{a}nō*, 'own'; *mār^{a}nō*, 'to strike'; while Rāṅgṛī has *ap^{a}ṇō*, and *mār^{a}ṇō*.

When a noun ends in a long vowel, it may almost be nasalised *ad libitum* and, *vice versa*, a nasal at the end of a word is commonly dropped *ad libitum*. Thus, the oblique plural ends quite as often in *-ā* as in *-ã*, and the postposition of the locative is *-mẽ* or *-mē*.

Nouns: Number and case. The usual Rājasthānī rules for forming the plural and oblique forms are followed, In the plural forms, the nasalisation is commonly omitted.

In Mālvī, as distinct from Rāṅgṛī, the plural may take the suffix, *hōr*, *hōrō* or *honō*; thus, *bāp-hōr*, 'father'. Each of these suffixes can be used with any case of the plural.

There is the usual locative in *ē*, as in *gharē*, 'in a house'. Rāṅgṛī makes its case of the agent by adding *ē* or *ẽ*. Thus, *bāpē* or *bapẽ*, 'the father (saw)'.

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The usual case postpositions are as follows :

Accusative-Dative	:	*nē, kē*
Agentive	:	*nē*
Ablative-Instrumental	:	*sū̃, sē, ū̃*
Genitive	:	*kō, rō*
Locative	:	*mē̃, mē*

Of these, Mālvī seldom employs *-nē* for the accusative-dative. The genitive postposition *-rō* is most common in Rāṅgṛī. Mālvī prefers *-kō*. [LSI pp. 54-55]

Pronouns. Some of the pronominal forms are ; *hū̃* (Rāṅgṛī), *hū̃* or *mū̃* (Mālvī), 'I' ; *mhē̃, mē̃*, 'we' ; *mharō, marō*, 'we' ; *mhā-kō, mhaṇō* (Rāṅgṛī), *hamarō* (Mālvī), 'our' ; *tū̃*, 'thou' ; *thē̃, thaĩ* (Rāṅgṛī), *tam*, (Mālvī) 'you' ; *thā-kō, thaṇō* (Rāṅgṛī), *tamarō* (Mālvī) 'your' ; *wō* (Rāṅgṛī) 'he, it' ; *wa* (Rāṅgṛī) 'she' ; *ū* (Rāṅgṛī and Mālvī) 'he, she, it' ; *yō*, fem. *ya*, 'this' ; *āp*, 'your honour'.

'Who ?' is *kũṇ* ; 'what ?' is *kaĩ, kaĩ* or *kāĩ*, and 'anyone' is *kōī*. [LSI pp. 55-57]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. It is conjugated in the present and past tenses as under :

Present, 'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hū̃*	*hã*
2.	*hē, hai*	*hō*
3.	*hē, hai*	*hē, hai*

As usual in Rājasthānī, the third person plural is not nasalised.

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Past, 'I was', etc.

Masc.	Sing.	*thō*	Plur.	*thā*
Fem.	Sing.	*thī*	Plur.	*thī*

As elsewhere, this tense does not change for person. Rāṅgṛī has also a form *thakō*, 'was'.

Finite verb. The infinitive is formed by adding *-ṇō* or *-ʷō* to the root ; thus, *mārṇō*, *mārᵃʷō*, 'to strike'. The present participle is formed by adding *-tō* and past participle *-yō* to rhe root ; thus, *mārᵃtō*, 'striking' ; *māryō*, 'struck'.

The simple present is as in other Rājasthānī dialects. It is used as a simple present, present subjunctive and as a future. It is conjugated as under :

'I strike, I may strike, I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*marũ*	*marã*
2.	*marē*	*marō*
3.	*marē*	*marē*

The present definite is formed by conjugating the verb substantive in the present tense with the simple present forms ; thus *marũ-hũ*, 'I am striking'.

The future is formed by adding *-gā*, which does not change for number or gender to the simple present. The *gā* thus follows the *la* of Mārwāṛī. Thus, we have *mārũgā*, 'I shall strike', and so on. Mālvī sometimes substitutes the Bundēlī *-gō* for *-gā*, and this *-gō* is liable to change for number and gender.

The tenses from the past participles are formed as usual. These of transitive verbs are constructed passively. Thus, we have *mhā-nē-maryō*, 'I struck' ; *hũ chaḷyō hai*, 'I have gone', and so on.

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Causals are formed somewhat as in Mārwāṛī, that is to say, they often insert a *ḍ* after the characteristic *ā*. Thus, *gimaḍō*. 'you cause to eat'. In Mārwāṛī *r* is inserted.

A potential passive, as usual, is formed by adding *-ā*. Thus (Rāṅgṛī) *saṇ^{a}nō*, 'to hear'; *suṇāṇō*, 'to become audible'. These potential passives form their past tenses by adding *-ṇō* (Mālvī *nō*) to the root. The past tense is accordingly the same in form as the infinitive. Thus (Rāṅgṛī) *suṇāṇō*, it became audible'; (Mālvī) *batānō*, 'it was displayed'. [LSI pp. 57-59]

MĀLVĪ OF KOTA AND GWALIOR

557 Mālvī is spoken in the east (the Shahabad Pargana) and south-east of the state of Kota, in the adjoining portion of the Tonk state, known as Chabra Pargana, and in the south-west of the Gwalior Agency, immediately to the east of Kota and to the north of Bhopal Agency.

The Mālvī spoken in their locality has Bundēlī immediately to its north-east and east, and the Hāṛauṭī form of Jaipurī to its north-west and west. It is hence affected by these dialects. The following are the principal points of divergence from the standard dialect.

There is the usual tendency to disaspiration and uncertainly of the vowel scale. Thus, we have *būjī*, for *būjhī*, 'enquired'; *sāt* for *sath*.

The cerebral *ṇ* is more common than in standard Mālvī. Thus, *mār^{a}ṇō*, instead of *mar^{a}nō*, 'to strike'.

In pronouns, we have *mhaĩ*, 'to me'. The plural is regularly used for the singular in *mhã*, 'we', for 'I' *thã*, 'you'.

In the conjugation of verbs, the past tense of the auxiliary verb is *hō* (*hā*, *hī*), not *thō*, thus following Bundēlī. The imperfect of the finite verb is built on the Central Rājasthānī system with a verbal noun in *-ē*, and not with the present participle as in regular Mālvī. Thus, *rahē-hō*, not *rah^{a}tō-hō*, 'was dwelling'.

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The Jaipurī verbs compounded with *āwᵃṇō*, 'to come', with *y* as a junction semi-consonant, are common. Thus, *lagy-aī*, 'she has become attached'. [LSI pp. 258-259]

SŌṆḌWĀṚĪ

558 Sōṇḍwāṛī is the language of the Sōṇḍīās, a wild tribe, which inhabits the tracts known as Sōṇḍwār in the north-east of the Western Malva Agency, and in the Chaumahla the southern portion of the Jhallawar state. In the Western Malva Agency it includes the Pirawa Pargana of the state of Tonk and Parganas Satkheda and Garot of Indore.

The following are the main peculiarities of the dialect. In other respects it is the same as ordinary Mālvī.

The most typical peculiarities of Sōṇḍwāṛī is the universal change of an initial *s* to *h*. Its speakers call themselves Hōṇḍā, not Sōṇḍiā. On the other hand *chh* is pronounced as *s*, as in *sūkᵃḷō*, for *chhōkᵃḷī*, 'chaff'.

There is the usual Mālvī loss of aspiration, as in *lōṛō* for *chōṛō*, 'young' ; *tī* or *thī*, 'from'.

In the declension of nouns, the ablative suffix is *tī* or *thī*. The accusative-dative has the usual *kē* or *nē*, and also *hē*, as in other Mālvī-speaking tracts. The agent also takes *nē*, in *bēṭa-nē kahī*, 'the son said'. The suffix *hē* is also used for the locative.

As regards the pronouns, *apī* or *apᵃṇē* means 'we, including the person addressed'. *Āpᵃṇō* is 'own'.

The past tense of the verb substantive is usually *thō*, but sometimes we find the Bundēlī form *hō*. Besides *hē*, we have *hai* for 'he is'. The imperfect tense of finite verbs is not made with the present participle as in Mālvī, but with the oblique verbal noun as in Central Rājasthānī. Thus, *bharē-thō*, 'he was filling', literally' 'was a filling'. Causal verbs are formed with *ḍ* or *ṛ* as in Mārwāṛī. Thus, *hamᵃjāṛyō*, 'he remonstrated', literally, 'he caused to understand'.

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Sōṇḍwāṛī has a peculiar vocabulary, many words being strange to other Rājasthānī dialects. For instance; *jī*, 'a father'; *māḍī*, 'a mother'; *waḷ[a]dī* 'a servant'; *rōṭhā*, 'a feast'.

On the whole Sōṇḍwāṛī possesses a distinctly Bhīl character, as nearly all the above peculiarities also occur in Bhīl dialects.

[LSI pp. 278-280]

NĪMĀḌĪ

559 Nīmāḍī is spoken in the tract known as Nīmāwaṛ. Nimāwaṛ consists of the Nimar district of the Central Provinces (except the Burhanpur Tahsil, which lies in the valley of Tapti, not in that of the Narbada, and is geographically a portion of the Khandesh plain) and of the adjoining portion of the Bhopawar Agency of Central India. Nīmāṛī is not the only language of Nīmāwaṛ. There are also numerous speakers of Bhilī. In the Bhopawar Agency, these latter entirely surround the Nīmāḍī speakers, separating them from their brethren of Niwar. There are hence two distinct tracts in which Nīmāḍī is spoken, but in both the language is practically the same.

Nīmāḍī is really a form of the Mālvī dialect of Rājasthānī, but it has such marked peculiarities of its own that it must be considered separately. It has fallen under the influence of the neighbouring Gujarātī and Bhīl languages, and also of the Khāndēśī which lies to its south. The Nīmāḍī of Bhopawar, being nearer Gujarat, shows more signs of the influence of Gujarātī than does the Nīmāḍī of Nimār.

In its pronunciation Nīmāḍī is mainly peculiar in its almost universal change of every *ē* which occurs in Rājasthanī to *a*. This runs through the entire grammar. As in Mālvī and Khāndēśī, aspiration is often dropped, as in *hāt*, not *hath*. 'a hand'; *bhūkō*, for *bhūkhō*, 'hungry'. The letters *l* and *n* are interchangeable as in *līm* and *nīm*, 'tree'. *Jh* is often pronounced as *z*, as in the Marāṭhī of Berar, and as in some forms of Khāndēśī.

In the declension of nouns, the common form in *ē*, which in Rājasthānī is used sometimes for the agent and sometimes for the

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locative, appears in Nīmāḍī as ending in *-a*. Thus. we have *ghara*, 'in a house'. Strong masculine *tadbhavas* in *-ō*, form their oblique form in *-a*, as in Mālvī. Thus, *ghōḍō*, 'a horse' ; *ghōḍa-kō*, 'of a horse'. To form the plural the termination *-nā* is added to the oblique form singular. Thus, *ghōḍanā*, 'horse' ; *bāpnā*, 'fathers'.

The case postpositions are as follows :

Agent, *na*

Accusative-dative, : *ka*

Instrumental-ablative, : *sī*, *sū*

Genitive, : *kō* (*kā*, *kī*)

Locative, : *ma*.

We occasionally find the Rājasthānī *-kā*, and the Bundēlī *-khē* (under the form of *-kha*) used for the accusative-dative.

The following are some of the pronominal forms :

Haũ, 'I' ; *mhārō*, 'my' ; *ham*, 'we' ; *hamārō*, 'our' ; *apaṇ* 'we (including the person addressed)' ; *tū*, 'thou' ; *thārō*, 'thy', *tum*, 'you' ; *tumhārō*, 'your ; *yē*, 'this ?', *wo*, 'he, that' ; *jō* 'who' ; *kuṇ* or *kun*, 'who ?' ; *kãi*, 'what ?'.

The influence of the Bhīl dialects and of Khāndēsī is most evident in the conjugation of the Nīmāḍī verb. The present tense of the verb substantive is *chhē*, which (like the Khāndēśī *sē*) does not change for number or person.

The past tense of the verb substantive is *thō* (*thā*, *thī*) as in Mālvī. When used as an auxiliary verb *chhē* drops the final *ē* and its aspiration, and becomes *ch*, which in its turn (especially in Bhopawar) often becomes *j*. Thus, we have *mārũch* or *mārũj*, 'I am striking' ; *mārēch*, *marach*, *mārēj*, *māraj*, 'he is striking', and so on.

The future (as in Gujarātī) has *s* for its characteristic sound and is conjugated as follows :

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'I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārīs*	*mārᵃsā*
2.	*mārᵃsē*	*mārᵃsō*
3.	*mārᵃsē*	*mārᵃsē*

Sometimes we find the true Mālvī future formed by adding an unchangeable *-gā*.

The infinitive ends in *-ṇū* ; thus, *mārᵃṇū*, 'to strike' ; when used as a participle future passive its subject is put in the case of the agent. Thus, *apaṇ-na anand manāwᵃṇū nī khūsī hōṇū*, 'joy was meet to be celebrated and happiness was meet to be by us. The oblique form of the infinitive ends in *-ṇa* ; thus, *mārᵃṇa-kō*, 'of beating'. [LSI pp. 60-62]

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560 SELECT LIST OF STANDARD WORDS AND

English	*Marwāṛī*	*Mārwaṛī* (Thaḷī of Jaisalmer)	*Jaipurī*
one	ēk	hēk	ēk, yēk
two	dōy	bē	dō
three	tīn	tīna	tīn
four	chiyār, chyār	chāra	chyār
hand	hāt	hath	hāt
foot	pag	pag	pag
head	māthō	matthō	māthō
a father	bāp	bāp	bāp
of a father	bāp-rō	bāp-rō	bāp-rō
to a father	bāp-nāĭ	bāp-nā̃	bāp-nā̃
two fathers	dōy bāp	bē bāp	dō bāp
I am	hū hū̃	hū̃ āī	maĭ chhū̃
thou art	tū̃ hāĭ	tū̃ āī	tū̃ chai
he is	uwō hāĭ	ō āī	wō chhai
we are	mē hā̃	mhẽ̃ āī	mhē chhā̃
you are	thē hō	thē āī	thē chhō
they are	uvē hāĭ	ō āī	wai chhai
I was	hū̃ hō	hū̃ hātō	maĭ chhō
thou wast	tū̃ hō	tū̃ hātō	tū̃ chhō
he was	uwō hō	ō hātō	wō chhō
we were	mē hā	mhẽ̃ hātā	mhē chhā
you were	thē hā	thē hātā	thē chhā
they were	uvē ha	ō hātā	wai chhā
I shall be	hū̃ hōū̃lā	hū̃ hōiś	maĭ hū̃-lō hōsyū̃

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SENTENCES IN RĀJASTHĀNĪ

Mewātī	*Mālvī*	*Nīmāḍī*
ēk	ēk	ēk
dō	dō	dui
tīn	tīn	tīn
chyār	chār	chār
hāt	hāt	hat
pāw, pag	pag	pãw
sir	māthō	sir
bāp	bāp	bāp
bāp-kō	bāp-kō, -rō	bāp-kō
bāp-nai	bāp-nē, -kē	bāp-kā
dō bāp	dō bāp	dui bāp
maĩ hũ	hữ hũ	haŭ chhē
tū hai, hā	tũ hai, hē	tū chhē
wō hai	ū hai, hē	wō chhē
ham hã	mhẽ hã	ham āya
tam hō	thẽ hō	tum chhō
wai haĩ	vi hai, hē	wō chhē
maĩ hō, thō	hũ thō	haŭ thō
tū hō, thō	tũ thō	tū thō
wō hō, thō	ũ thō	wo thō
ham hā, thā	mhẽ thā	ham thā
tam hā, thā	thẽ thā	tum thā
wai hā, thā	vī thā	wō thē
maĩ hũ gō	hũ waῆgā, wũga	haŭ huis

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English	*Mārwaṛī*	*Mārwaṛī* (Thaḷī of Jaisalmer)	*Jaipurī*
I beat	hũ kūṭũ	hũ mārã-ī	maĩ piṭũ
thou beatest	tũ kūṭăĩ	tū mārē-ī	tū piṭai
he beats	ū kūṭăĩ	ō mārē-ī	wō piṭai
we beat	mē kūṭã	mhẽ-mārã-ī	mhē piṭã
you beat	thē kūṭō	thē māro-ī	thē piṭō
they beat	uvē kūṭăĩ	ō mārã-ī	wai piṭai
I beat (past)	mhaĩ kūṭiyō	mẽ māryō	maĩ pīṭyō
thou beatest (past)	thăĩ kūṭiyō	tẽ māryō	tū pīṭyō
he beat (past)	uṇ kūṭiyō	uvē māryō	wō pīṭyō
we beat (past)	mhē kūṭiyō	mhã māryō	mhē pīṭyō
you beat (past)	thā kūṭiyō	thã māryō	thē pīṭyō
they beat (past)	uwã kūṭiyō	uwã māryō	wai piṭyō
I shall beat	hũ kūṭũ-lā	hũ mārlś	maĩ pīṭũ-lõ pīṭ^{a}syũ

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Mēwatī	*Malvī*	*Nīmaḍī*
maĩ mãrũ̃	hũ̃ mārũ̃	haũ̃ mārũ̃ch
tū mārā	tũ̃ mārē	tū māroch, mārēch
wō mārā	ū mārē	wo mārach, mārēch
ham mārã̃	mhẽ̃ mārã̃, mārā	ham mārã̃ch
tam mārō	thẽ̃ mārō	tum mārōch
wai māraĩ	vī mārē	wō mārach, mārēch
maĩ māryō	mhaĩ māryō	ma-na māryō
taĩ māryō	thaĩ māryō	tū-na-māryō
waĩh māryō	waṇī-ē māryō	un-na māryō
ham māryō	mhã̃-ē māryō	ham-na māryō
tam māryō	thã̃-ē māryō	tum-na māryō
un māryō	waṇã̃-ē māryō	un-na māryō
maĩ mārũ̃ gō	hũ̃ mārũ̃ gā	haũ̃ mārīs

[LSI pp. 304-321]

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GUJARĀTĪ

561 The word 'Gujarātī' means the vernacular of Gujarat, and this name very accurately connotes the area in which it is spoken. It is spoken in the province of Gujarat, and also in the peninsula of Kathiawar. To the north, Gujarātī extends almost to the northern frontier of the Palanpur state. It has also encroached into sind, where it is found near the southern coast of the district of Thar and Parkar. On the west it is bounded by the Ran of Cutch, and further south, by the Arabian Sea. It does not extend into Cutch, as a vernacular, although it is there employed for official and literary purposes. It extends as far south as the southern border of the district of Surat, where it meets the Marāṭhī of Daman. The boundary runs east so as to include the state of Dharampur, and then runs north along the foot of the hills which form the eastern boundary of Gujarat, till it joins the eastern frontier of Palanpur.

Gujarātī is spoken by settlers in nearly every province and state of India. The Pārsīs, whose adopted language it is, are enterprising merchants, and most of the speakers outside Gujarat are of this nationality. In Madras there is also a large colony of silk weavers who immigrated centuries ago from Gujarat, many of whom still retain the language of their original home.

[LSI pp. 323-325]

Dialects. The only true dialectic variation of Gujarātī consists in the difference between the speech of the uneducated and that of the educated. That of the latter is the standard form of the language taught in grammars. That of the former differs from the standard mainly in pronunciation, although there are a few 'clipped' or contracted verbal forms, especially in the present tense. The differences of pronunciation are nearly all the same over the whole Gujarat tract, but as a rule, though

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they are the same in kind, they are much less prominent in south Gujarātī, and become more and more prominent as we go north. Among these we may mention the pronunciation of *ī* as *ē*, of *kh* and *kh* as *ch* and *chh*, respectively, of *ch* and *chh* as *s*, of *s* as *h*, and a Cockney-like hābit of dropping *h*. There is also a general tendency to confuse cerebral and dental consonants and to substitute *r* for *ḍ* and *ḷ*, to double medial consonants, and to pronounce the letter *ā* as a broad *ô*. The dialects of Pārsīs and Musalmāns generally follow the colloquial Gujarātī of their neighbours in pronunciation and inflexion.

There is one kind of Gujarātī, the Bhil dialects, which have been dealt with separately. They form a connecting link between Gujarātī and Rājasthānī, and are most closely connected with the former language.

562 *Place of Gujarātī in connection with other Indo-Aryan languages*, Gujarātī is a member of the Central Group of Indo-Aryan languages. It is probable that the original language of Gujarat was a member of the Outer Circle, but immigrants from the east, speaking a form of the language of the Central Group imposed their language upon it. Although Gujarātī belongs to the Central Group of languages, it still shows, like Rājasthānī, survivals of the old outer language, such as the loss of power of pronouncing *s* and *h*, the use of an oblique form of nouns which ends in *-ā*, and the past participle in *-l*.

563 *The Gujarātī synthetic genitive and dative.* Gujarātī closely agrees in its main characteristics with Western Hindī, and still more closely with Rājasthānī. With one exception it has the same analytic method of conjugating its verbs and declining its nouns that we find in Western Hindī. The exceptions are the genitive and the dative of the nouns which are formed synthetically and not analytically, in which it agrees with Rājasthānī.

Three old words *kiaa*, *kara* or *karaü*, and *taṇaü* have become suffixes or terminations of the genitive. The Hindōstānī *ghōṛē-kā*, is derived from the Apabhraṁśa *ghōḍai-kiaa*. Here *k* of *kiaa* has not been elided in becoming *kā*. The *k* is therefore the initial letter of a distinct word, which has not become one with *ghōṛē*,

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and *kā* is a separate postposition, and is not a grammatical termination.

The position in Western Rājasthānī and Gujarātī is different one. Western Rājasthānī *ghōḍarō* is derived from *ghōḍaakaraū*, and Gujarātī *ghōḍaanaū* is derived from *ghōḍaa-taṇaū*. The elision of *k* and *t*, respectively show that *karaū* and *taṇaū* have ceased to be postpositions and have become terminations.

The case of the suffixes of the dative follow that of the genitive because in these languages the dative is merely the genitive put into the locative case. *Kō* is the locative of *kā*, as *rē* is that of *rō*, and as *nē* is that of *nō*.

564 *Other characteristics.* Regarding pronunciation Gujarātī has several characteristic peculiarities. Gujarātī like Sindhī and Rājasthānī, usually has *ĕ* and *ŏ* where Hindōstānī has *ai* and *au*. Thus, Hindōstānī *baiṭhā*, Gujarātī *beṭhō*. Gujarātī has a short *e* as well as a long *ē*; thus, *keḷ*, 'sharp pain'; *kēḷ*, 'plantation'. Gujarātī has no short *ŏ*, but on the other hand, in some words *ŏ* is pronounced broadly, like the *a* in 'all'; thus *kôĕl*, 'cuckoo'. In colloquial Gujarātī, *a* frequently becomes the braod *ô*, and *ĭ* becomes *ĕ*. This is especially common in north Gujarat,. Thus, *pâṇī* for *pāṇī*, 'water'; *mārēs*, for *mārīs*, 'I shall strike'.

Gujarātī shares the preference for cerebral consonants with Rājasthānī, Pañjābī, Sindhī and Marāṭhī. The cerebral consonants when they come between vowels, in colloquial dialects have the Hindī sounds of *ṛ* and *ṛh*. In colloquial Northern Gujarātī there is a strong tendency to dentalize cerebral consonants and even to cerebralize dental ones. In such cases *ḍ*, *ḍh*, and *ḷ* generally become *r*. Thus, *matē* for *maṭē*, for *dīthō* for *dīṭhō* 'seen'; *mar^{a}wũ* for *maḷ^{a}wũ*, 'to mingle'. *ṭũ* for *tu*, 'thou'; *ḍīḍhō* for *dīdhō*, 'give'. In colloquial Gujarātī there is a strong tendency to pronounce *ch*, *chh* as *s*, and, as we go north, this gradually becomes the rule. Thus, *pās* for *pāch*, 'five'; *usō*, for *ũcho*, 'high'; *sorũ* for *chhōrũ*, 'a child'. *K*, *kh*, *g*, especially when followed or preceded by *i*, *e*, or *y*, become *ch*, *chh*, and *j*, respectively, in

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Northern Gujarātī. Thus *dīkᵃrō*, 'a son' becomes *dīchᵃrō*. In colloquial Gujarātī sounds *s* and *ś* are often pronounced *h*, and this is the rule in the north, Thus, *māṇah*, for *māṇas*, 'a man'. On the other hand, also especially in the north, *h* itself is elided. Thus, *utō* for *hutō* (i.e. *hatō*) 'he was' *āthī*, for *hāthī*, 'an elephant'. This even occurs in the case of aspirated consonants. Even in standard Gujarātī an *h* is often omitted in writing, although it is still slightly audible.

Gujarāti differs from Hindōstānī in having a neuter gender. In Hindōstānī there is a neuter interrogative pronoun, and in other dialects of western Hindī sporadic instances occur of the survival of the old neuter gender, but as a general rule, in all forms of Wesrern Hindī all words which in sanskrit and Prakrit were neuter have now become masculine. But neuter gender is a regular feature of Gujarātī. In this respect Gujarātī agrees with Marāṭhī. Thus, *chhōkᵃrō* (masc.) 'a boy' ; *chhōkᵃrī* (fem.) 'a girl' ; *chhōkᵃrũ* (neut.), 'a child' (male or female).

In declension of nouns Gujarātī agrees with Western Hindī (except with the Hindōstānī dialect) and Rājasthānī in having the nominative singular of strong masculine *a* -bases ending in *-ō*. Thus, *ghōḍō*, 'a horse'. It follows the Outer Circle, however, in one of its most persistent characteristics, viz., in having the oblique form in *-ā*. Thus, *ghōḍānō*, 'of a horse'.

In conjugation of verbs we may note the use of the word *chhũ* to mean 'I am'. This occurs (in various forms) in all the languages of the Outer Circle and also in Pañjābī and Rajasthānī, but is unknown to Western Hindī. The characteristic sound of the future is *ś*. This *s* future is also found in Lahndā and in some dialects of Rājasthānī.

Gujarātī has one important peculiarity in its syntax, sometimes occurring in Rājasthānī, which has not been noted elsewhere in India, viz. agreement of the transitive verb with the object in impersonal construction, e.g. *tēṇē rānīnē mukī*. 'he left the queen,' literally, 'by him as for the queen, she was left'. [LSI pp. 329-332]

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The following is the brief sketch of Gujarātī grammar :

Nouns. There are three genders, masculine, feminine and neuter. There are two numbers, singular and plural.

Case. Besides the nominative, there is the general oblique form, and an agent-locative. The oblique sing. of strong masculine and neuter nouns ends in *-ā*. The agent-locative sing. is formed by ending *-e*. Thus, *chhōkᵃrē*, 'by or in a boy', *chhōkᵃrīē*, 'by or in a girl'. The nominative plural is usually formed by adding *-ō* ; thus, *chōkᵃrāō*, boys' ; *chhōkᵃrīō*, 'girls'.

The usual case suffixes are ; accusative-dative, *-nē* ; ablative-*thī*, genitive *-nō*, locative (instead of *ē* above) *-mā̃*. They are all added to the oblique form. The genitive *-nō* is an adjective, and agrees in gender, number and case with the noun which governs it. The case of the agent is also used as an instrumental.

[LSI p. 340]

Adjectives. A strong adjective has its masculine in *-ō*, its feminine in *-ī*, and its neuter in *-ũ*. It agrees with its noun in gender, number and case, except that it does not take the plural forms in *-ō*. When the noun is in the oblique form, so is the adjective, and when it is in the agent-locative, so is the adjective. If, however, noun in the agent case is the subject of a transitive verb, the adjective is put in the oblique form. Thus, *sārō chhōkᵃrō*, 'a good boy' ; *sārā chhōkᵃrā nē*, 'to the good boy'.

[LSI p. 340]

Pronouns. The first two personal pronouns have each four bases employed in the declension of the singular and three in the plural, viz., first person, sing. *hũ*, *ma*, *mārā*, and *maj* (or *muj*) ; plur. *am*, *amārā*, *amō*. Second person sing. *tũ*, *ta*, *tārā*, *tuj*, plur. *tam*, *tamārā*, *tamō*. The nominative forms are ; *hā̃*, 'I' ; *amē*, *am*. *amō*, 'we' ; *tũ*, 'thou' ; *tamē*, *tam*, *tamō*, 'you'. The genitive forms *mārō*, *maj* 'my' ; *amārō*, 'our' : *tārō*, *tuj*, 'thy' ; *tamārō*, 'your', are as usual adjectives. *maj* and *tuj* are mainly poetical forms and do not change for gender, number, or case. The honorific pronoun of the second person is *āp*, 'your honour'. It is declined regularly like a noun.

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The demonstrative pronouns are *tē*, 'he. she, it, that'; *ē*, 'this'; *a* 'this' (near). Pārsīs often use *tēwaṇ* for 'he' and *tēṇī* for 'she', both declined regularly.

The relative pronoun is *jē*.

The interrogative pronouns are, *kôṇ*, 'who ?' and *śō*, 'what ?'. The indefinite pronouns are kōi (masc. and fem.), 'any one, some one', and *kãi* or *kãĩ*, 'anything, something'. Both are declined like nouns, except that the plural is the same as the singular.

[LSI pp. 340-341]

Verbs. Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive: The present and past tenses are conjugated as under. The past tense forms do not change for person.

Present, 'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*chhũ*	*chhīē* (vulgar *chhaiyē*)
2.	*chhe*	*chhō*
3.	*chhe*	*chhe*

Past, 'I was', etc.

Sing.			Plur.		
Masc.	fem.	neut.	masc.	fem.	neut.
hato	*hatī*	*hatũ*	*hatā*	*hatī*	*hatã*
~*hawō*	*havī*	*hawã*	*hawā*	*havī*	*hawã*

The forms with *w* (*v*) are vulgar.

Finite verb. The usual principles of the Central Group are followed. In transitive verbs, the passive construction, with the subject in the agentive case, is employed with the past participle. However, when the impersonal passive construction is employed,

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the participle of the verb is not put into the neuter, as we should expect, but agrees in gender with the object. Thus, *tēṇē rāṇinē mūkī* (not *mūkyū̃*), 'by him, with reference to the queen, she (not 'it') was left, he left the queen'.

The infinitive is formed by adding *-wū̃* to the root; thus, *mārᵃwū̃*, 'to strike'. Present participle is formed by adding *-tō* and past participle by adding *-yō*, *-ēlō* (declinable), *-ēl* (indeclinable) to the root. Thus *mārᵃtō*, 'striking'; *māryō*, *mārēlō*, *mārēl*, 'struck'.

(a) *Simple tenses.* The present and future tenses are conjugated as under :

Present, 'I strike', 'I may strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārū̃*	*mārīē*
2.	*mārē*	*marō*
3.	*mārē*	*mārē*

Future, 'I shall strike', etc.

	Standard		Pārsī	
	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārīś*	*mārīśū*	*māras*	*mārᵃsu*
2.	*mārᵃśē*	*mārᵃśō*	*mārᵃsē*	*mārᵃsō*
3.	*mārᵃśē*	*mārᵃśē*	*mārᵃsē*	*mārᵃsē*

(b) *Compound tenses.* Present definite is formed by conjugating present tense of the finite verbs with the present tense of the verb substantive. Thus, *mārū̃-chhū̃*, 'I am striking', and so on.

Participial tenses. The participial tenses are formed as usual. Thus, *hū̃ mārᵃtō*, 'I used to strike'; *hū̃ mārᵃtō-hatō*, 'I was

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striking'; *mẽ māryō* (or *mārēlō*) 'I struck (him)'; *mẽ māryō-chhe*, 'I have struck (him)'; *mẽ māryō hatō*, 'I had struck (him)', and so on.

Passive voice. The passive voice can be formed from both transitive and intransitive verbs. The passive of an intransitive is always impersonal.

The passive stem is formed by adding *-ā* to the root. Thus, *lakhᵃwũ*, 'to write'; *lakhāwũ*, 'to be written'. If a root ends in a vowel *-wā* is added, not *-ā*. Thus, *jōwāwũ*, 'to be seen'.

Another passive is formed by conjugating the past participle with *jawũ*, 'to go', as in Western Hindī. Thus, *tē māryō gayō*, 'he was struck'.

Another is formed with *awᵃwũ*, 'to come', and the locative of the infinitive. Thus, *ē wastu gōwā-mã̄ awᵃśē*, 'this thing will come into seeing, will be seen'.

With all these passives the doer of the action is put in the ablative, not in the case of the agent.

Causal verbs. These (including transitives from neuters) are usually formed by adding *-aw* or *-aḍ* to the root, a preceding *a* being shortened. Thus, *lakhᵃwũ*, 'to write'; *lakhāwᵃwũ* 'to cause to write'. Double causals and passives can be formed from causals. Thus, *khawᵃḍāwᵃwũ*, 'to cause to eat'; *tapāwᵃwũ*, 'to cause to be warm'; *tapāwᵃwũ*, 'to be caused to be warm'.

[LSI pp. 341-343]

GĀMAḌIĀ

565 The Gāmaḍiā, or Grāmya, Gujarātī is a general name of the dialect spoken by the uneducated village people of Gujarat generally. It varies little from place to place. As a standard form of it, Surᵃtī, the dialect spoken by the village people of Surat and Broach is being taken. [LSI p. 381]

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SURᴬTĪ GUJARĀTĪ

566 The educated classes of the district of Surat and Broach speak ordinary Gujarātī, but in the rural parts of these districts a curious patois is spoken, which the Bombay people call Surᵃtī, or the language of Surat.

In pronunciation, Surᵃtī continually pronounces *s* as *h*, as we find in the Bhīl languages and in Southern Rājasthānī; thus, *dah* for *das*, 'ten'; *māṇah* for *māṇas*, 'a man'. On the other hand a true original initial *h* is often elided. Thus, *ũ* for *hũ*, 'I'; *kaũ* for *kahũ*, 'I say'. *Chh* is pronounced as *s*. Thus, *chha*, 'six' is pronounced *sa*, and *chhũ*, 'I am', is pronounced as *sũ*. Cerebral and dental consonants are absolutely interchangeable. Thus, *thōḍa* or *ṭhōḍa*, 'few'; *tamārō* or *ṭamārō*, 'your'; *tũ* or *ṭũ*, 'thou'; cerebral *ṇ* and *ḷ* are rare. *n* is often changed to *l*; thus *nāllō* for *nānō*, 'younger'. When *y* follows a consonant it is pronounced before it. As most past participles end in *-y* preceded by a consonant this forms a very striking characteristic of the dialect; thus, *pāyᵃḍō* for *paḍyō*; 'caused to fall, made'; *chāyalō*, for *chālyō*, 'went'.

Nouns ending in a consonant optionally add *-a* in the oblique form. Thus *bāpᵃnē* or *bāpānē*, 'to a father'; *bāpō* or *bāpaō*, 'fathers'.

Some of the forms of the first two personal pronouns are; *ũ*, 'I'; *hamē*, *ammē*, *ammō*, 'we'; *tũ*, 'thou'; *tamē*, *tammē*, *tammō*, 'you'; *mārō*, *mmārō*, 'my'; *hamārō*, *ammārō*, 'our'; *tārō*, 'thy'; *tamārō*, *tammārō*, 'your'.

The following are the forms of the verb substantive:

Present, 'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*chhawũ*, *chhũ*, *chhe*, *chha*	*chhaiyē*, *chhiē*
2.	*chhē*, *chha*	*chhō*, *chhe*, *chha*
3.	*chhe*, *chha*	*chhe*, *chha*

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It should be remembered that *chh* is pronounced like *s*, so that the words are really *sawũ*, *sũ*, etc.

The past is *utō*. When employed as an auxiliary verb *tō* is often used instead of *utō*.

As regards finite verbs, the present definite is either conjugated as in the standard or *chh* is added to all persons of the simple present. Thus :

'I strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārũ-chh*	*mārīē-chh*
2.	*mārē-chh*	*mārō-chh*
3.	*mārē-chh*	*mārē-chh*

As explained above, the auxiliary employed for the imperfect is usually *to*. Thus, *ũ mārᵃtō-tō*, 'I was beating'.

The future is conjugated as under :

'I will strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārīh*	*mārᵃhũ*
2.	*mārᵃhē*	*mārᵃhō*
3.	*mārᵃhē*	*mārᵃhē*

Sometimes future ends in *-ā* or *-wānō*. Thus, *ũ uṭhā*, 'I will arise' ; *ũ jawā*, 'I will go'. [LSI pp. 382-383]

PĀRSĪ GUJARĀTĪ

567 The Gujarātī spoken by Pārsīs varies from the Standard form of the language in some respects like the Gāmaḍiā dialects, and has also some peculiarities of its own.

In its vocabulary it borrows much more freely from Arabic and Persian than does standard Gujarātī.

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In pronunciation it as a rule prefers *r* to *ḍ*, the dental *l* to the cerebral *ḷ*, and the dental *n* to the cerebral *ṇ*. Thus, *pariyō*, not *paḍyō*, 'he fell' ; *āgal*, not *āgaḷ*, 'before' ; *pan*, for *paṇ*, 'even'. It shows a tendency to drop *h*. Thus, *ũ*, 'I'. The initial *ē* is pronounced *yē*, as in *yēk* for *ēk*, 'one'.

The declension of nouns is as in standard Gujarātī, except that we often hear *mẽ* instead of mã in the locative case.

In the pronouns we have *ũ*, 'I', plural *hamē*, *amē* or *amō* are also used. For the third personal pronoun we often meet *tēwan* 'he', feminine *tēnī*, 'she'. 'What ?' is *sũ*, not *śũ* or *hũ*.

The definite present of finite verbs is often formed adding *-ch*. Thus :

'I am striking', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārũ-ch*	*mārīē-ch*
2.	*mārē-ch*	*mārō-ch*
3.	*mārē-ch*	*mārē-ch*

The *ś* of the future becomes *s* and is not changed to *h*. Thus, *mārᵃsē*, 'he will beat'. The first person singular is *mārᵃs*, not *mārīś*. Similarly the first person plural is *marᵃsũ*, not *mārīśũ*.

The past participle sometimes inserts *i* before *y*, and sometimes drops the *y* altogether. Thus, *māryō*, *māriyō*, or *mārō*, 'struck'. So in the tenses derived from this participle.

The masculine plural of the participles takes a nasal. Thus *amō jatã hatã*, for *amē jatā hatā*, 'we were going'.

As in the various dialects of Hindōstānī, the agentive case is sometimes used for the subject of an intransitive verb in the past tense. Thus, *nhālla chhōkᵃraē giyō*, 'the younger son went'. [LSI p. 392]

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CHARŌTARĪ

568 The Charōtar, or goodly land, is a fertile tract in the centre of the district of Kaira. The Charōtarī dialect of Gujarātī takes its name from this tract, but is spoken over a somewhat wider area, i e., over the whole of the Charōtar tract of Kaira district, the Petlad Mahal of Baroda, and a portion of the same state near the river Mahī.

The educated people of this tract speak Gujarātī, but the cultivators speak Charōtarī. It closely resembles the other Gāmaḍiā dialects, but has also some peculiarities of its own, which would be evident from the following grammatical sketch.

Pronunciation. The vowel *ā* often has the sound of a broad *ô*, which also occurs in the standard dialect, but to a less extent. Thus ; *ts̲ỗdō*, for *chãdo* 'the moon' ; *pỗṇī*, 'water'. A nasal at the end of a word is very frequently omitted. Thus, *d̲zaũ*, for *d̲zau*, 'I go' ; *kahu* for *kahũ*, 'I say'. *H* is often dropped, but there are not so many examples as in Surªtī. *Ch* is frequently pronounced as *ts̲*, *chh* as *ts̲h*, *j* as *d̲z* ; and *jh* as *d̲zh*. *K* often becomes *ts̲*, especially under the influence of a neighbouring *e* or *ī*, and *kh* often becomes *ts̲h*. Thus, *ts̲ēṭªla* for *kētªlā*, 'how many' ; *ts̲hētar* for *khētar*, 'a field'. *S* regularly becomes *h* ; thus *hāru* for *sāru*, 'for' ; *harō* for *sārō*, 'good'.

Nouns. As in Surªtī, nouns ending in a consonant have an oblique form in *a*. Thus, *bāpāpãhē-thī*, 'from a father'. This *a* is often nasalised. *Śī* is a postposition of the instrumental, as in *khuśī-śī*, 'joyfully'.

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the first two personal pronouns are ; *hũ*, *ũ*, 'I' ; *amē*, *amhē*, 'we' ; *tu*, *tũ* 'thou' ; *tamē*, *tamō*, 'you'. The demonstrative pronouns and the pronouns of the third person are as in the standard dialect, but we have also a form with an initial *h* ; thus, *hē*, 'he'. *Kaśũ* is 'anything'.

Verbs. The Verb substantive closely follows the surªti forms. It is conjugated as follows :

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'I am,' etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*tsh̲ũ*	*tsh̲īē*
2.	*tsh̲ũ, tsh̲ē*	*tsh̲ō, sō*
3.	*tsh̲e, tsh̲a, se*	*tsh̲e, tsh̲a, se*

The past tense is either *hatō*, as in the standard, or *utō*, as in Sur^{a}tī. When used as auxiliary, we also find *tō*. Thus, *khōwayō-tō*, 'he was lost'.

As regards the finite verb, attention must be called to the frequent optional dropping of a final consonant.

The following are the forms of the definite present of the verb *mār^{a}wũ* or *mār^{a}wu*, 'to strike' :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*marũ-tsh̲u, tsh̲ũ,*	*mārīē-tsh̲īē*
2.	*marũ-tsh̲u, tsh̲ũ, tsh̲e*	*mārō-tsh̲ō, mārō-sō*
3.	*mārē-tsh̲e, mārē-tsh̲, mārē-se*	*mārē-tsh̲e,-tsh̲,-se*

The imperfect is *mār^{a}tō-utō* or *mār^{a}tō-tō*, 'I was beating'.

The following is the conjugation of the future tense.

'I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārēś, māriś*	*mārīśũ*
2.	*mārēś, māriś*	*mār^{a}śō*
3.	*mār^{a}śē*	*mār^{a}śē*

The past participle is much as in the standard dialect. [LSI pp. 394-396]

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The language of the rest of the Kaira district, known as Pāṭīdārī, closely resembles that of the Charōṭar tract. Except a few variations in the pronunciation, the grammatical forms are, on the whole, the same. [LSI pp. 402-403]

PAṬṬAṆĪ GUJARĀTĪ

569 Paṭṭaṇī dialect is spoken in the Kadi division of Baroda state in Mahikantha including the outlying Parantij-cum-Modasa Sub-division of the Ahmedabad district and in the greater part of the state of Palanpur. Over the whole of this area the educated people speak ordinary standard Gujarātī. Paṭṭaṇī possesses all the peculiarities of the village dialect of Ahmedabad, its only real difference being that it possesses these peculiarities in a higher degree, and exhibits them more regularly.

Pronunciation. As usual *ā* is often pronounced as a broad *ô* ; thus, *chõdō*, for *chãdō*, 'the moon'. A long *ī* is regularly changed to *ē* as is also common in northern Gujarātī. Thus *nẽchē*, for *nichē*, 'below' ; *kēmat*, for *kīmat*, 'price'. Nasalisation at the end of a word is omitted or introduced *ad libitum*. Thus *hama* or *hamã*, 'now' ; *karyu* for *karyũ*, 'it was done'.

The consonants *ch* and *chh* are regularly pronounced as *s*. Thus *sāk^{a}rī* for *chāk^{a}rī*, 'service' ; *pãs* for *pãch*, 'five'. There is the usual confusion of cerebral and dental sounds. Thus, *mātē*, for *maṭē*, 'for' ; *āṭh* or *āth*, 'eight'. *ḍ* and *ḍh*, however, usually become *r*. Thus, *jarō* for *jaḍyō*, 'found' ; *lōḍhũ* or *lōrũ*, 'iron'. *S* and *ś* regularly become *h* ; thus *hō* for *śō* 'a hundred', *hūraj*, for *sũraj*, 'the sun'. *Ḷ* also regularly becomes *r* ; thus, *dhōrō*, for *dhōḷō*, 'white'.

Nouns. The declension of nouns closely follows standard Gujarātī. The neuter as often as not ends in-*u*, instead of-*ũ*, owing to the free way in which a final nasal is employed. Nouns ending in a consonant, even when a masculine, have a plural in-*ã*. Thus, *gharã*, 'houses'.

The agent-locative ends in-*ī*, instead of-*ē*. Thus, *hātī* for *hathē*, 'on the hand' ; *kōtī* for *kōṭē*, 'on the neck'.

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Pronouns. The agent case of the first person singular is *mĩ* or *mī*. Some of the pronominal forms are ; *amī* or *amẽ*, 'we' ; *āpᵃḍẽ*, 'we (including the person addressed)' ; *tamẽ* for *tamē*, 'you' ; ī or ĩ, 'he' ; *kuṇ*, 'who ?' ; *hũ*, 'what ?'.

Verbs. The verb substantive is thus conjugated in the present :

'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*sũ*	*saiyẽ, siyẽ, sa*
2.	*sẽ, sã,*	*sō*
3.	*sẽ*	*sĩ, sẽ*

The past tense is *hatō* (as in standard Gujarātī) often contracted to *tō*, 'I shall be' is *hôīś* or *hẽh.*

The definite present of the finite verb is thus conjugated. The varities of form are mainly due to the lax use of the final nasal.

'I am striking, etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārũ-sũ, mārusu*	*mārīyẽ-saïyẽ*, etc.
2.	*mārẽ-sã, mārēsẽ*	*mārō-sō*
3.	*mārē-sẽ*	*mārē-sẽ*. etc.

The future is thus conjugated :

'I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārīś, mārēh*	*mārᵃśũ, mārᵃhũ*
2.	*mārīś, mārᵃśẽ, mārēh*	*mārᵃśō, mārᵃhō*
3.	*mārᵃśẽ, mārᵃhẽ*	*mārᵃśĩ, mārᵃhẽ*

The present and past participles are as in standard Gujarātī, with a few irregularities. The past participle of *jawũ*, 'to go', is *jyō, gyō*, or *jẽlẽ*. Instead of *jaḍyō*, 'got', we have *jaṛō*.

[LSI pp. 412-414]

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KĀṬHIYAWĀḌĪ

570 The Gujarātī spoken by the educated classes of peninsula of Kathiawar, is as usual, the standard dialect. The uneducated Hindus, on the other hand, speak a well defined dialect, known as Kāṭhiyāwāḍī or Kāṭhiāwāḍī. Most of the Musalmāns speak Hindōstānī, but some of them, especially the sailors for whom Kathiawar is famous, speak a broken kind of Gujarātī which will be dealt with separately. Kāṭhiāwāḍī has most of the peculiarities of northern Gujarātī, and also has some of its own. These would be evident from the following grammatical sketch :

Pronunciation. There is the usual uncertain vowel scale. The change of *ch* and *chh* to *s* is very common. Before *i*, *e* and *y*, however, the *chh* often becomes *ś*, not *s*. Thus, *sādō* for *chādō*. 'the moon' ; *sōkᵃrō* for *chhōkᵃrō*, 'a son' ; *śeṭē*, for *chheṭē*, 'far'. *Cham* for *kem*, 'why ?'. *Ś* or *s* only become *h* in the middle or at the end of a word. Thus, *dah*, 'ten' ; *dēh* for *dēś*, 'a country'. Initial *s* becomes aspirated ; *s'hāt*, for *sāt*, 'seven' ; *s'hō* for *sō*, 'hundred'. *H* when medial is elided ; thus, *rē*, for *rahē*, 'he remains', ḷ usually becomes *r* ; thus, *sārya* for *chhāḷā*, 'husks'.

Nouns. As in Surᵃtī, nouns ending in consonants take *ā* in the oblique form singular and in the plural (in the plural also *ā̃*). Another oblique form is made by adding *-ya*. It is used in both numbers. Thus, *sārya*, 'husks' ; *gōṭhya*, 'feastings'. The plural is also indicated by the addition of *-ū̃*. Thus, *maṇahū̃*, 'men'.

The *ē* of the agent-locative is often nasalised. Thus, *āṭᵃlẽ* 'thereon' ; *kōyẽ*, 'by anyone'.

Pronouns. The first two personal pronouns are as in standard Gujarātī. The locative may be used as a dative. Thus, *manē* or *mānē*, 'to me'. The pronoun of the third person is *tē*, *tī*, or *ī*. The word *bhaī*, is also employed with a pronoun of the third person. Thus, *ā-bhaī*, 'he' ; *ā-bhīyanū̃ ōjhᵃrū̃*, 'his belly'. *Kuṇ* or *kōṇ* is who ?'. *Śō* or *kiyā* or *chīyō* is 'what ?'.

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Verbs. As usual in north Gujarat, the second person singular is the same as the first person. Thus, *sũ*, 'I am, thou art'. In other respects the conjugation of the verb closely follows the standard dialect allowing for the phonetic changes.

The present tense of the verb substantive is as follows :

'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*sũ*	*savẽ*
2.	*sũ*	*sō*
3.	*se*	*se*

Past tense is *hatō* or *tō*, as in other northern Gujarāti dialects.

The present tense of finite verb is :

'I strike' etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārũ-sũ*	*mārīẽ-savẽ*
2.	*mārũ-sũ, māras*	*mārō-sō*
3,	*mārē-se*	*mārē-se*

The standard forms are also used. The imperfect is *mār^{a}tō-tō*. The past participle is *māryō*.

The future is as in the standard dialect. The *ś* seems to be preserved and not to be changed to *h*. Thus, *mārīś*, 'I shall strike'.

The past participle of verbs, the roots of which end in *-ā* (passive), takes the termination *-ṇō*. Thus, *bharāṇō*, 'he was filled' ; *lūṭaṇō*, 'he was plundered'. [LSI pp. 425-427]

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KHĀRᴬWĀ

571. The Musalmān Khārwās of Kathiawar, who are skilful and intrepid seamen, speak a separate dialect called Khārᵃwā It does not differ materially in the grammar from standard Gujarātī although it has in this respect a few characteristics, but its pronunciation differs widely. The following are the main points in which it differs from the standard dialect.

Pronunciation. The vowels *ā*, *e* and *ē* are liable to be changed to *a*, in the first syllable of a word ; thus, *marō* for *māṛō*, 'my' ; *katᵃla*, for *kēṭᵃlā*, 'how many ?'. *Ī* is liable to be changed to *ē*, as in northern Gujarat. Thus, *mārēs*, for *mārīś*, 'I shall strike'.

The sense of distinction between cerebral and dental sounds is altogether lost. The two classes are absolutely interchangeable. Thus, *t* becomes *ṭ* in *sampaṭ*, 'wealth' ; *waṭanī*, 'a native' ; *th* becomes *ṭh* in *taṭha*, 'and' ; *d* becomes *ḍ* in *ḍēs*, 'country' ; *ṭ* becomes *t* in *moto*. *ḍ* and *ḷ*, when medial, generally become *r*, as in *thōrā* for *thōṛā*, 'a few' ; *agar* for *āgaḷ*, 'before'.

Nouns. The declension of nouns, if we allow for pronunciation, closely follows the standard dialect. The only dialectic peculiarity is the use of *hōn*, to form the plural. Thus, *bāpu*, 'a father' *bāpuhōn*, 'fathers'. This termination is also found in Mālvī dialect of Rājasthānī and in some forms of Khāndēśī.

Some adjectives form their feminine in *-ēī*, as in *baḍhēī khaḍᵃchī*, 'all expenditure'.

Pronouns. The pronouns of the second person are usually spelt with a cerebral *ṭ*. Thus, *ṭũ*. The agentive cases of the first two personal pronouns are *mẽ* or *hũē* and *ṭẽ* or *tũē*, respectively. In the singular the nominative is also used as an oblique base. Thus, *hũnē*, 'to me' ; *hũ-ṭhī*, 'from me'. The pronoun of the third person is *ṭē* or *ī*, 'he, she, it, that'. Their plurals are *ṭēhōn* and *ēhōn*, respectively. The relative pronoun is *jī*, 'who'. 'Who ?' is *kōn* and *sũ* is 'what ?'.

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Verbs. The present tense of verb substantive is *chhe* which does not change for number and person. Thus, *hũchhe*, 'I am'. When used as an auxiliary the *ē* is dropped and it becomes simply *chh*. Thus, *karũchh*, 'I do' ; *āviyōchh*, 'he has come'.

The past of the auxiliary is *huṭō*, fem. *huṭē*, plur. masc. *huṭā*.

The finite verb has a few irregularities. The *ṭ* of the present participle is cerebralised. Thus, *mar^{a}tō*, 'striking'. The past participle inserts an *-i-* before *y*. Thus, *māriyō* for *māryō*, 'struck'.

The definite present is formed by adding *-chh* to all persons of the simple present. Thus, *mārũchh*, 'I am striking' ; *mārēchh*, 'thou art striking', and so on. So the perfect is *māriyōchh*, 'he has been struck'.

The imperfect and plu-perfect are regularly formed with *huṭō*.

The future is slightly irregular, as it changes *ī* to *ē* and *ś* to *s*. We thus get :

'I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārēs*	*mār^{a}su*
2.	*mār^{a}sē*	*mār^{a}sō*
3.	*mār^{a}sē*	*mār^{a}sē*

Contracted forms are *hōs*, 'I shall be' ; *jās*, 'I shall go' ; *kēs*, 'I shall say', etc. [LSI pp. 436-439]

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572 SELECT LIST OF STANDARD WORDS AND

English	*Gujarātī* (Standard)	*Surᵃtī*	*Charōtarī*
one	ēk	ēk	ēk, lābh
two	be	be	be, bannē
three	traṇ	taṇ	taiṇ
four	chār	chār	t̲syār
hand	hāt	hāth	hāth
foot	pag	pag	pag
head	māthũ	māthũ	māthũ
a father	bāp	bāp	bāp, bāpā
of a father	bāpnō	bāpanō	bāpanō, bāpanō
to a father	bāpnē	bāpanē, bāpānē	bāpanē, bāpānē
two fathers	be bāp	be bāp	be bāp, be bāpā
I am	hũ chhũ	ũ chhawũ, chhũ	hũ t̲shũ
thou art	tũ chhe	tũ chhe, chha	tũ t̲shũ
he is	tē chhe	tē chhe, chha	tē t̲she, se
we are	amē chhaīē	hamē chhaiyē, chhīē	amē t̲shiē
you are	tamē chhō	tamē chhō	tamē t̲shō, sō
they are	tēō chhe	tēō chhe, chha	tēō t̲she, se
I was	hũ hatō	ũ utō, hutō	hũ, hatō, utō
thou wast	tũ hatō	tũ utō, hutō	tũ hatō, utō
he was	tē hatō	tē utō, hutō	tē hatō, utō
we were	amē hatā	hamē utā, hutā	amē hatā
you were	tamē gatā	tamē utā, hutā	tamē hatā, utā
they were	tēō hatā	tēō utā, hutā	tēō ḥatā, utā

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SENTENCES IN GUJARĀTĪ

Paṭanī	*Kaṭhiyawāḍī* (Jhālāwāḍī)	*Kharwa*
ēk	ēk	ēk
be	be	be
taĩṇ	taiṇ	tan
chyār, sār	chār	chār
paṇuchō, hāth	hāth, bāwᵃḍũ	hath
pag	pag, ṭāṭiyā, ṭāgā, guḍa	pag
māthũ, bhōḍũ	māthũ, tōlō	māṭhũ
bāp	bāpō	bāpu
bāpᵃnō	bāpanō	bāpunō
bāpanẽ-nē	bāpanē, bāpānē	bāpunē
be bāp	be bāp	be bāpu
hũ sũ	hũ sũ	hũ chhe
tũ sã, sẽ	tũ sũ	ṭũ chhe
ē sẽ	ī se	ī, ṭē, chhe
amē saïye, sīyẽ, sa	amē sayẽ	hamē chhe
tamē so	tamē sō	ṭamē chhe
ē sĩ, sẽ	īwaḍāi se	ēhōn chhe
hũ hatō	hũ hatō	hũ huṭō
tũ hatō	tũ hatō	ṭũ huṭō
ē hatō	ī hatō	ī huṭō
amē hatā	amē hatā	hamē huṭā
tamē hatā	tamē hatā	ṭamē huṭā
ē hatā	īwaḍāi hatā	ēhōn huṭā

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English	*Gujarātī* (Standard)	*Surᵃtī*	*Charōtarī*
I shall be	hũ hôīś, haīś	ũ hôis	hũ thayiś, hayīś
I beat	hũ mārũ	ũ mārũ-chhũ, mārũ-chhu	hũ marũ-tshũ-tshu
thou beatest	tũ mārē	tũ mārē-chhe, mārē-chha	tũ mārũ-tshũ,-tshu
he beats	tē mārē	tē mārē-chhe, mārē-chha	tē mārē-tshe
we beat	amē māriē	hamē mārīē-chhīē, mārīē-chha	amē mārīē-tshīē
you beat	tamē mārō	tamē mārō-chhō mārō-chha	tamē mārō-tshō
they beat	tēō mārē	tēō marē-chhe, mārē-chha	tē marē tshe
I beat (past)	mẽ māryō	mẽ māirũ	mē māryō
thou beatest (past)	tẽ māryō	tẽ māirũ	tē māryō
he beat (past)	tēṇē māryō	teṇē māirũ	hēṇē māryō
we beat (past)	amē māryō	hamē mâirũ	amē māryō
you beat (past)	tamē māryō	tamē māirũ	tamē māryō
they beat (past)	tēōē māryō	tēōē māirũ	hemᵃṇē māryō
I shall beat	hũ māriś	u mārīs, mārih, mārā, mārānō	hũ mārēś

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Paṭanī	*Kaṭhiyawāḍī* (Jhālāwāḍī)	*Kharwe*
hũ hôīś, hēh	hũ thaīś	hũ hōs
hũ marũ-sũ, mārusu	hũ mārũ-sũ	hu mārũchh
tũ mārē-sã, marēsẽ	tũ mārē-sũ, mārũ-sũ māras	ṭũ mārēchh
ē mārē-sẽ	ī mārē-se	ṭẽ mārēchh
amē māriyē saïye, mariyē siyē	amē mārlẽ sayẽ	hamēhōn mariyēchh
tamē mārō-sō	tamē mārō-sō	ṭamē mārōchh
ē mārē-sĩ, mārē-sẽ	ĩwaḍāi mārē-se	ṭēō mārēchh
mĩ māryō	mẽ māryō	hũē māriyō, mẽ māriyō
tĩ , ~tīē, māryō	tẽ māryō	ṭũē māriyō
ĩṇẽ māryō	ĩnē māryō	iē māriyō
amē māryō	amē māryō	hamē māriyō
tamē māryō	tamē māryō	tamē māriyō
ĩm^{a}ṇē,~tēōē māryō	im^{a}nē māryō	ēhōnē māriyō
hũ mārīś, mārēh	hũ mārīś	hũ mārās

[LSI pp. 460-477]

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VOL. IX, PART III

INDO-ARYAN FAMILY

CENTRAL GROUP

THE BHĪL LANGUAGES

INCLUDING KHĀNDĒŚĪ, BANJĀRĪ OR LABHĀNĪ, BAHRŪPIĀ, & c.

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BHĪL DIALECTS AND KHĀNDĒŚĪ

573 The border country between Rajputana, Central India, the Central Provinces, and the Bombay Presidency is inhabited by many tribes known under various names, such as Bhīls, Ahīrs, and so forth.

Their home may be described as an irregularly shaped triangle, with an apex in the Aravalli Hills, and the base roughly corresponding to the south-eastern frontier of the district of Khandesh.

Outside this territory we find Bhīl tribes in various districts of Berar, and similar dialects are spoken by wandering tribes in the Panjab, the United Provinces, and even in the Midnapore district of Bengal. Ahīrs are found all over Northern India, but it is only in Cutch that their dialect resembles that spoken by the various Bhīl tribes and by the inhabitants of Khandesh.

These dialects are mostly bounded towards the north and east by the various dialects of Rājasthānī, towards the south by Marāṭhī, and towards the west by Marāṭhī and Gujarātī.

The northern and eastern Bhīl dialects connect Gujarātī with Rājasthānī, while in the west, there runs a continuous line of dialects of Thana. The influence of Marāṭhī increases as we go southwards and these forms of speech are thus a link between that language and Gujarātī. The latter language is, however, everywhere the original base, and the gradual approaching the principles of Marāṭhī in structure and inflexional system seems to be due to a secondary development. [LSI pp. 1-2]

Pronunciation : The short *a* has, in many dialects the broad sound of *o*, in 'hot'. Thus, *pōg* and *pag*, 'foot'. The same is the case in Rājasthānī dialects and in Kōṅkaṇī, but usually not in those dialects where the Marāṭhī influence is strongest.

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The palatals commonly become *s*- sounds, especially in the north. The same is the case in Gujarātī and Rājasthānī dialects. *S* very commonly develops to a sound which is described as something between *h* and *s*. The real sound seems to be that of ch in 'loch'. This pronunciation is quite common everywhere in the eastern part of Gujarat. As we go westwards and eastwards, this sound, becomes as ordinarily *h* as in some dialects of Gujarātī and Malvī. *H* itself is very commonly dropped as is also the case in Gujarātī and Rājasthānī dialects. There is a strong tendency to substitute hard for soft mutes. This is especially the case with soft aspirates, and forms such as *kōḍō* or *khoḍō*, instead of *ghōḍō*, 'a horse' are quite common. In many dialects a medial *r* is frequently elided, as in *kōi*, for *kari*, 'having done'; *mōũ* for *marũ*, 'I may die'.

Nouns: The inflexion of nouns is mainly the same as in Gujarātī. In the south we find some instances of the use of the Marāṭhī oblique form, not, however as a regular feature. Khāndēśī has developed a separate oblique form of the plural ending in *-ēs* or *-s*.

The case suffixes are the same as in Gujarātī. As in some Gujarātī dialects, the ablative suffix is usually inflected in the same way as the genitive suffix. In addition to the form *thō*, etc., it also occurs as *hō*, etc., compare Rājasthānī.

Verbs: The present tense of the verb substantive is *chhũ*, etc. in Gujarātī and Eastern Rājasthānī, and *hũ*, etc. in Western Rājasthānī. The future tense is usually formed by adding an *-s* suffix in those dialects where 'I am' is *chhũ*, and an *-h* suffix where the corresponding form is *hũ*. Periphrastic future forms are used besides, an inflected *lō* being added in the east, and an indeclinable *la* in the west. We also find a *-gō* suffix in Mālvī and some dialects of Mārwāṛī.

The future is formed by adding an *-h* suffix in most of these dialects in the north, however, in Merwara, we find the Jaipurī future ending in *-lō*, and in Ratlam, Partapgarh, and Dhar we have the *-gō* future of Mālvī.

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The present tense of finite verbs is commonly formed as in Gujarātī and Rājasthānī by adding the verb substantive to the old present. In the west and south there is, however, a tendency to substitute the present participle for the old present, first apparently in the plural, and then afterwards, in the whole tense.

The past tense is usually formed as in Gujarātī. As in that language and in Eastern Hindī, a suffix *-nō* or *-ṇō* is used as well as the ordinary *-yō* suffix.

The preceding remarks will have shown that the position assigned to the dialects in question is correct, and that they are in reality more closely related to Gujarātī and Rājasthānī than to any other Indo-Aryan vernacular. [LSI pp. 2-4]

BHĪLĪ OR BHILŌḌĪ

574 *Bhīl Dialects* : The territory occupied by the Bhīl tribes is is rather extensive one, and there are, as might be expected differences of dialect in the different parts of the Bhīl country. Towards the north and east the dialects of the Bhīls gradually merge into the various forms of Rājasthānī. In the west and south the influence of Marāṭhī increases. More towards the east the Bhīl dialects gradually approach Khāndēśī, and at the Khandesh frontier, in northern Nasik, and in the Dangs, they are almost pure Khāndēśī.

The best known among all Bhīl dialects is that of Mahikantha. This dialect is also a convenient starting point if we desire to follow the various ramifications of the Bhīl dialects, and the form of Bhīlī spoken there has accordingly been dealt with as standard Bhīlī. It is closely related to Gujarātī. The present tense of the verb substantive, however, does not begin with *chh*, but with an *h-* sound which seems to correspond to the *ch* in 'loch'. The same sound is the characteristic of the future tense.

To the north-east of Mahikantha, in the Mewar state, the Bhīlī spoken is the same as in Mahikantha, however, there

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are traces of the influences of the neighbouring Mārwāṛī, which increases further as we proceed northwards along the Aravalli hills.

If we return to Mahikantha we can trace another series of dialects forming link with Mālvī. They are spoken to the east of Mahikantha, in Dungarpur, Banswara, Partapgarh, Ratlam, and Dhar.

We again return to Mahikantha. The Bhīlī of the Sunth state of Rewakantha is almost identical with the dialect spoken in Mahikantha. Proceeding towards the east we find, in the eastern portion of Panch Mahals, a dialect of Bhīlī which may be considered as the central link in a chain connecting Nīmārī in the east with standard Gujarātī in the west. The present tense of the verb substantive begins with *s* while the characteristic element of the future is an *h*. The same is the case with dialects spoken in Jhabua, and with Bhīl dialects of Chhota Udaipur and Rajpipla of Rewakantha Agency.

In the Bhīl dialects of Ali Rajpur and Barwani the present tense of the verb substantive begins with *chh* and the future is formed by adding an *-s* suffix. In Barwani the Bhil dialects gradually merge into Nīmāṛī, and we occasionally also find periphrastic future formed by adding a *-ga*. From Ali Rajpur we proceed westwards through a series of dialects which gradually merge into standard Gujarātī. The present tense of the verb substantive begins with *chh* and the future is formed by adding an *-s*.

The dialect of the Ahīrs of Cutch, on the other hand, is closely related to Gujarātī. It, however, also agrees with Marāṭhī in several points and we shall proceed from Ahīrī to a series of dialects which runs down from Rewakantha and gradually approaches Marāṭhī and Khāndēśī.

The northern Bhīl dialects mainly agree with Gujarātī and Rājasthānī. In Chhota Udaipur, on the other hand, the Khāndēśī and Marāṭhī forms begin to appear. Thus, *chhũ*, 'I am' ; *chhē*, and *chhatah*, 'they are'.

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In Rajpipla we begin to find the Marāṭhī present of the verb substantive, *āhē*. That form is more closely related to *hē* than to *chhē*.

The *h* form of the present tense and the corresponding *h*-future also prevail in Mawᵃchī, spoken in the eastern part of Khandesh, and in the Nōrī dialect of Ali Rajpur. The same is case with the various Bhīl dialects spoken in the Nawasari Division of Baroda state and the neighbouring districts.

[LSI pp. 6-9]

Non-Aryan element. It should be borne in mind that the Bhīls are not of Aryan origin, and that they have accordingly, adopted a foreign tongue. We cannot under such circumstances expect the same consistency as in the case of genuine Aryan vernaculars, and as a matter of fact we often meet with a state of affairs that reminds us of the mixed character of the language of other aboriginal tribes, which have, in the course of time, adopted the speech of their Aryan neighbours.

The Bhīls have sometimes been considered as originally a Dravidian race, and sometimes as belonging to the Muṇḍā stock. We are not as yet in a position to settle the question.

[LSI p. 9]

BHĪLĪ OF MAHIKANTHA

575 *Pronunciation.* Final *ī* in the singular of feminine nouns is commonly pronounced almost as an *ē*; thus, *sōrī* or *sōrē*, 'daughter'; *vī* and *vē*, 'she'. A long final vowel is very often nasalised. Thus, the suffix of the dative is *ē* or *ẽ*, and *nē* or *nẽ*.

The hard palatals do not occur, they having been replaced by *s* as in dialectic Gujarātī; thus, *sōrū*, standard Gujarātī *chhōrū*, 'a child'. The cerebral *ḍ* between vowels is usually pronounced as an *r*, also as in Gujarātī dialects; thus, *khōrō* and *ghōḍō*, 'a horse'. *H* is pronounced in two different ways. When it corresponds to an *h* in Gujarātī and connected languages it is very faintly sounded and is often dropped altogether as in the colloquial form of that

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language ; thus, *hũ atõ*, standard Gujarātī *hũ hatō*, 'I was'. *H* is, however, also regularly substituted for every *s* in the corresponding Gujarātī word. This *h* is pronounced as a guttural *h*, like the *ch* in 'loch' or in the German 'ich'. It has been transliterated as an *h̬*. Thus *hõn̬ũ*, Gujarātī *sonũ*, 'gold'. Soft consonants are often replaced by the corresponding hard ones. Thus, *ṭāhī* and *ḍāhī*, 'a cow'. Usually, however, the soft consonant which is changed to an hard one is an aspirate. Thus, *ghēr*, *ger*, and *khēr*, 'a house'.

[LSI p. 11]

Nouns. The nouns ending in *õ* or *ũ* form their plural in *ā*, and those ending in *ī*, form the plural optional in *õ*. Thus, *sõrõ*, 'a son', plur. *sõrā* ; *ād^{a}mī*, 'a man', plur. *ād^{a}mī(õ)*. The case suffixes are ; agentive and dative *-ē*, *yē*, *nē* ; ablative, *-h̬ũ* ; genitive, *-nō* ; locative *-mã̄*, *mẽ̄*, *mã̄y*, *kanē*.

The neuter gender is often used to denote feminine beings ; thus *bairũ*, and *bairī̃*, 'a woman'. [LSI p. 12]

Adjectives. All adjectives which do not end in *-ũ* are inflected. Those ending in *ũ* are inflected for gender, number, and partly for case. Thus, *bhalõ*, 'good' ; fem. *bhalī* ; neut. *bhalũ*.

[LSI p. 12]

Pronouns. Some of the forms of personal pronouns are ; *hũ*, 'I' ; *amã̄*, *amẽ̄*, *ap^{a}ḍã̄*, 'we' ; *tũ*, 'thou' ; *tamã̄*, *tamẽ̄*, 'you' ; *mārõ*, 'my' ; *amārõ*, 'our' ; *t(h)ārõ*, 'thine' ; *tamārõ*, 'your'.

'That' is *wõ*, *vī* ; fem. *wē*, *vī*, 'who ?' is *kuṇ*, *kõṇ*, and 'what ?' is *h̬ũ*. [LSI p. 12]

Verbs : Verb substantive. The verb substantive *hōwũ*, 'to be', is conjugated in the present, past and future tenses as under :

		Present, 'I am', etc.	*Past*, 'I was', etc.	*Future*, 'I shall be', etc.
Sing.	1.	*h̬ũ*	*atõ*	*a h̬i*, *hõũ*, *wũ*
	2.	*h̬ē*	*atō*	*a h̬ē*
	3.	*h̬ē*	*atō*	*a h̬ē*
Plur.	1.	*h̬ã̄*, *h̬aī -yē*	*atā*	*a h̬ã̄*
	2.	*h̬ō*	*atā*	*a h̬ō*
	3.	*h̬ẽ̄*, *h̬ē*	*atā*	*a h̬ẽ̄*

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The past tense is inflected as an adjective and agrees with the subject in gender and number. Thus, *vī atī* 'she was'.

Finite verb. The present participle is formed by adding *-tō* to the root ; thus, *paḍ^{a}tō*, 'falling'. The past participle is formed by adding *-jyō* or *-ēlō* ; thus, *paḍ^{a}jyō*, *paḍelō*, 'fallen'. The finite verb is conjugated in the present conjunctive, present, past and future tenses as under :

		Present conj., 'I may fall', etc.	*Present*, 'I fall', etc.
Sing.	1.	*paḍ̃ū*	*paḍ̃ū-hũ*
	2.	*paḍẽ*	*paḍẽ-hẽ*
	3.	*paḍẽ*	*paḍẽ-hẽ*
Plur.	1.	*paḍã*, *paḍivẽ*	*paḍã-hã*
	2.	*paḍō*	*paḍō-hō*
	3.	*paḍẽ*	*paḍẽ-hẽ*

		Past, 'I fell', etc.	*Future*, 'I shall fall', etc.
Sing.	1.	*paḍ^{a}jyō*	*paḍī(h)*, *paḍ^{a}hī*
	2.	same	*paḍ^{a}hẽ*, *paḍī(h)*
	3.	same	*paḍ^{a}hẽ*
Plur.	1.	*paḍ^{a}jyā*	*paḍ^{a}hã*
	2.	same	*paḍ^{a}ahō*
	3.	same	*paḍ^{a}hẽ*

The present conjunctive is also used as an ordinary present. The past participle passive has sometimes the forms *paḍivō*, *paḍyō* and *paḍō*.

The past tense of transitive verbs agrees with the object ; thus, *waṇẽ puñjī alyī*, 'he gave his property'.

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The passive voice is formed by adding *-ā* to the base ; thus, *kar^{a}wū̃*, 'to do' ; *karāwū̃*, 'to be done' ; *kēwā̃*, 'we are called' ; *kēwāē*, 'they are called'.

The causative verbs are formed as in Gujarātī, by adding *-aw*, *-āw*, and *-aḍ*. When *-āw* is added the verbal noun usually ends in *-ṇū̃*, and not in *-wū̃*. Thus, *waj^{a}wū̃*, 'to sound' ; *wajāw^{a}ṇū̃*, 'to cause to sound' ; *bēh$^{a}_{\sim}$wū̃*, 'to sit' ; *bāh$^{a}_{\sim}$āḍ^{a}wū̃*, to cause to sit'. [LSI p. 13]

Bhīlī spoken in Sunth state, in the eastern part of the district of Panch Mahals and in Jhabua state is very closely related to the dialect described above. [LSI pp. 47-49]

BHĪLĪ OF KOTRA (MEWAR)

576 The Bhīlī spoken in the Kotra district of Mewar has been much influenced by Mārwāṛī, and may be considered as the link of connecting that language with the Bhīl dialect of Mahikantha.

The palatals have developed to *s-* sound. And *s* has been changed to *h* as in Mahikantha. Ḍ between vowels is pronounced as an *ṛ* ; thus *ghōṛō*, 'a horse'.

The plural of strong feminine bases sometimes ends in *-ī* and sometimes in *-iyā̃* ; thus *ghōṛī*, 'mares' ; *chhōriyā̃*, 'daughters'.

The suffix of the genitive is *-rō*, or sometimes, *-nō* ; thus, *bāp-rō* and *bāp-nō*, 'of a father'. The suffix of the dative is *-nē* ; thus, *chhōra-nē*, 'to the son'.

'I' is *hū̃* and *mū̃*, case of the agent *maĩ*, genitive *merō*, *mahārō*, and *mākō*.

'He' is *wō* oblique *unā* and *wanā*. The interrogative pronouns are *kūn*, 'who ?' ; *kinā-rō*, 'whose ?' ; *hū̃*, 'what ?', etc.

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The present tense of the verb substantive is :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hũ*	*haĩ*
2.	*hai*	*hō, haĩ*
3.	*hai*	*hai, haĩ*

The past tense is *hatō* and *thō*, Plural *hata*.

The finite verbs are inflected as in connected dialects.

The past tense of transitive verbs is often combined with a subject in the nominative case. Thus. *bēṭō kēhyũ*, 'the son said'.

The conjunctive present is often used as a future ; thus, mũ jāũ, 'I shall go'. The true future is formed from this tense by adding *gō*, plural *ga*. Thus, *hũ kuṭũ-gō*, 'I shall strike'.

[LSI p. 23]

MAGᴬRI OR MAGᴬRĀ-KĪ BOLĪ

577 In the north, Nyār approaches Mārwāṛī and has to its east a dialect of that language which in some characteristics agrees with Bhīlī, viz., the so-called Magᵃrī or Magᵃrā-kī bōlī. It is the dialect of the southern hilly part of Merwara.

Magᵃrī in most characteristics agrees with ordinary Mārwārī. There are, however, some indications which show that the base of the dialect is identical with the various forms of Bhīlī spoken to the south.

An *h* is often substituted for an *s* ; thus, *hagalō* 'all' ; *huraj*, 'sun'.

The inflexion of nouns and pronouns is essentially the same as in Mārwāṛī. The suffix of the agentive case is, however, -*ē*

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or -*nē*, as in Mālvī and Gujarātī Bhīlī. Thus, *bhōlyē*, 'by the son' ; *bāē-nē*, 'by the father'. This suffix is sometimes added to the adjective and not to the qualified noun. Thus, *vī -kē bā*, 'by his father'.

The suffixes of the dative are -*ẽ*, and -*nē* or -*nai*. Thus, *bayẽ* and *bā-nē*, 'to the father' ; *ēk-nai*, 'to some one'. The suffix of the ablative is -*hũ*, thus, *bā-hũ*, from a father'. The usual suffix of the genitive is -*kō* ; thus *bā-kō*, 'of a father'. The suffix of the locative is -*m˜*, -*mã* or -*mãy*.

The nominative forms of personal pronouns are ; *mhũ*, 'I' ; *mhẽ*, 'we' ; *thũ*, 'thou' ; thē, 'you' ; *ū*, 'he' ; *vē*, 'they'. The genitive forms are *mhaṛō*, *mhārō*, 'my' ; *thaṇō*, thārō, 'thy'.

The conjugation of verbs agrees with Mārwāṛī.

[LSI p. 31]

BHĪLĪ OF RATLAM

578 The Bhīlī dialect of Ratlam in many characteristics differs from the connected forms of speech to the west and approaches the neighbouring Mālvī.

The palatals are sometimes retained, and sometimes also changed to *s*- sound. Thus, *chāk^{a}rã-nē*, 'to the servants' ; *chhōrō* and *sōrō*, 'a son'. Similarly, we find both *s* and *h* corresponding to Gujarātī *s* ; thus *sag^{a}lō*, 'all' ; *das*, 'ten'.

The plural of strong feminine bases ends in -*yã* as in Rājasthānī ; thus, *sōryã*, 'daughters'.

The ablative suffixes are-*thī* and -*ũ* ; thus, *bāp-thī* 'from a father' ; *sabā-ũ ūchō*, 'all from high , highest'.

The usual suffix of the genitive is -*nō*.

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Occasionaly, however, the Mālvī and Mārwāṛī suffix *-rō* is used, instead ; thus, *waṇī dēś-rā rēwawāra-kanē*, 'to a citizen of that country'.

The personal pronoun of the first person singular is *hũ* and *mũ* as in Mālvī. 'We' is *hamō* and 'you' *tamō* or *tamē*. 'He' is *ũ* or *wu*. The relative pronoun is *jō* or *jē*, and who ?' is *kūṇ*.

The present tense of the verb substantive is :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hũ, ũ, hē*	*hai, hē, hā*
2.	*hē, hai*	*hō, hai, hē*
3.	*hē, hai*	*hē, hai*

Instead of *hē* we also find *chhē*.

The present and past tenses of finite verbs are formed as in other connected dialects. Thus, *hũ maṛũ-hũ*, 'I strike' ; *uṇi-ē māryō*, 'he struck'.

The present participle is used as a present definite and an imperfect. Thus, *khata*, '(they) were eating' ; *tũ ma-nē kanē sadā rētō*, 'thou art always living near me'.

The future is formed as in Mālvī. Thus, *hūmāryū-ga*, 'I shall strike'. The conjunctive present is sometimes used instead ; thus, *kahũ*, 'I will say'.

[LSI p. 35]

BHĪLĪ OF DHAR

579 The dialect spoken by the Bhils in the Dhar state of the Bhopawar Agency has been so much influenced by the neighbouring Mālvī that it might just as well be considered as a dialect of that form of speech. It is, however, more convenient to deal with it in connexion with the other Bhīl dialects with which it agrees in some characteristic features.

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Pronunciation. Final *a* (or *ā*) and *ē* are frequently interchanged, as is also the case in Khāndēśī and other connected dialects. Thus, *ha* and *hē*, 'is' ; *karī-na* and *karī-nē*, 'having done'.

The palatals seem to be pronounced as in the western Bhīl dialects, that is to say, as *s*, *z*, respectively, with or without aspiration. This must be inferred from spellings such as *par-dēch-mā̃*, 'in a foreign country'. There is a strong tendency to cerebralize dental sounds. Thus we find *ḍhaw^{a}ḷō*, 'white' ; *hūḍ*, 'consciousness'. *H* is used as in eastern dialects where Gujarātī has *v* or *w* ; thus, *bis*, 'twenty' ; *bāl*, 'hair'.

Nouns. The neuter gender has almost entirely disappeared.

The plural is formed as in western Bhīl dialects ; thus, *ghōḍō*, 'a horse' ; *ghōḍa*, 'horses' ; *ghōḍī*, 'a mare' ; *ghōḍī*, 'mares' ; *gāy*, 'a cow', adds *-ā* in the plural as in Marāṭhī ; thus, *gayā*, 'cows'.

Case. The oblique form is in most cases identical with the base. Strong masculine bases, which end in *-ō* or *-ā* take *-ā* in the oblique form.

The usual case suffixes are,—case of the agent, *-nē* and *-na* ; dative, *-kē*, *-ka* and *-kū* ; ablative, *-hī*, *-hē*, and *-sē* ; genitive, *-kō*, fem. *-kī*, obl. *-kā* ; locative, *-ma* and *-mē*. Compare Mālvī.

Pronouns. The personal pronouns are mainly the same as in Mālvī. Thus, *hū̃* and *mē*, 'I' ; *mhārō*, 'my' ; but also *mērī* 'my' ; *ham* and *āpaṇ*, 'we' ; *hamārō*, 'our' ; *tam* and *tum*, 'you' ; *tamārō*, 'your'.

The demonstrative pronouns are, *wō* and *vī*, 'that' ; *yē* and *yā*, 'this'. 'Who ?' is *kūṇ*, and 'what ?' is *kā̃ī* and *kyā*.

Verbs. The verb substantive forms its present tense as in Mālvī and some western Bhīl dialects. Thus, sing., 1. *hū̃* and *hē* ; 2 and 3, *hē* ; plur., 1. *hā̃* ; 2, *hō* ; 3, *hē*. The corresponding past tense is *thō* or *hatō* (*vhatō*) ; plural, *thā* or *hatā*.

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The old present is used as a contingent present, and it is inflected as in western Bhīl dialects and Mālvī. Thus, *jaũ*, 'I may go'; *jāy*, 'thou mayst go'. An ordinary present is formed by adding the verb substantive. Thus, *vī paḍa-hē*, 'they fell'.

The past tense is usually formed as in Mālvī; thus, *hũ gayō*, 'I went'; *bhūk lagī*, 'hunger came'.

The future is formed as in Mālvī. Thus, *tū dēga*, 'thou wilt give'.

The imperative and participles also agree with Mālvī.

[LSI pp. 39-41]

BHĪLĪ OF ALI RAJPUR

580 The Bhīl dialect spoken in the Ali Rajpur and the Barwani states of the Bhopawar Agency is a mixed form of speech, and in many characteristic features agrees with Rājasthānī, or more especially, with Nīrmāḍī.

The broad pronunciation of a short *a* as *ō* or *ā* is very marked. Thus, *ghōr*, 'a horse'; *mōrũ*, 'I am dying'.

The palatals and *s* have the same sound as in Western Hindī. Thus, *chāl*, 'go'; *chhōrī*, 'daughter'.

v and *w* become *b* as in Rājasthānī where Gujarātī and the Western Bhīl dialects have *v* and *w*; thus, *bīs*, 'twenty'; *baras*, 'a year'.

With regard to the formation of words we may note the frequent use of the suffix *-lō*; thus *warũ* and *wa*^{a}*lũ*, 'good'; *ghōḍo* and *ghōḍ*^{a}*lō*, 'horse'. The use of this suffix is of interest as it agrees with the use of the corresponding suffix *-illa* in Māhārāshtrī Prākrit.

Nouns. The neuter gender is very often replaced by the masculine, especially in Barwani. Thus, *sōnũ* (Ali Rajpur) and *sōnō* (Barwani), 'gold'.

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The plural is formed as in other Bhīl dialects. Thus, *chhōrō*, 'a son' ; *chhōrā* 'sons' ; *chhōrī*, 'a daughter' ; *chhōrī* and *chhōrīyā̃*, 'daughters'. In Barwani the plural of strong feminine bases ends in *-nā* as in Nīmāḍī ; thus, *ghōḍ^{a}lī-nā*, 'mares'. As *s* is often added to the base, especially in Ali Rajpur. Thus *bās*, 'a father' ; *bēṭō* and *bēṭōs*, 'a son'.

The usual case suffixes are,—case of the agent *-ē* and *-nē* ; dative *-nē*, *-khē*, *-ka* and *-kājē* ; ablative *-sē*, *-sū̃*, *-thī* and *-kathī* ; genitive *-n*, *-nō*, and *kō* ; locative *-mā* and *-mō*.

Pronouns. Some of the forms of personal pronouns are ; *mē̃* and *hū̃*, 'I' ; *(h)amū*, 'we' ; *tū*, 'thou' ; *tuhu*, *tamu*, 'you' ; *pōlō*, 'he' ; *pōlā*, 'they'.

The demonstrative pronouns are *yō*, 'this', and *wō* 'that'. The relative pronoun is *jō* and *jē*, 'which'. 'Who ?' is *kuṇ*, and 'what ?' is *kai*.

Verbs. The present tense of verb substantive is formed as follows :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*chhū̃*, *chhaū̃*	*chhē*
2.	*chhē*	*chhō*, *chhē*
3.	*chhē*	*chhē*

The past tense is *hatō*, *hat^{a}lō* or *hōt^{a}lō*, plural *hatā*, etc.

The conjunctive present of finite verbs, which is often used as an ordinary present, is formed as in other Bhīl dialects. Thus, *mē̃ mārñ̃*, 'I strike' ; 2, *mārē* ; 3, *mārē* ; plural 1, *mār^{a}jē* ; 2, *mārō* ; 3, *mārē*.

The ordinary present and past tenses are regularly formed.

The present participle, with the addition of the suffix *-lō*, is used as a present definite and an imperfect. Thus, *mē̃ mārat^{a}lō*, 'I am striking', 'I strike' ; *khāt^{a}la*, 'they were eating'.

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The future of the verb *kuṭ^{a}nō*, 'to strike', is :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*kuṭīs*	*kuṭ^{a}sũ*
2, 3.	*kuṭ^{a}sī*	*kuṭ^{a}sī*

[LSI pp. 51-52]

BHĪLĪ OF BARIA

581 The Bhīlī of Baria state of the Rewakantha Agency has the following peculiarities :

The palatals are usually retained ; thus, *chhōrō*, 'a son'. *Ch* is, however, also changed to *s* as in other Bhīl dialects of the neighbourhood ; thus, *pasāh*, 'fifty'.

The plural of feminine -*ī* bases ends in -*īō* ; thus, *chhōrīō*, 'daughters'.

'We' is *hamu*, 'you' *tamu*, and 'they' *tē*, *tēō* and *tēhō*. 'Who ?' is *kuṇ*.

The present tense of verb substantive is, 1, *chhu*, 2, *chhē*, 3, *chhē* ; plural, 1, *chhīē*, 2, *chhō*, 3, *chhē*. The past tense is *hutō*, plural *hutā*.

The future tense of *kuṭ^{a}wũ*, 'to strike', is, 1, *kuṭēś*, 2, *kuṭēś*, 3, *kuṭ^{a}śē* ; plural, 1, *kuṭ^{a}śu*, 2, *kuṭ^{a}śō*, 3, *kuṭ^{a}śē*. [LSI p 59]

AHĪRĪ OF CUTCH

582 The Ahīrs or Abhīrs are a class of cowherds in Cutch, and are found in the north and east of Bhuj, in the east of Kanthi and the west of Wagad. According to their traditions they originally accompanied Kṛishṇa from Mathurā to Girnar in Kathiawar and thence came to Cutch.

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The language used by these Ahīrs is in most characteristics, a Gujarātī dialect. In some features, however, it agrees with Gujarātī Bhīlī, and it has been found convenient to deal with it in connection with these forms of speech. The following are some of the points in which this dialect differs from ordinary Gujarātī.

Gujarātī *s* is replaced by an *h* indicated as an *h̰* which is pronounced as a strong aspirate, somewhat like the *ch* in German 'ach'. Thus *h̰at*, 'seven'; *dah̰*, 'ten'. A dental *d* is commonly cerebralised. Thus, *ḍī*, 'day', *ḍakar*, 'famine'.

Nouns: The neuter gender has almost disappeared. Forms such as *h̰ōnũ*, 'gold', etc. are probably due to the influence of standard Gujarātī.

The plural is formed as in Gujarātī, usually, however, without the suffix *-ō*; thus, *ghōṛā*, 'horses'. The plural of strong feminine bases ends in *-ĩ̃*; thus, *ghōṛĩ̃*, 'mares'.

The case suffixes are the same as in Gujarātī. In the dative, however, *-nẽ* is seldom used and commonly replaced by *-h̰ẽ*, and in the ablative the suffix is *-thō*, which is inflected as an adjective.

Verbs. The present tense of verb substantive is:

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*chhã*	*chhaiẽ*
2.	*chhō*	*chhō*
3.	*chhẽ*	*chhẽ*

S and *h* are often substituted for *chh*. The past tense is *hũto*, plural *hũtā*.

The present tense finite verbs is formed by adding the verb substantive to the present participle and not to the conjunctive present. Thus, *hũ marᵃıō chhã*, 'I die'.

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The conjunctive present has the same terminations as the present tense of the verb substantive. Thus, *hũ mēlā*, 'I may put'. Forms such is *hũ, rē chhũ*, 'I may sell', are Gujarāti.

The future of *mārᵃwō*, 'to strike', is :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārēs*	*mārᵃsũ*
2.	*mārēs*	*mārᵃsō*
3,	*mārᵃsē*	*mārᵃsē*

Instead of the characteristic *s* of this form we also find *h* and even *chh*. [LSI pp. 63-64]

PĀWᴬRĪ

583 The Pāwᵃras are a tribe of cultivators in Khandesh. Their home is the Akrani *Pargana* round Dhadgaon. They are also found below the Ghats in Taloda and Shahada. and, in small numbers, north of the Narbada and in Kathi.

The Pāwᵃrī dialect is a form of Gujarātī Bhīlī. The Pawᵃras deny that they are Bhīls and claim to be the descendants of the Rajput Pãwars or Pramaras of Dhar, and to belong to the Jagdēo and Udaisingh septs of that clan. Their northern origin is confirmed by their language, which has several points of connexion with the Bārēl dialect of Udepur, and with the Bhīl dialects of Rajpipla, Ali Rajpur and Barwani.

Pronunciation. The short *a* is often pronounced as an *ō* ; thus, *ōtō* 'he was' ; *dōh* 'ten'. *Ō* is often interchangeable with *u* ; thus *chō* and *chu*. 'he' ; *gōḍō* and *guḍō*, 'a horse'. An initial *h* is often dropped ; thus, *ãt* or *ath*, 'a hand ; *ōraṇ* (=haraṇ), 'a deer. *S* has been replaced by *h* ; thus *hōnō*, 'gold'.

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The use of suffix *-lō*, which is also found in Ali Rajpur and Chhota Udepur is also frequent. Thus, *mōṭlō* and *mōṭō*, 'great'; *gōyō* and *gōylō*, 'he went', etc. This suffix does not seem to effect the meaning.

Nouns. There are only two genders, the masculine and the feminine, the former being used as a neuter.

The plurals of strong masculine and feminine bases end in *-a* and *-ī*, respectively. Thus, *chhōrō*, 'a son'; *chhōra*, 'sons'; *chhōrī*, 'a daughter, daughters'. The oblique form is the same as in Gujarātī Bhīlī.

The subject of a verb is put in the agentive case, when the predicate is the past tense of a transitive verb. Thus, *bahē pōtan māl waṭī dēnlō*, 'the father divided (and) gave his own property'. The usual case suffixes are :

Agent and instrumental, *ē*

Dative, *ha*, *n* or no suffix.

Ablative, *dōkh* (not *dēkh* as elsewhere)

Genitive, *n*

Locative *mẽ*, *mã*, *mãy*, *mã*. *ē*.

Adjective. Adjectives follow the Rājasthānī and Gujarāti system of being put into the locative or agentive case, when agreeing with a noun in that case. Thus, *gayē inē warhē*, 'in this past year'; *jinē chhurē*, 'by the son who'.

Numerals. There are no numerals beyond twenty. 'Fifty' is 'two twenties and ten', *dui vihī -n -dōh.*

Pronouns. Some of the pronominal forms are; *mī*, 'I, by me'; *māhē*, 'me'; *marō*, 'my'; *amu*, 'we'; *amrō*, 'our'; *tu*, *tũ* 'me'; *tarō*, thy'; *tumu*, 'you'; *tumro*, 'your'; *chu*, *chō* and *pōlō*, 'he, that'; *tinu*, 'they'.

Verbs. The present tense of the verb substantive is *chhē*, plural also *chhēta*.

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Finite verb. Only a few forms of the old present occur. These are, *apē*, 'I shall give' : *avē*, 'I shall come'. The usual form of the present tense is made by adding *-lō* to the present participle ; thus, *jāt-lō*, 'goes' ; plur. *jat-la*.

The past tense is formed by adding *-yō* or *-lō* ; thus, *gōyō* or *gōylō*, 'he went' ; *pōḍyō* or *pōḍlō*, 'he fell'. The future is formed by adding *-hē* or *-i* in the singular, and *-hũ* or *-ũ* and *-hōt* in the plural. Thus, *bōhāṭ -ī*, 'I, thou or he will strike' ; *jāhē*, 'he will go' ; *kuṭ-hōt*, 'they will strike'. Another future ends in *ṇē* or *nẽ* and thus has the same form as the infinitive ; thus, *jāṇē* or *jaṇẽ*, 'I shall go, I am off' ; *āpṇē*, 'if I give'.

[LSI pp. 72-74]

BHĪLI OF RAJPIPLA

584 Bhīlī is also the principal language of Rajpipla. This dialect is connected with various forms the language assumes in Khandesh. It is also connected with the various dialects of the Nawsari Division of the Baroda state.

L is interchangeable with *n* ; thus, *mōkᵃnyō*, 'he was sent' ; *nagī*, 'she began'. The cerebral *ḷ* does not seem to exist in the dialect ; thus, *kal*, 'famine'. A hard consonant is often substituted for a soft aspirate, just as was the case in Mahikantha. Thus, *kōḍō*, 'a horse' ; *kō*, 'a house'.

Nouns. The inflexion of nouns is mainly the same as in Mahikantha. The oblique form is sometimes used alone, without any suffix, to denote various cases ; thus, *bayᵃcha*, 'by a father, to a father, of a father and a father'. The plural of strong masculine bases ends in *-ā* and *-ē*, as is also the case in Khāndēśī, and of feminine *-ī* bases in *-īō*.

The case suffixes seem to be the same as in Mahikantha. Thus, *pōbᵃrāē*, 'by the son' ; *majurā-nē*, 'to the servants', *dēh-mā* 'in the country', etc.

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Pronouns. Some of the pronominal forms are ; *āi*, 'I' ; *mā* 'my' *amō*, *amu*, *āpah*, 'we' ; *amā*, 'our' ; *tũ*, *tu*, 'thou' ; *tō*, 'thy' ; *tumō*, 'you' ; *tē*, *tō*. *tīō*, 'he' ; *tīā*, *tiān*, 'his' ; *tīō*, they' *tī*, 'that' ; *a*, *āi*, 'this' ; *jē*, 'which' ; *kō-ḍō* 'who ?', *ku-nō*, 'whose ?' ; *ka* and *kāī*, 'what ?'.

Verbs. The verb substantive forms its present tense as follows :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*chhũ*, *āhē*	*hẽ*, *ahē*
2.	*chhē*, *ahē*	*hē-rā*, *ahē*
3.	*hē*, *āhe*	*hē-rā*, *ahē*

The final-*rā* in the second and third persons plural seems to be an affirmative particle.

The present tense of finite verbs is formed as in Mahikantha. Thus, *āi kuṭũ*, 'I strike' ; *āi marũ hũ*, 'I die, I am dying'. In the plural we also find forms such as *amō ṭhōkᵃtā-hā*, 'we strike', etc.

The future seems to be formed as in other Bhīl dialects. Thus *jāhī*, 'I will go' ; *hōhī*, 'I will say' ; *mārũhũ*, 'we will strike'. The future participle ending in *nārā* is often used instead. Thus, *marᵃnārā*, 'we, you or they will strike'.

The verbal noun ends in *-wā* and *-nā* ; thus, *tīān abᵃda pōḍᵃwā nāgī*, 'to him distress to arise began'. The present participle ends in *-tō* or in *-nō* ; thus *jīwᵃtō*, 'living' ; *kuṭᵃnō*, 'striking'.

The vocabulary is to a great extent peculiar. On whole, however, the dialect is closely related to other Bhīl dialects.

[LSI pp. 84-85]

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MĀWCHĪ

585 The Māwchī or Mauchis are a Bhīl tribe whose home is in the west Pimpalner and Baglan Talukas of the Nawapur Peta of the Khandesh district and the adjoining parts of the Dangs and Baroda. They are sometimes called Gāvīts, and are mostly cultivators.

The short *a* has the same broad pronunciation as in other Bhīl dialects. Thus, *bōhī*, 'a sister'; *bōh*, 'sit'. An *h* between vowels is usually very faintly sounded and is often dropped. In such cases the vowels separated by the *h* may be contracted. Thus, *tōhō*, *tōō*, and *tō*, 'thy'. Vowels are very commonly nasalized. Thus, *kōĩ*, 'having done'; *bōlē -hẽ*, 'he says'.

An *r* is usually dropped between vowels; thus, *kōĩ*, 'having done'; *mōũ*, 'I may die'. *s* is replaced by *h*; thus, *dōhō*, 'ten'; *wōhatī*, 'dwelling'.

Nouns. There are only two genders, the masculine and the feminine.

Strong masculine bases end in *-ō* or *-ā*, plural *-ā* or *-ē*; thus *pōhō* or *pōhā*, 'a son'; plural *pōhā* or *pōhē*. *a* and *ō*, *ē* and *ā*, are, in the same way, interchangeable in verbal forms. The plural of other masculine bases usually ends in *-ē*; thus, *ḍogᵃrē*, 'cattle'.

The oblique forms agree with Gujarātī.

The case suffixes are the same as in Gujarātī. The nominative is sometimes used instead of the case of the agent to denote the subject when the verb is the past tense of a transitive verb. Thus, *tō ābōhōl ākhyā*, 'he said to his father'. The suffix of the dative is *n*, l, or lā; thus, *ābōhōl* 'to the father'. The ablative is formed by adding *-nē*; thus, *nānā -māy-nē*, 'from in the fields'. The suffix of the genitive is *-hō* or *-ō*, and of locative is *-mā*, *-māy*, or *-mē*.

Pronouns. Some of the pronominal forms are; *ẽ*, *ẽhĩ*, *ahĩ*, 'I'; *mā*, 'my'; *amhā*, *amā*, 'we'; *amhē*, *āmē*, 'our'; *tũ*, 'thou'; *tōhō*,

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tōō, *tō*, 'thy' ; *tumhā*, *tumā*, 'you' ; *tumhē*, *tumē*, 'you'. *ō*, fem. *īh*, 'this' ; *tō*, fem. *tī*, 'that' ; *jō*, 'who' ; *kũ* or *kō* 'who ?', *kay*, 'what ?'.

Verbs. The present tense of the verb substantive is :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*haũ*, *hũ*	*hējē*
2.	*hai*, *hē*	*hētā*, etc.
3.	*hai*, *hē*	*hēta*, etc.

Or *hē*, *hai*, throughout. The past tense is regular, singular *haṭō*, etc., plural *hatā*, or *hatē*, etc.

The old present is used as a conjunctive present, an ordinary present, a past, and after the negative *mã*, as a negative imperative. Thus *mõũ*, 'I die, I may die' ; *rōhẽ*, 'thou livest' ; *akhē*, 'he said' ; *mã sōḍē*, or *sōḍē hē*, 'don't leave me'.

The present tense of finite verbs is formed as follows :

ṭhōkũ-ũ, 'I strike' ; *ṭhōkē -hē*, 'thou strikest, he strikes' ; plural *thōkᵃtā-hā*, or *ṭhōkᵃtē-hē*.

The past tense is formed as in connected dialects by adding *yō* (*ō*), *nō*, *lō*, etc.

The ordinary future of *ṭhōkᵃnō*, 'to beat', is :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ṭhōkihĩ*	*ṭhōkũ*, *ṭhōkuhũ*
2.	*ṭhōkihi*	*ṭhōkᵃhã*, *ṭhōkī*
3.	*ṭhōkī*	*ṭhōkihi*, *ṭhōkī*

[LSI pp. 95-96]

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NŌRĪ

586 Nōrī is the dialect of a small tribe in the Bhopawar Agency of Central India.

The Nōrī dialect is related to Barēl, the Bhīlī of Rajpipla, Pāwrī and the Bhīl dialects spoken in the Nawasari division of the Baroda state. Compare the pronunciation of *a* as *ō*, the dropping of *r* between vowels, the loss of aspiration, and the change of soft to hard consonants in words such as *dōh*, 'ten', *mōõ*, 'I die' ; *kō*, 'house' ; *kōḍō*, 'horse' etc.

With regard to the inflexion of nouns we may note the use of the nominative and the oblique form in the same wide way as in Rajpipla ; thus, *taa bāh hōa-mẽ*, 'in the father's house'. The plural of strong masculine bases ends in *-ā* and *-ē* ; thus, *chhuā*, 'sons' ; *kuḍē*, 'horses'.

The commonest case suffixes are,—dative *-ō* ; ablative *-rōtā* ; genitive *-nō* or -no suffix ; locative *-mā*, *-māy*, *-māhi*, and *-mē*.

Some of the pronominal forms are ; *õĩ*, 'I' ; *mā*, 'my' ; *amē*, 'we' ; *māa*, 'our' ; *tū*, 'thou' ; *tā* (*ā*), 'thy' ; *tumē*, 'you' ; *tumāa*, 'your' ; *hōnō*, *wō*, *tō*, *yō*, 'he' ; *hōnā*, *tē*, 'they'.

The present tense of the verb substantive is given as follows :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hũ*	*hōjē*
2.	*hōyō*	*hōyā*
3.	*hōyō*, *hōē*	*hōya*

The past tense is *hōtō*, plural *hōtā*, with many varieties.

With regard to the inflexion of finite verbs we may note that the *-n-* suffix is often used both in the present and past tenses. Thus, *mānũ*, 'I strike' ; *rōinũ*, 'he is'. It is also used after the present participle. Thus *jātnā*, 'we go'.

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The usual suffix of the past tense is *-yō* ; thus *gõyũ*, plur. *gõyā*, 'went'. [LSI pp. 105-106]

BHĪLĪ OF BARODA

587 The principal language of the Baroda state is Gujarātī. A considerable portion of the inhabitants of the Nawsari division, however, speak several dialects of Bhīlī, viz., Rāṇī, Chōdhrī, Gāmṭī and Dhōḍiā, which are being described in the following pages. [LSI p. 108]

RĀṆĪ BHĪLĪ

588 The eastern portion of the Nawsari division of the Baroda state is a hill country covered with forests. It is known as the *Rāṇī Mahāls* i.e. forest districts and comprises the Mahals of Mahuha, Vyara, Songhad and Wakal district of Velachha. One of the Bhīl dialects of that district is known as Rāṇī Bhīlī.

Rāṇī is a dialect connected on one side with the Bhīlī of Rajpipla, Nōrī, Pāwrī, etc., and on the other with Chōdhrī, Gāmṭī, etc.

We find hard consonants substituted for soft aspirates and an *r* dropped between vowels. An *h* is dropped as in the dialects mentioned above.

The oblique form is used as a genitive, just as in the case in Rajpipla and other districts ; thus, *bāhᵃkā*, 'of a father'. It also occurs as the case of the agent ; thus, *bāhᵃkā*, 'by the father'.

The ablative suffix *dēkh* Rāṇī shares with Pāwrī and other dialects.

The present tense of the verb substantive is *āhay* ; compare *ahē* in Rajpipla.

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The present tense of *thōkªnē*, 'to strike', is *ṭhōkũ-hũ*, 'I strike' ; *ṭhōkō-hō*, 'thou strikest' ; *ṭhōkē-hē*, 'he strikes' ; plural *ṭhōkªta-hā*.

In the future we find forms such as *ṭhōkīhī*. 'I shall strike' ; *ṭhōkuhũ*, 'we shall strike' ; corresponding to the usual forms in Rajpipla.

In some of the points just mentioned, and in several other characteristics, Rāṇī agrees with Chōdhrī and the other Bhīl dialects of the neighbourhood.

[LSI p. 110]

CHŌDHRĪ

589 The Chōdhras are one of the aboriginal tribes of Surat and the Nawsari division of Baroda. In the former district they are formed on both sides of Nawsari, in the Olpad division in the west, and in the Mandvi Taluka and near Walod in the east.

The Chōdhrī dialect in most characteristics agrees with Gujarātī Bhīlī. In some points, however, it differs and approaches Marāṭhī on one side and Khāndēśī on the other.

The short a is often pronounced as an open ō ; *pōrªmēhar*, 'God'. *L* commonly becomes *n*, and the cerebral *ḷ* is always changed to *l* ; *nōwªḍō̃*, 'iron' ; *chan*, 'go' ; *kal*, 'famine'.

The soft aspirates are commonly hardened. The aspiration is, in such cases apparently very strong. Thus, *khhōr*, 'house'. As in other neighbouring dialects, there is a strong tendency to pronounce vowels with a drawl, The result is usually a doubling of the vowel and the insertion of a weakly sounded *h* ; *hāruhu*, Gujarātī *sārũ*, 'for the sake of'.

The inflexion of nouns is mainly the same as in Mahikantha. The neuter plural, however, ends in -*ē* ; thus, *māṇªhē*, 'men'.

The genitive suffix is -*nō* (or-*ṇō*), but occasionally -*hō* is used instead. This latter form is often used as an oblique base ; thus, *dikrihē--ṇē̃*, 'to a daughter'.

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Adjectives including the genitive ending in *-nō* and the ablative ending in *-thō*, are inflected as in Gujarātī. Strong adjective bases, however, often use a form ending in *-ē* throughout ; thus, *māārē phāg*, 'my share'.

The verb substantive has the same form in the singular, and in the plural, viz., first person *hām* (or *ãm*), second and third persons *hā* (or *a*). The corresponding past tense *hut^{a}nō* or is *hōt^{a}nō*.

The present tense of finite verbs is formed by adding the verb substantive to the present participle ; thus, *ṭhōk^{a}tōm* (or *ṭhōk^{a}tō-ām*) 'I strike', '*thōk^{a}tā -hā*' you, they, strike'.

The past tense ends in *-yō*, *-ō-chyō*, and *-nō* ; thus, *gō* and *ganō*, 'he went' ; *mōkinyō*, 'he was sent'. *ṭhōk^{a}chyō*, 'he was struck'.

The suffix *-nō* is often also added to the present participle ; thus, *jāt^{a}nō*, 'going'.

The future of *thōk^{a}wa*, 'to strike', is :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ṭhōkihī̃*	*ṭhōkuhū̃*
2.	*ṭhōkēhē*	*ṭhōk^{a}hā*
3.	*ṭhōkii*	*ṭhōkii*

Another form of the future ends in *-wānō*, plural *-wānā* ; thus *mār^{a}wānō*, 'I, thou, or he, will strike'. [LSI pp. 112-113]

Gām^{a}ṭī or Gāmaṭ^{a}ḍı dialect, spoken by the Gām^{a}ṭas or Gāmiṭs, another aboriginal tribe living in the same localities as the chōdhras, closely agrees with Chōdhrī. [LSI p. 119]

DHŌḌIÁ

590 Dhōḍiā is the dialect spoken by the Dhōṇḍias or Dhuṇḍias, one of the aboriginal tribes of Surat and Thana. They are chiefly found in the eastern parts of Jabalpur and Balsar, the western half of Dharampur and Bansda of Surat, and in the adjoining districts of Baroda and Thana.

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Dhōḍiā has been influenced by the neighbouring Marāṭhī. Thus the singular of strong neuter bases usually ends in- *ā̃* and there are some instances of the use of the Marāṭhī oblique form. Thus, *badhā̃*, 'all' ; but *sōnũ*, 'gold', *gā̃wā-mā̃*, 'in a village'.

The case suffixes are generally the same as in Gujarātī. The dative is sometimes apparently formed without any suffix, and the genitive occasionally ends in *-hō* or *-ō* ; thus, *bāh* 'to the father' ; *Par^{a}mēharā pāp*, 'sin against God'. The suffix of the ablative is sometimes the *-thō* of the northern Gujarātī, which is declined like an adjective ; thus, *tiyā-mā̃ thā̃ vīh rupiyā*, 'twenty rupees from among them'.

Some of the pronominal forms are ; *mẽ*, 'I, by me' ; *māṇō*, 'my' ; *āmu*, *āmũ*, 'we' ; *ām^{a}ṇō* 'our' ; *tu*, *tũ*, 'thou' ; *tuṇō*, 'thy' ; *tumā*, 'you', 'to you' ; *tum^{a}ṇō*, 'your' ; *tē*, *to*, 'he, that' etc. ; *tē*, *tī*, 'they' ; *ō*, 'this' ; plural *ē* ; *kuṇ*, 'who ?' ; *kā*, *kahā*, 'what ?'.

The present tense of the verb substantive is as follows :

Sing.	Plur.
1. *āhẽ*, *ā̃hē*, *ā̃y*, *ā̃ē*	*ā̃hũ*, *ā̃ũ*
2. *āhē*, *āy*, *āē*	*āhā*, *ā*
3. *āhē*, *āy*, *āē*	*āhē*, *āy*, *āē*

The past tense is *-atō* (*-ā*, *-ī*)

The following is the present tense of the verb *baḍ^{a}wũ* (imperative *baḍāw*), 'to beat'.

Sing.	Plur.
1. *baḍ^{a}vẽ*	*baḍ^{a}wũ*
2. *baḍ^{a}vē*	*baḍ^{a}wā*
3. *baḍ^{a}vē*	*baḍ^{a}vē*

The present definite is formed from the present participle. Thus, *tu baḍatētā*, or *baḍ^{a}vēṭāē*, 'thou strikest, *āmi baḍaṭ^{a}tā*, 'we strike'. The verb substantive is added in order to form a

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present definite ; thus *mẽ marẽtāy*, 'I am dying'. The use of different forms in the singular and the plural is perhaps due to the influence of the old present.

The imperfect is formed by adding *-hatō* (not-*atō*), etc., to the present participle. The initial *h* is combined with the final *t* of the present participle into one sound *th*. Thus, *mẽ baḍ^{a}vẽ thatō*, or *mẽ baḍ^{a}vẽ thatō*, 'I was striking'.

The future of *baḍaṭ^{a}wũ* or *baḍ^{a}wũ*, is formed as follows :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*baḍ^{a}ṭī, baḍ^{a}vĩ*	*baḍ^{a}tũ, baḍ^{a}wũ*
2.	*baḍ^{a}ṭīh, baḍ^{a}vīh*	*baḍ^{a}ṭā, baḍ^{a}wā*
3.	*baḍ^{a}ṭī, baḍ^{a}vī*	*baḍ^{a}ṭī, baḍ^{a}vī*

Besides this, we also find forms such as *ekhĩh*, 'I will say'.

These are formed from the past participle in the usual way, transitive verbs taking the passive construction. The past participle is formed by adding *-nō*, *-ō* (*-yō*), or *-ēlō*, Thus, *paḍ^{a}nō*, 'he fell' ; *gō*, 'he went' ; *mẽ baḍtyō*, 'I struck'. [LSI pp. 124-125]

PANCHĀḶI

591 The Panchals, or brass-workers, or Buldana have been reported to speak a separate dialect called Panchāḷī. The dialect exhibits a from of speech which, in many points, is related to Khandēśī, though of a much more mixed nature.

The pronunciation is apparently the same as in Khandēśī. It should, however, be noted that final *ā* and *ō* or *u* are frequently interchanged. Thus, *pōryā* and *pōryō*, 'a son' ; *tarā*, *tārō* and *taru*, 'thy'.

The inflexion of nouns differs from Khandēśī in so for as there are no traces of the oblique plural ending in *-s* ; thus, *chaṅg^{a}lya mārus-na*, 'of good men'.

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The agentive case is formed by adding *-nē*, *-na*, or *-ē*; the dative by adding *-na*; and locative by adding *-ma*, etc.

There is apparently no neuter gender. Campare *gānō aiku āī*, 'singing to-hear came'; *pēṭ bharē asᵃtu*, 'he would have filled his belly'.

'I' is *hũ* as in Gujarātī and Mālvī; 'my' is *mārā*; 'thy' *tata* and *tōrō*; *ō* 'he'; *yē*, 'this'; *jē*, 'who'.

The verb substantive is *chha* as in Gujarātī and the Khāndēśī of Nimar. *Chha* (or *chhē*) is used for all persons and numbers of the present tense. The past tense is, singular, 1, *hōtā* or *tō*; 2, *hōtās*; 3, *hōtō*, *hōtā*, *thō*, and *huyā*; plural, 1, *hōtā*; 2, *hōtā*; 3, *hōtā*.

The present tense of finite verbs is formed by adding *-chha* to the old present; thus, *hũ jāu-chha*' 'I go'; *tu jāi-chha*, 'thou goest'; *ō jai-chha*, 'he goes'. Other forms are *hũ meras* 'I die'; *ō awar*, 'he comes'; *hũ māras-chhē*, 'I am striking'.

The past tense is formed by adding the suffixes *-ā* or *-yā*; thus, *lāgyā*, 'he began'; *gayō*, *gayā*, 'he went'.

There are only a few instances of the future tense. Thus, *kawhas*, 'I will say'; *mārūs*, 'I will strike'; *hāin*, 'I shall be'.

The verbal nouns and the conjunctive participles are formed as in Khāndēśī. [LSI p. 138]

RANĀWAṬ

592 This dialect is spoken by the Khiste Brāhmaṇs of the Burhanpur Tahsil of Nimar. It is, in all essential points, identical with the current Khandēśī of the Burhanpur Tahsil. The following are the peculiarities of the dialect:

Final vowels in postpositions are often dropped, thus, *tyal* and *tyal-lē*, 'to him', *jamān* for *jamā-nā*, 'of the property'.

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There are no traces of the oblique plural form ending in *-s*. A form ending in *-āt* or *-hāt* seems to be used instead; thus, *majūr-hat-lē*, 'to the servants'; *chhok^{a}ryat-lē*. 'to the daughters'. The suffix of the case of the agent is *-ē*; thus, *bāpē*, 'by the father'.

The plural of strong masculine bases ends in *-ā*; thus, *ghōḍā*, 'a horse and horses'.

With regard to pronouns we may note the plural forms *tyã-ṇā*, 'their'; *tyāt-lē*, 'to them', etc.

The verb substantive is *chhau*, 'I am', second and third persons *chhē* or *chha*; plural, 1, *chhējēchh*; 2, and 3, *chhētēchh*. The past tense is *chhā* and *thā*' used for all persons and numbers.

Similarly *chh* is used in the present tense of finite verbs instead of Khāndēśī *s*; thus *mārachh* and *mār^{a}chha*, 'I, thou or he strikes'; plural, 1, *mār^{a}jēchh*, 2 and 3, *mār^{a}tēchh*. In the plural, forms the final *chh* is often, in all such forms, replaced by *ch*; thus *tyā mār^{a}tēch* 'they strike'.

The past tense is formed as in Khandēśī. Note, however, the forms ending in *-gā*; thus, *lagā* and *lāgyā*, 'began'; *puchyā*, 'it was asked'.

'To strike' is given as *mār^{a}wa*, and the future of that verb is singular, 1, *mār^{a}sū*; 2. *mār^{a}sī*; 3, *mārai*; plural, 1, *mār^{a}sū*; 2, *mār^{a}sō*. 3, *mārtī*. [LSI p. 142]

DĒHAWĀḶĪ

593 The plains below the Satpura range in Taloda, Nandurbar, and Mewas of the district of Khandesh is locally called the *dēh*, i.e. *dēś*, 'country'. The dialect of the Dēhawāḷs, the inhabitants of the *dēh*, is known as Dēhāwāḷī, and is closely related to other Bhīl dialects such as Māwchī, Rāṇī, etc.

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Pronunciation. Dēhawāḷī is characterized by the drawling pronunciation of the final vowels and the free use of the anunāsika. Compare *hãã̄*, 'yes' ; *pōwōhō*, 'a brother'.

The short *a* is apparently always distinctly pronounced, or, when final, replaced by *ē* or *ō* ; thus, *dēwa*, *dēvē*, and *dēwō*, 'God'.

An initial *h* is commonly dropped, and aspirated soft consonants are replaced by the corresponding unaspirated hard ones. Thus, *āthē*, 'hand' ; *pūtē*, 'devil' ; *pukhē*, 'with hunger', etc., *S* becomes *h*, and an *r* between vowels is dropped. Thus, *kēhē*, 'hair' ; *huṇō*, 'dog' ; *chōō*, 'son'.

Nouns. Strong masculine bases are formed as in Gujarātī. Thus, *bāhakō*, 'a father' ; *bāhakā*, 'fathers'.

There is apparently no neuter gender. The agentive case is identical with the oblique base, and the genitive is formed by doubling the final vowel. Thus, *bāhaka* or *bāhakã̄*, 'by the father', *bāhakāā*, 'of the father'. The suffix of the dative is *-nē* or *-l ē ?* that of the ablative *dekhũũ* ; and the locative is formed by adding *-mē* or *-ē*.

Pronouns. Some of the forms of personal pronouns are ; *ãĩ̃*, 'I' *mãã̄*, 'my' ; *āmū*, 'we' ; *āmãã̄*, 'our' ; *tũ*, 'thou' ; *tōō*, 'thy' ; *tumū*, 'you' ; *tumōō*, 'your' ; *tō*, 'he' ; *tiyāa*, 'his' ; *tē*, 'they' ; *tiyãã̄*, 'their'. Other pronouns are *ō*, 'this' ; *ĩ̃*, 'this thing' ; *kēḍī*, 'who ?' ; *kāy*, 'what ?'.

Verbs. The verb substantive is *āhī* ; past *āthō*, plural *āthā*.

The present tense of finite verbs is formed from the present participle by adding *-hō*, plural *-hā* ; thus, *jātō-hō*, 'I go, thou goest, he goes' ; plural *jātā-hā*. In the singular, however, the old present is in frequent use. Thus, *ṭhōkũ* or *ṭhōkũ-hũ*, 'I strike'. The instances show that the old present is used as a conjunctive present, while an ordinary present is effected by adding *-hũ*, second person *-hō* third *-hē*.

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The suffix of the past tense is *-yō*, fem. *-ī* ; thus, *giyō*, 'he went' ; *kalī*, 'she was put'.

The future tense of *ṭhōkualō*, 'to strike', is given as follows :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ṭhōkẽhẽ*	*ṭhōkũhũ*
2.	*ṭhōkōhō*	*ṭhōkāhā*
3.	*ṭhōkīi*	*ṭhōkīi*

[LSI pp. 158-159]

PĀR[A]DHĪ OR ṬĀKAṆKĀRĪ

594 The Pār[a]dhī or Ṭākaṇkārī dialect is spoken, by a wandering tribe of fowlers and by a similar tribe of vagrant mill-grinders in Chanda and Berar.

The dialect is a form of Gujarātī-Bhīlī. In some points it agrees with Khāndēśī, and there is also a slight admixture of Marāṭhī. This latter element is, however, insignificant, and is clearly a loan.

An *s* is very commonly replaced by *kh* i.e., probably *x̲h* ; thus, *paīkhō*, 'money'. The same substitution of *kh* for *s* also occurs in Siyāḷgirī. *S* is, however, often retained ; thus, *sū*, 'what' ; *dēs* and *dēś*, 'country', etc.

V is dropped before palatal vowels ; thus, *īkh*, 'twenty' ; *iṭī*, 'ring'.

Nouns. There is a tendency to replace the neuter by the masculine gender ; thus, *āp-nō pēṭ*, 'his own belly'.

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The nominative is sometimes used instead of the agentive case ; thus, *bāwō didu*, 'the father gave'. The suffixes of the agentive case are *-ē*, *-nē*, and *-na*. The suffixes of the dative and locative are *-n* and *-na*, *-ma* and *-mō*, respectively.

In most other respects the inflexion of nouns agrees with Gujarātī. Thus, *ghōḍō*, 'a horse' ; *ghōḍa*, 'horses'.

Occasionally, however, we find Marāṭhī forms such as *chhiyā*, instead of the common *chhiyō*, 'a son'.

'I' is *hũ* ; in Buldana, however, *mī* as in Marāṭhī. 'What ?' is *sũ*. The oblique form *tyā*, 'that' is Marāṭhī.

Verbs. The usual form of the present tense of the verb substantive is *chha* in all persons and numbers. Other forms, however, also occur. Thus, *chhũ*, 'I am' ; *chhē*, 'thou art, he is, they are', etc.

The present tense of finite verbs has various forms. The regular ones of *mārªwũ*, 'to strike', are :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārūs*	*mārīs*
2.	*māras*	*mārōs*
3.	*māras*	*māras*

Compare Khāndēśī and other Bhīl dialects. *Ch* is often substituted for *s* ; thus *mārōch*, 'you strike'.

The past tense is usually regular. The *gēyō* and *gayō*, 'he went' ; *gayā*, 'they went'. The forms ending in *-ā* and *-o* are, however, also used in the singular and plural, respectively ; thus ; *rhā*, 'he lived' *ayō*, 'they came', *S* is sometimes added in the past tense ; thus, *rahyās*, 'they lived'. The neuter form of the past tense sometimes ends in *-ī* instead of in *-yu* ; thus, *ma-na pap karī*, 'by me sin was done'. [LSI pp. 188-189]

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KHĀNDĒŚĪ AND ITS SUB-DIALECTS

595 Under the head are included Khāndēśī proper, and the sub-dialects of that form of speech entitled Ḍāṅgī and Raṅgārī. These are all dealt with in the following pages. The so-called Kuṇ^{a}bāū is included under Khāndēśī proper. [LSI p. 203]

KHĀNDĒŚĪ, AHĪRĀṆĪ OR ḌHĒḌ GUJARI

596 The district of Khandesh is surrounded by territories belonging to three distinct languages. Gujarātī is spoken towards the west and north-west, Rājasthānī towards the north, and Marāṭhī in the districts to the east and south. Gujarātī is also spoken by the higher class husbandmen in Khandesh to the north of the Tapti, and it is the language of trade through-out the district. Marāṭhī is, to some extent, spoken in the south and west.

The principal language of the district is, however, a form of speech which shares some of the characteristic features of Gujarātī and in others agrees with Marāṭhī. It is sometimes simply called Khāndēśī i. e. the language of Khandesh. Another name is Ahīrāṇī i. e. the language of the Ahīrs or cowherds. Lastly, the denomination of Ḍhēḍ Gujarī connects the language with a group of low-caste husbandmen. The Kun^{a}bīs are stated to speak a separate dialect called Kuṇ^{a}bāū or Kuṇ^{a}bī. It does not, however, differ from the current language of the district in any essential parts.

The territory within which Khāndēśī is spoken does not exactly correspond to the district of Khandesh. It also comprises the northern border of Nasik and the Burhanpur Tahsil of Nimar. [LSI p. 203]

Pronunciation: *a*, *ā*, and *ē* are not seldom interchanged; thus, *sa*, *sā*, and *sē*, 'he is'. As in the Marāṭhī of Berar neuter bases end in *a* where Dēśī Marāṭhī has *ẽ*; thus, *asa waṭ^{a}na* 'so it appeared'; *sōna*, 'gold'.

The palatals are pronounced as in Gujarātī and Rājasthānī. Thus, mījās, 'I go'. The cerebrals are pronounced as in Marāṭhī

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and Gujarātī. Thus, *ghōḍa*, 'a horse'. In Nimar there seems to be a strong tendency to use the cerebral sound. Thus, we find *mā-ṇā*, 'my' ; *tyā-ṇā*, 'his'. The cerebral *ḷ* is commonly pronounced like the *l mouillé* in French and it is accordingly, often written as a *y* ; thus, *ḍōyā*, 'eye' ; *pay*, 'run'. *V* is pronounced as in Marāṭhī and Gujarātī. It is sometimes dropped before *i*, as is also the case in the Marāṭhī of Berar. Thus, *ichāra*, 'it was asked' ; *ikat*, 'buying'.

The phonetical system is, on the whole, the same as Marāṭhī and Gujarātī. Where these two differ, it sometimes agrees with the latter, but in most cases with the former. [LSI p. 204]

Nouns : Gender. There are three genders as in Marāṭhī and Gujarātī. The neuter is, however, constantly confounded with the masculine. Thus, *it^{a}na waṭ^{a}nā*, 'so much appeared' ; *pāp kar^{a}nā sā*, 'sin is made'. In these instances the subject is neuter, but the verb is put in the masculine.

Number. There are two numbers, the singular and plural. They are, however, constantly confounded. The plural of weak masculine bases is formed without any addition. Thus *andor*, 'a son', and 'sons'. Strong masculine bases end in *-ā* in the singular, as is also the case in Marāṭhī. In the plural they usually preserve the *-ā* as in Mālvī and Gujarātī ; thus, *ghōḍā*,' horses' ; *chhōk^{a}ra*, 'sons'.

Weak feminine bases seem to form their plural as in Marāṭhī and Mālvī ; thus, *gāya*, 'cows' ; *pōrī*, 'daughters'. Strong feminine bases form their plural as in Marāṭhī and Mālvī ; thus, *ghōḍya*, 'mares'.

Weak neuter bases seem to form their plural in *-ē*. Strong neuter bases end in *-a* in the singular. No instances are available for the future.

Case. Cases are formed by adding suffixes. In the singular they are added directly to the base as is also the case in Mālvī, and Gujarātī. The plural has a separate oblique form ending in *-s* or, in the case of weak masculine or neuter bases, *-ēs*. Thus, *bāpēs-lē*, 'to the fathers' ; *pōris-lē*, 'to daughters'.

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The usual case postpositions are, -instrumental *-sī*, *-warī*, *-ghāī* ; agentive *-nā*, *-nī*, *-nē* ; dative *-lē*, *-lā*, *-rē*, *-nā* ; ablative *-thī*, *-jaw^{a}ḷūn*, *-pāsīn*, *-pāy*, *-pāin*, *-pun* ; genitive *-nā*, fem. *-nī*, neut. *-na* ; locative *-mā*, *-mē*, *-mā̃* and *-majhar*. Thus, *dōr^{a}ka -sī*, 'with ropes' ; *bāp -nā*, 'by the father' ; *hissā -lē*, 'to (my) share' ; *ghar -mā*, 'in the house' ; *ghōḍās -nā*, 'of the horses'.

It will be seen that the inflexion of nouns agrees with Marāṭhī in some suffixes and the formation of most plural forms. The main principles of the inflexion, however, where the oblique form does not differ from the base, is quite different from that prevailing in Marāṭhī. In this respect Khāndēśī approaches Gujarātī and Mālvī, with which languages it also shares most case suffixes. [LSI pp. 204-206]

Adjectives. Adjectives are inflected in gender and number as in Marāṭhī. Thus, *bhalā mānas*, 'a good man' ; *bhal^{a}yā bāy^{a}ka*. 'good women'. The form usually remains unchanged when the qualified noun is inflected. Thus, *thōḍā-ch din thī*, 'after few days' ; *tyā-nā gaḷāmā*, 'on his neck'. [LSI p. 206]

Pronouns. The personal pronouns are mainly the same as in Marāṭhī. The case suffixes are the same as in the case of nouns. 'I' is *mī* but also *mai.* as in Mēwātī. 'We' is *ham* or *ām*, as in Mēwātī ; 'you' is *tum* as in Mēwātī. For 'we' *āpan* is also used, which includes the person addressed.

The pronouns *tō*, 'that, he', and *jō*, 'which', have three genders in Marāṭhī. The same is the case with *hau* and *au*, 'this'. *Kōn*, 'who ?' does not change in the oblique form. [LSI p. 206]

Verbs. The Khāndēśī verb has developed several characteristic features of its own. As remarked above, the two numbers are often confounded. Thus, *jāyat*, 'they became', is also used in the sense of 'he became'.

Verbs are used in the active passive, and impersonal constructions as in Marāṭhī and Gujarātī. Instead of the neuter form of the verb in the impersonal construction, we however, often find the masculine ; thus, *bāp-nā sāṅg^{a}nā*, instead of *saṅg^{a}na*, 'the father said'. The past tense of transitive verb

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often agrees with an inflected object, as is also the case in Gujarātī. Thus *tyā-ē ti-lē balāvā*, 'he called her'. The past tense of transitive verbs is sometimes also actively constructed; thus, *tō kar^{a}nā*, 'he did'.

Verb substantive. The present tense is formed from the base *sa* which also occurs in many Bhīl dialects, and in the Ahīrwātī and Mēwātī dialects of Rājasthānī. The forms *sā*, *se*, *śe* are used for all persons in the singular. The corresponding plural form is *śētas*, or in Nimar, *śētēs*. *Sas* and *śēs* are also used instead of *sā* and *śē*, respectively, in the second and third persons singular.

The past tense is formed from the base *hōta* or *whata*. Compare Marāṭhī *hōta*, Gujarātī *hata*. The regular forms are, Singular, 1, *whatū*; 2, *whata*; 3, *whatā*; plural, 1, *whatūt*; 2, *whatāt*; 3, *whatāt*. The form *whatā*, is only used with a masculine subject. The corresponding feminine and neuter forms are *whatī* and *whata*, respectively. Sometimes the terminations of the present tense are also added; thus, *hotās*, 'thou art, you are, they are'; etc.

Finite verb. The ordinary present has the same terminations as in the case of the verb substantive. Thus, *karas*, 'I, thou, or he does'; *kar^{a}tas*, 'we, you or they do'. In Nimar the plural is *kar^{a}jes*, 'we do'; *kar^{a}tēs*, 'you and they do.'

The past tense is often formed as in High Hindī; thus, *lāga*, 'he began'; *tyā-nē mārā*, 'he struck'. Commonly, however, a suffix *-nā* is added. Thus, *tō paḍ^{a}nā*, 'he fell'; *tī paḍ^{a}nī*, 'she fell'. The suffix must be compared with the common *-n* suffix of Bhīlī and the suffix *-nē* of the past tense of the broken dialects spoken by aborigines. The suffix *-nā* is sometimes also transferred to the present tense; thus, *mī chāl^{a}nā* 'I go'.

The wide use of this *-n* suffix for past time in Guj^{a}rātī, Bhīlī, and Khāndēśī (it also occurs in Eastern Hindī), may suggest that it is of a different origin from the Aryan suffix *-la*. It can perhaps sometimes be compared with the suffix *-na* which forms relative participles in Telugu and other Dravidian forms of speech or with common *-n* suffix in Munḍā languages.

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The usual singular form of the past tense ends in *-ā*, fem. *-ī*, neut. *-a*, the corresponding plural in *-āt* ; thus, 'I, thou, or he, went' ; *gyāt*, 'we, you or they went'.

The periphrastic tenses are formed by adding the verb substantive to the present, past and pluperfect participles. Thus, *tyā khatāt-ā*, 'they were eating' ; *pāp kida śē*, 'sin has been done' ; *marēlā hōtā*, 'he has died'.

The future is formed by adding an *-s* suffix, as in Gujarātī. In the third person singular and plural, however, we usually find the Marāṭhī forms. Thus *kar^{a}sū*, 'I shall do' ; *kar^{a}sī*, *karīs* and *karī* 'thou will do' ; *karī* and *karal*, 'he will do' ; *kar^{a}sūt* and *kar^{a}sū*, 'we shall do' ; *kar^{a}sā*, *kar^{a}sā* (*l*), and *kar^{a}sāt*, 'you will do' : *karatī* (*l*) and *kar^{a}tīn*, 'they will do'.

The present participle ends in *-t*, or in the strong form, *-tā* ; thus *yēt*, 'coming' ; *khātā*, 'eating'. The past participle passive ends in *-ā* or *-nā* ; thus *kyā*, *kidā* or *kar^{a}nā*, 'done'. [LSI pp. 206-208]

ḌĀṄGĪ

597 Dāṅgī is spoken in the Dangs state situated on the western frontier of Khandesh. It is almost identical with the current language of Khandesh.

There is a tendency to pronounce an *ā* as an *ō*. Thus *bā̃s*, 'a father', is pronounced as *bō̃s* or rather as *bā̃s*, with the same vowel as that occurring in English 'all' ; Similarly *paḷ* 'to run', is pronounced as *pāḷ*.

The inflexion of nouns and pronouns is the same as in Khāndēśī. Only the ablative suffix is *-tīn* and not *-thī* or *-tī* ; thus, *dur-tīn*, 'from a distance'.

'I' is *mā* or *mī* ; 'we' *amhī* and *āpan* ; 'you' *tumhī* and so on. The neuter gender is, on the whole, very seldom used. We find neuter forms such as *sagaḷa*, 'all', but usually the masculine, and sometimes also the feminine is used instead.

The verb substantive has the same form as in Khāndeśī ; thus, *tōsē*, 'he is'. Sometimes, however, *āhā* or *ha* is used instead.

The inflexion of verbs does not call for any remarks. The vocabulary is, to some extent, different from that of Khāndēśī. Compare *bā̃s*, 'a father' ; *gọhō*, 'a man', and so on. [LSI p. 224]

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RAṆGĀRĪ

598 The Raṅgārīs of dyers of Berar speak a dialect which is related to Khāndēśī. The dialect is not uniform, but differs slightly in the various districts. Some Raṅgārīs have also abandoned their old speech and adopted the Marāṭhī used by their neighbours.

Pronunciation. The pronunciation is mainly the same as in the Marāṭhī of Berar. Thus, we find *ḍōyō*, 'an eye' ; *īs* and *vīs*, 'twenty', etc.

Nouns. The inflexion of nouns is mainly the same as in Gujarātī. Strong masculine bases end in *-ō*, plural *-ā* ; strong feminine bases in *-ī*, plural *-yā* ; and strong neuter bases in *-a*. A suffix *hānor hun* (as in Mālvī) is sometimes added to the plural ; thus, *chāk^{a}rō-hān -nā*, 'to the servants'.

Pronouns. Some of the forms of personal pronouns are, *mī*, 'I' *mā-rō* 'my' ; *āmhī*, 'we' ; *āmārō* ; 'our' ; *tū*, 'thou' ; *tā-rō* 'thy' *tumhī*, 'you' ; *tumārō*, 'your' ; *tē*, 'he, they' ; *tē-nō*, 'his, their'.

'Who ?', is *kōn*, and 'what ?', is *kāy*.

Verbs. The present tense of the verb substantive is *sa* or *sē* in all persons and numbers. The corresponding past tense is *hōtō*, fem. *hōtī*, neut. *hōtu*. The plural is *hōtā* or *hōte*, etc.

The present tense of finite verbs ends in *-s*. Thus, from *mār^{a}nu* 'to strike', we find :

Sing.	Plur.
1. *mārus*	*mārus*
2, *māras*	*māras, mārōs*
3. *māras*	*māras*

Forms such as *rahēs* and *rahis*, 'I am', are used as well. The suffix of the past tense is *ī* or *ē*. Thus, *gayē*, 'I, thou, or he went' ; *gayā*, 'we, you, or they went' ; *mīyā harē*, or *karī* 'I did'. We also find forms such as *gaē-n*, 'he went : *paḍē-l*, 'it fell'. Compare Khāndēśī.

The future of *mār^{a}nu*, 'to strike', is inflected as follows :

Sing.	Plur.
1. *mārīs*	*mārūs, mār^{a}sū*
2. *mārīs*	*mār^{a}sō*
3. *mār^{a}śī*	*māraśī*

[LSI pp. 229-230]

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599 STANDARD LIST OF SELECT WORDS AND

English	*Bhīlī* (Mahikantha)	*Bhīlī* (Edar)
one	ēk	ēk
two	bē	bē
three	tẽṇ, ~ taṇ	tan
four	syār ~ śyar	syār
hand	hāth	hāth
foot	pog, pag	pōg
head	mũḍ, māthũ	mũḍ, māthũ
a father	ātō, bāp	ātō
of a father	ātā-nō	ātā-no, (nī, -nũ)
to a father	ātā-nẽ, ātā-ē	ātā-nẽ
two fathers	bē atā	bē ātā
I am	hũ ẖũ	hũ ẖũ
thou art	tũ ẖē	tũ ẖe
he is	vī ẖē	vī ẖē
we are	amã̃ ẖã̃ (~ ẖaīyē)	amẽ̃ ẖã̃ (~ ẖaiyē)
you are	tamã̃ ẖō	tamẽ̃ ẖō
they are	wā ẖẽ̃ (~ ẖē)	wā ẖē
I was	hũ atō	hũ atō
thou wast	tũ atō	tũ atō
he was	vī atō	vī atō
we were	amã̃ atā	amẽ̃ atā
you were	tamã̃ atā	tamẽ̃ atā

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SENTENCES IN BHĪLĪ AND KHĀNDĒŚĪ

Bāorī (Lahore)	*Khāndēśī* (Khandesh)	*Kuṇ^{a}bāu* (Khandesh)
ēk	ēk	ēk
bai	dōn	dōn
trēn	tīn	tīn
chār	chār	chār
hāth	hāt	hāt
gōḍā	pāy, pag	pāy
mõḍ	ḍōksa, māthā	ḍōka
āgō	bāp	bāp
āga-nō	bāp-na	bāp-nā
āgā-nũ	bāp-lā, bāp-lē	bāp-lē
bai āga	dōn-bāp	dōn bāp
hũ sõ	mī sa (~ sē)	mī śē
taũ sai	tū sa (~ sē)	tū śē
yōh sai	tō sa (sē)	tō śē
hamẽ saũ, sõ	ham sa (~ ām sētēs)	āmhū śē tas
tamẽ sō	tum sa (~ sētēs)	tumhī śētas
tē sai	tē sa (~ tyā sētēs)	tyā śētas
hũ uttō	mī as^{a}tō (~ hōtā)	mī whatu
taũ uttō	tū as^{a}tōs (~ hōtās)	tū whatā
yōh uttō	tō as^{a}tō (~hōtā)	tō whatā
hamẽ uttā	ham as^{a}tas (ām hōtā)	āmhū whatō
tamẽ uttā	tum as^{a}tō (tum hōtās)	tumhī whatā

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English	*Bhīlī* (Mahikantha)	*Bhīlī* (Edar)
they were	wā atā (fem. vīatī)	wā atā
I shall be	hũ h̰ōīh, hũ ahjē	hũ hōīh̰, hũ ahjē
I beat	hũ mārũ (-h̰ũ)	hũ mārũ-h̰ũ
thou beatest	tũ mārē (-h̰ē)	tũ mārē-h̰ē
he beats	vī mārē (-h̰ē)	vī mārē-h̰ē
we beat	amã̃ mārã̃ (-h̰ã̃) amã̃ mārīyēh̰	amẽ̃ māriyēh̰
you beat	tamã̃ mārō (-h̰ō)	tamẽ̃ mārō-h̰ē
they beat	wā mārē (h̰ē)	wā mārō-h̰ē
I beat (past)	mẽ̃ mārᵃjyũ (~mārᵃyũ ~mārũ, *and so throughout*)	mẽ̃ mārũ (~māryũ)
thou beatest (past)	tẽ̃ mārᵃjyũ	tẽ̃ mārũ
he beat (past)	waṇē mārᵃjyũ	waṇē mārũ
we beat (past)	āmã̃ mārᵃjyũ	amẽ̃ mārũ
you beat (past)	tamã̃ mārᵃjyũ	tamẽ̃ mārũ
they beat (past)	waṇāē mārjyũ	waṇaē mārũ
I shall beat	hũ mārũh̰, ~ mārīh̰	hũ mārũh̰, ~ mārīh̰

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Baorī (Lahore)	*Khandēśī* (Khandesh)	*Kuṇ^{a}bāū* (Khandesh)
tē uttā	tē as^{a}tō (tyā hōtās)	tyā whatā
hōīs	maï asa (mī hōsū)	mī hōsū
hũ mārõ	maï māra(s)	mī māras
taū mārē	tū māra(s)	tũ māras
yōh mārē	tō māra(s)	tō māras
hamẽ māriyõ	ham mārē (ām mār^{a}jēs)	āmhū mār^{a}tas
tāmẽ mārō	tum mārē (tum mār^{a}tēs)	tumhī mār^{a}tas
tēhē mārē	tē mārē (tyā mār^{a}tēs)	tyā mār^{a}tas
mĩ māriō	maï mārē (mī mār)	mī māra
tĩ māriō	tu-na mārē (tū mār)	tū māra
pēllē māriō	tō mārē (tyāē mār)	tyā-na māra
hamẽ māriō	hamī mārē (āmē mār)	āmhū māra
tamẽ māriō	tumī mārē (tumē mār)	tumhī māra
tē hē māriō	tē mārē (tyāē-mār)	tyāsnī māra
hũ mārīs	maï mār^{a}sūt (mī mār^{a}sū)	mī mār^{a}sū

[LSI pp. 236-253]

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BANJĀRĪ OR LABHĀNĪ AND BAHRUPIĀ

BANJĀRĪ OR LABHĀNĪ

600 The Banjārās are the well-known tribe of carriers who are found all over western and southern India. One of their principal sub-castes is known under the name of 'Labhānī', and this name (or some related one) is often applied to the whole tribe.

In many parts of India these people merely use the language of the population of the country in which they dwell, but in Berar, Bombay, the Central Provinces, the Panjab, the United Provinces, and Central India, they are reported to have a language of their own, the name of which varies according to the local name of the tribe.

The name Banjārā and its congeners is probably derived from the Sanskrit *Vaṇijya kārakas*, 'a merchant', through the Prakrit *vāṇijjaāraō*, 'a trader'.

The Banjārās of Deccan claim descent from the great Brahman and Rajput tribes of Northern India, and this is partly borne out by the fact that their language is certainly connected with that spoken at the present day in Western Rajputana.

Banjārī falls into two main dialects,—that of the Panjab and Gujarat and that of the elsewhere. The dialect of the Kakērs, or comb-makers, of Jhansi in the United Provinces, and of the Bahrūpiās of the Panjab are the same as the Labhāṇī of Berar.

The Labānkī of the Panjab is most nearly connected with the Bāgṛī spoken in Hissar and in the adjoining parts of Bikaner.

For other Banjārī dialects, we must take the Labhāṇī of Berar as the standard. It is in this locality that the tribe has most strongly preserved its social characteristics, and employs the purest form of its speech. Elsewhere (except in the Panjab and Gujarat the same dialect is spoken, but more and more corrupt as we go eastwards, westwards, or northwards from Berar.

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The Labhānī of Berar possesses the characteristics of an old form of speech, which has been preserved unchanged for some centuries. It may be said to be based partly on Mārwāṛī and partly on Northern Gujarātī, and gives one idea of being derived from the original language from which these closely connected forms of speech have sprung in comparative late times.

It should be observed that nowhere, not even in Berar, is Panjārī a pure language. It is every where mixed, to a greater or less extent, with the vernacular of the country in which its speakers dwell. The amount of mixture varies greatly, and is probably, in each case, much dependent on the personal equation of the speaker. [LSI pp. 255-260]

LABHĀṆĪ OF BERAR

601 The Labhāṇī or Waṇjāṛī of Berar is a rough kind of Western Rājasthānī and much mixed with Gujarātī. It does not vary materially over the whole province.

Pronunciation. Its pronunciation is in the main that of Berar, not of Gujarat or Rajputana. The cerebral *ḷ* is common, as in *gōḷa*, 'collected'. There is a tendency to aspirate consonants, as in *mōṭhō*, for *mōṭō*, 'great' *chhumō* for *chumō*, 'kissed'.

Nouns. The declension of nouns is very irregular. No doubt all strong nouns of *a* basis originally had their nominatives singular in -*ō*, with an oblique form in -*ā*. Thus, *ghōḍō*. 'a horse'; oblique form *ghōḍā*. But the Labhānīa in the course of their wanderings have also picked up the Hindōstānī idiom of making these nouns have their nominative in -*ā*, with an oblique form in -*ē*. We meet the same word sometimes with one termination and sometimes with the other and there is absolutely no rule on the subject. Many nouns, even those ending in consonants have an oblique form in -*ē*. Thus, *dan*, 'a day'; *danē-mē*, 'in (a few) days'. The plural of nouns in -*ō* or -*ā* ends in *ā* or *ē*.

For the various cases we have the following postpositions:

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For the agent, we have *-nē*, often weakened to *-na*. The use of the agent case is, however, rare. More usually the nominative is used, and governs transitive verbs, just as if they were intransitives. Thus, we have *mē māryō*, 'I struck'; *ham mārē*, 'we struck'.

For the dative or accusative we have the usual locatives of the genitive postpositions. Thus *-nē*, often weakened to *-na* and *-rē* (or *-ra*). The suffix of the ablative is usually *-tī* and of the genitive is usually *-rō*. The usual sign of the locative *-mē*, *-ma*, or *-mā*.

The sense of gender is very capricious. Thus we have *sēwā* (fem.) *kidō* (masc.), 'service was done'. [LSI pp. 261-262]

Adjectives. Adjectives follow the Mārwāṛī rules. They are put in the locative in *ē* to agree with a noun in that case. [LSI p. 262]

Pronouns. The pronouns of the first and second person make no distinction between the nominative and the agentive cases. Both are the same. Some of the pronominal forms are; *mē*, *ma*, *may*, 'I'; *mhārō*, *mārō*, 'my'; *ham*, 'we'; *hamārō*, 'our'; *tū*, *tũ*, 'thou'; *tārō*, 'thy'; *tam*, *tamō* (this is a Gujarātī form), 'you'; *tamārō*; *ū*, *ō*, 'he', that, they'; *āpaṇ*, 'we' (including the person addressed); *jō*, *jakō*, 'who, what'; *kūn*, 'who?'; *kāi*, 'what?'. [LSI p. 262]

Verbs. The present tense of the verb substantive closely follows colloquial Gujarātī. It is as follows:

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*chhū~chha*	*chha~chha*
2.	*chhī~chha*	*chhō~chha*
3.	*chhē~chha*	*chhē~chha*

It will be observed that, as in some forms of colloquial Gujarātī, *chha* may be used for all persons and both numbers.

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The past is *vētō*. *Vētō* is sometimes written *whētō*, which shows that the word is only a by-form of the Gujarātī *hatō*. When used as an auxiliary it becomes simply *tō*, as in colloquial Gujarātī. Thus, *mār^{a}tō-tō*, 'was striking'.

As for finite verbs, the infinitive, present participle, the past participle are as in Rājasthānī, viz., *mārnō*, 'to strike'; *mār^{a}tō*, 'striking'; *māryō*, 'struck'. In the past participle, however, the *y* is often omitted, so that we also have *mārō*.

The simple present is conjugated much like the corresponding tense in Gujarātī and Rājasthānī. Thus,

'I strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārū*	*mārā*
2.	*mārē*	*mārō*
3.	*mārē*	*mārē*

The present definite is also conjugated as in these languages, the auxiliary verb being added to the simple present, and not to the present participle. Thus, *mārū-chhū* or *mārū-chha*, 'I am beating'.

The past tense is as usual, except that this tense in the case of transitive verbs agrees with the subject. Thus, *mē māryō*, 'I struck'.

The future is mainly based on the *h*- future of Mārwāṛī. It has some peculiar forms. It is conjugated as follows :

'I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārhīyū~mārhyū*	
2.	*mārhīyū~mārhyū*	The same as the singular.
3.	*mārhīyē~mārhyē*	

[LSI pp. 262-263]

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BANJĀRĪ OF SAHARANPUR

602 The Labhānī of the United Provinces is usually called 'Banjārī'. It closely resembles that of Berar, though it is much corrupted, and is also much mixed with the vernacular dialects of the localities in which it is formed. As in Berar, its basis is the language of Western Rajputana and of Northern Gujarat.

The following are the peculiarities of the dialect as spoken in the district of Saharanpur.

As in Northern Gujarat, a cerebral *ḷ* is represented by *r*.

As usual the nominative of strong *a* bases ends in *-ō*, with an oblique form in *-a*. Thus, *ghōṛō*, 'a horse'. oblique form, *ghōṛa*. Nouns ending in consonants have an oblique form in *-ē*. Thus, *māl*, 'property' ; genitive *mālē-rō*.

The usual case postpositions are,— agentive, *-nē* ; dative-accusative, *-rē* as in *gāorā-rē*, 'to a man'. Sometimes we have Gujarātī *-nē*, as in *nōkarē-nē*, 'to a servant'. For the genitive we generally have *-rō* (obl. *-rā*, fem. *-rī*). When it agrees with a noun in the locative, it becomes *-rē*. For the locative we have *-mãī*, usually suffixed to the locative of the genitive, as in *mulkē-rē-mãī*, 'in a country'.

The pronouns generally are as in Berar. *Manahī* or *manēhē*, is 'to me'. 'One's own' is *ap-rō*, *ap* is also used to mean 'we' including the person addressed.

The past tense of the verb substantive is conjugated as follows :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*chhũ~chhē*	*chhã~chhē*
2.	*chhē*	*chhō~chhē*
3.	*chhē*	*chhē, chhaĩ*

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Chhē can be used for all persons in both numbers.

The past tense is the Mālvī *thō*, 'was'. Its feminine is *thī*. We should expect its masculine plural to be *thā*, but in the places where it occurs the ordinary Hindōstānī *thē* is used instead. In other parts of United Provinces *chhē* is also employed for the past tense.

The finite verb is as in Berar. The definite present is formed by suffixing the auxiliary verb to the simple present, and not to the present participle. Thus, *marũ-chhũ*, 'I am dying'.

The past participle does not take *y*. Thus, *kohō*, not *kahyō*, 'said'.

The transitive verbs in the past tense generally, but not always have the subject in the agentive case. [LSI p. 286]

LABĀNKĪ OF PANJAB

603 The Labhānī (locally called Labānī or Labānkī) of the Panjab is also based on Rājasthānī. But its original is rather the Bāgṛī of northwest Rajputana, than the half Mārwāṛī half Gujarātī which we have observed in the Central Provinces. It will be remembered that one of the typical peculiarities of Bāgṛi is that the initial *k* of the genitive postposition is changed to *g*, so that *kō* becomes *gō*. In Panjab Labānī this principle is carried still further. The dative postposition *-kũ* becomes *-gũ*; the ablative postposition *-tī* becomes *-dī*; the past tense of the verb substantive *tō*, 'was', becomes *dō*.

The declension of nouns follows the usual northwestern Rājasthānī forms. The nominative of strong masculine *a*- bases ends in *-ō*, not *-a*, and its oblique form and plural ends in *-a*, not *-ē*. There is usual locative in *-ē*, as in *ghōṛē*, 'on a horse'. The agentive case, however, takes the postposition *-nē*, and is regularly employed before the past tenses of transitive verbs.

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The usual postpositions are :

Dative—accusative *-khõ*, *-gũ*, *-gẽ*, *-kõ*, *-nẽ*, *nũ*.

Ablative, *-dī*, *-sau*, *-kōlõ*. Genitive *-gō*, *-rō*, *-ka*

Locative, *-mã*.

As a general rule Hindōstānī and Pañjābī forms are freely used, so that, though based on Rājasthānī, the language is essentially mixed in character.

Some of the pronominal forms are ; *maĩ*, 'I' ; *mahārō*, 'my' ; *ham*, 'we' ; *hamārō*, 'our' ; *tũ*, or *thũ*, 'thou' ; *thārō*, 'thy' ; *tam* (a regular Rājasthānī and Gujarātī form), 'you', by you' ; *thuārō*, 'your' ; *ō* or *woh*, 'he' ; *yeh*, or *yoh*, 'this' ; *jō*, 'who' ; *kaun*, *kēh*^{a}*rō*. 'who ?' ; *kā*, *kā-ē*, 'what ?'.

The verb substantive is thus declined in the present :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*õ*, *ã*, *aũ*	*ã*
2.	*ẽ*, *ĩ*	*ã*, *o*
3.	*ẽ*	*ã*, *ẽ*

The following forms are also used :

Sing.	Plur.
1,2,3, *haigõ*, *chhaigõ*	*haigã*, *chhaigã*

Hai or *chhai* can be used for any person of the present tense. This also occurs in Gujarātī dialects.

The past tense is *dō*, *hēgō-dō*, or *chhēgō-dō*. The masculine plural is *dā*, *hēgā-da*, or *chhēga-da*.

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The simple present tense of the finite verbs takes the following forms :

'I strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārũ*	*mārũ*
2.	*mārũ*	*mārē*
3.	*mārē*	*mārē*

The present definite is formed as in Rājasthānī and Gujarātī by conjugating the verb substantive with the simple present and not with the present participle. Thus *maĩ mārũ-āũ*, 'I am striking'.

The future has *s* for its characteristic sound as in Eastern Rājasthānī and Gujarātī. It is conjugated as follows :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārūs*	*mār^{a}sũ*
2.	*māraś*	*mār^{a}sō*
3.	*mār^{a}sī*	*mār^{a}san̆, mār^{a}sẽ*

The past participle ends in *-iō*. Thus, *māriō*, 'struck'. From this past tenses are formed exactly as in Hindōstānī. Thus, *ō-nē māriō*, 'he struck'.. *Ō giō*, 'he went'.

The present participle is formed by adding *-tō* ; thus, *mār^{a}tō*, 'striking'. [LSI pp. 297-299]

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604 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES IN LABHĀNĪ

English	*Labhanī* (of Berar)	*Labankī* (of Panjab)
one	ēkā	ēk
two	dī	dō, dū
three	tīn	tīn
four	chār	chār
hand	hāt	hāth
foot	pag	gōḍō
head	māthō	māthō
a father	bāpū	bāpū
of a father	bāpē-rō	bāpū-gō, -kā
to a father	bāpē-nē	bāpū-khō̃, -gū̃, -gē, -kō, -rē
two fathers	dī bāp	dō bāpū
I am	ma chhū~chha	maĩ ã̃, õ, āū̃, haigõ̃, chhaigõ̃
thou art	tū chhī, chha	tū̃ ē, ī, haigõ̃, chhaigõ̃
he is	ū chhē, chha	ō ē, haigō, chhaigō
we are	ham chhā, chha	ham ã̃, haigã̃, chhaigõ̃
you are	tam chhō, chha	tam ã̃, ō, haigã̃, chhaigã̃
they are	ō chhē, chha	vē ã̃, ē, haigã̃, chhaigã̃
I was	ma vētō-tō	maĩ dō, hēgō-dō, chhēgō-dō
thou wast	tū vētō-tō	tū dō, hēgā-dō, chhēgō-dō
he was	ū vētō-tō	ō dō, hēgō-dō, chhēgō-dō
we were	ham vētē-tē	ham-dā, hēga-dā, chhēgā-dā
you were	tam vētē-tē	tam-dā, hēgā-dā, chhēgā-dā
they were	ō vētē-tē	vē dā, hēgā-dā, chhēgā-dā

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English	*Lābhānī* (of Berar)	*Labankī* (of Panjab)
I shall be	ma vīhũ	maĩ hūs
I beat	ma mārũ	maĩ mārũ
thou beatest	tū mārē	tũ mārẽ
he beats	ū mārē	ō mārē
we beat	ham mārā	ham mārā
you beat	tam mārō	tam mārē
they beat	ō mārē	vē mārē
I beat (past)	mē māryō	maĩ māriō
thou beatest (past)	tū māryō	tũ māriō
he beat (past)	ū māryō	ō-nē māriō
we beat (past)	ham mārē	ham māriō
you beat (past)	tam mārē	tam māriō
they beat (past)	ō mārē	un māriō
I shall beat	ma mārhīyū, mārhyū	maĩ mārūs

[LSI pp. 317-325]

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VOL. IX, PART IV

INDO-ARYAN FAMILY

CENTRAL GROUP

PAHĀṚĪ LANGUAGES AND GUJURĪ

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PAHĀṚĪ

605 The word 'Pahāṛī' is applied to the groups of languages spoken in the Sub-Himalayan hills extending from Bhadrawah, north of the Panjab, to the eastern parts of Nepal. To its north and east various Himalayan Tibeto-Burman languages are spoken. To its west there are Aryan languages connected with Kāshmīrī and western Pañjābī, and to its south it has the Aryan languages of the Panjab and the Gangetic plain.

The three main divisions. The Pahāṛī languages fall into three main groups. In the extreme east there is Khas-Kurā or Eastern Pahāṛī, commonly called Naipālī, the Aryan language spoken in Nepal. Next, in Kumaon and Garhwal, we have Central Pahāṛī languages, Kumaunī and Gaṛhwālī. Finally in the west we have the Western Pahāṛī languages spoken in Jaunsār Bāwar, the Simla Hill States, Kulu, Mandi and Suket, Chamba, and Western Kashmir. [LSI p. 1]

The language. It is a remarkable fact that, although Paharī has little connection with the Pañjābī, Western and Eastern Hindī, and Bihārī spoken immediately to its south, it shows manifold traces of intimate relationship with the languages of Rajputana. The mass of the Aryan speaking population of the Himalayan tract in which Pahāṛī is spoken belongs, in the west to the Kanēt and, in the east, to the Khas caste. The Kanēts themselves are closely connected with Khaśas, and one of their two sub-divisions bears that name. The other (the Rāo) sub-division, is believed to be of Gurjara descent.

The earliest immigrants to this Pahāṛī tract of whom we have any historical information were the Khaśas, a race probably hailing from Central Asia and originally speaking an Aryan, but not necessarily an Indo-Aryan, language. They were followed by the Gurjars, a tribe who invaded India about sixth century A.D. and occupied the same tract, then known as Sapādalaksha. At that

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time, they also spoke an Aryan, but not necessarily an Indo-Aryan language. Of these Gurjaras the bulk followed pastoral pursuits and became merged in and identified with the preceding Khasa population. Others were a fighting men, and were identified by the Brāhmans with Kshatriyas. In this guise they invaded Eastern Rajputana from Spādalaksha, and possibly, western Rajputana from Sindh, and founded as Rājpūts the great Rājpūt states of Rajputana.

The Pahāṛī languages although, with the Khaśa basis thus historically related to Paiśācī, are much more closely related to Rājasthānī. This must be mainly due to the Gūjar influence. Then there was a constant reflux of emigration on the part of the Gūjar-Rājpūts from Rajputana and the neighbouring parts of India. The reimmigration was increased by the oppression of the Mughal rule in India proper, and there are historical notices of tribe after tribe, and leader after leader, abandoning their established seats in Rajputana, and seeking refuge from Musalmān oppression in the hills from which they had originally issued to conquer the Gangetic valley.

Whereas the dialects spoken in Sāpadlaksha proper are free from the influence of Tibeto-Burman languages, the language spoken in Nepal presents a mixed character due to the presence of a large Tibeto Burman element in the population. Not only many words, but even special phrases of grammar, such as the use of the agentive case before all tenses of the transitive verb, and the employment of a complete honorific conjugation, are plainly borrowed from the speech of the surrounding Tibeto-Burmans.

[LSI pp. 2-16]

KHAS-KURĀ OR NAIPĀLĪ

606 Khas-kurā is the Aryan language spoken in Nepal. It is primarily the language of the Gorkha rulers of the country, while the mass of the population still uses the various indigenous Tibeto-Burman languages. The ruling classes of Nepal maintain that they are of Rajput origin, and their language, which is the *lingua franca* of the country is still connected with the Mēwāṛī-

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Mārwāṛī dialect of Rājasthānī spoken in Udaipur which they claim as their original home. [LSI pp. 17-18]

Name of language. The language passes under various names. Europeans call it Nēpālī or Naipālī, i.e. the language of Nepal. This is a misnomer, for it is not the language of Nepal, but only that of the Aryan rulers of the country. The inhabitants of Nepal itself gave this name (in a slightly corrupted form) to the principal Tibeto-Burman language of the country, Newārī and call the Aryan language Khas-kurā or Khaśa-speech. It is also called Gorkhālī, Pārbatiyā (used in Nepal by those who speak the language) and Eastern Pahāṛī. [LSI p. 18]

Dialects. No information is available as to whether Khas-kurā possesses any local dialect or not. There are important differences between the literary and the colloquial forms. The latter borrows idioms from the Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the neighbourhood, which materially affect both declension and conjugation. Certain broken tribes of the Central Himalaya speak a corrupt Khas-kurā. In each case it can hardly be said that they employ a genuine dialect. All that they do is to speak bad Khas-kurā. The tribes which have adopted this incorrect Khas-kurā are three in number, viz. Dahī, Daḍhi, or Daṛhī, Dēnwār or Dōnwār and Kuswār. [LSI pp. 18-19]

The following is the brief sketch of the grammar of Khas-kurā :

Pronunciation. The phonetic system of Khas-kurā is the same as in other Indo-Aryan languages. As in many other Indo-Aryan vernaculars, there is a short *e* (like *e* in 'net') as well as the long *ē* ; and a short *o* (like first *o* in 'promote') besides the long *ō*. Nouns which in Hindī end in a long *ī*, often shorten it in Khas-kurā. Thus the Khas-kurā word corresponding to the Hindī *nārī* is *nāri* or *narī*. Vowels are very frequently nasalised ; thus, *chhu* or *chhũ*, 'I am'. [LSI pp. 21-23]

Article. Ek or *yak*, 'one', is commonly employed as an indefinite article. *Tyō* is employed in the sense of definite article. *Chaĩ, chahi* or *chãhĩ* appended to a word has the same force, as *jēṭho chaĩ chōrō*, 'the elder son'. [LSI p. 23]

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Nouns : Gender. There are two genders, masculine and feminine. Nouns indicating females, and these only, are feminine. All others are masculine. This method of expressing gender is due to the influence of the surrounding Tibeto-Burman languages in Nepal.

Number. There are two numbers, singular and plural. The plural is formed by adding *-haru* before which nouns ending in *-ō* change *-ō* to *-ā*. Thus, *chākar-haru*, 'servants' ; *kēṭō*, 'a boy' ; *kēṭā-haru*, 'boys'. This *-haru* is not usually employed with nouns signifying inanimate things.

Case. Cases are generally formed by means of postpositions. Certain nouns are put into an oblique form before these are added. In the case of nouns in *ō*, and *u*, the oblique form singular ends optionally in *-ā*, and the oblique form plural is the same as the nominative plural. Nouns ending in consonants remain unchanged in the singular, but optionally take *-a* in the oblique plural. Thus, *hāt*, 'a hand' ; obl. sing. and nom. plur. *hāt*, obl. plur. *hāt* or *hāta*. The oblique form in *-ō* or *-u* (i.e. the same as the nominative) is due to the influence of the surrounding Tibeto-Burman languages which do not employ an oblique form. Indeed, the influence of Tibeto-Burman languages has resulted in the complete confusion of the oblique and of the direct form, the direct form being often used for the oblique, and *vice versâ*, the oblique form being continually employed for the nominative.

Cases are formed by adding different suffixes the most common of which are,—agentive and instrumental, *-lē* ; accusative and dative, *-lai* ; ablative, *-bāṭa* ; locative, *-mā*. The genitive postposition is *-kō*, which, as in Hindōstānī, is an adjective without affecting its meaning. It is, in this way, very frequently added to the past participle, which, as should, properly be the case, is then put into the oblique form. Thus, *bhayō*, *bhayē-kō* (or *bhayā-kō*), 'been, become'. [LSI pp. 23-28]

Adjectives. Most adjectives are immutable, the only ones which change are those that end in *-ō* or in *-u*. These change the termination to *-i* or *-ī* when agreeing with a feminine noun,

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and to *-ā* when agreeing with a masculine noun in the oblique case singular or in the plural. As in the case of nouns in *-ō* and in *-u*, the oblique form singular as often as not ends in *-ō* instead of *-ā*.

The comparative is formed by adding *-bhandā*, 'than', and superlative by adding, *-sab bhandā* 'than all', or *-sabai bhandā*, 'than even all'. [LSI p. 28]

Pronouns. In the pronouns, the plural is commonly used instead of the singular. In this respect, the singular is familiar or disrespectful, while the plural is formal or respectful.

Some of the forms of first two personal pronouns are ; *ma*, 'I' ; *mērō*, 'my' ; *hāmi*, 'we' ; *hāmrō*, 'our' ; *ta*, 'thou' ; *tērō*, 'thy' ; *timi*, 'ye' ; *timrō*, 'your'.

In the plural *-haru* is often added, as *hami-haru*. The respectful pronouns of the second person are *-āphu*, 'Your Honour', and *tapāī*, or *tapāñi*, 'Your Honour'. Both are declined regularly like substantives. The demonstrative pronouns *tyō* and *u* are employed as pronouns of the third person. The regular demonstrative pronouns are *yō*, 'this', and *u*, 'that', or 'he'. The relative pronoun is *jō*. The interrogative pronouns are *kō*, 'who ?' and *kē*, 'what ?' (neuter). [LSI pp. 28-30]

Verbs. The Khas-kurā verb has borrowed some of its formations from the surrounding Tibeto-Burman languages, amongst which the most noteworthy are the Aorist tense, and the impersonal honorific conjugation. The simple conjugation may be either positive or negative. The negative conjugation is confined to certain tenses.

Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. There are two verbs substantive in the present, one formed from the base *chha* and the other from the base *hō*. The former base is treated as a participle, and, hence, in some persons it has special forms for the feminine. The present is thus conjugated :

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'I am', etc.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*chhu, chhũ*	—	*chhaũ*	—
2.	*chhas*	*chhes*	*chhau*	*chheu*
3.	*chha*	*chhe*	*chhan*	*chhin*

The second form of the present tense of verb substantive is principally employed in asking questions. It is thus conjugated :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hũ*	*haũ*
2.	*hos, hawas*	*hau*
3.	*hɔ̃*	*hun*

The past tense is thus conjugated. Like *chha*, the tense is treated participally, and there are feminine forms.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*thiyẽ* ~ *thiyã*	—	*thiyu*	—
2.	*thiis*	—	*thiyan*	—
3.	*thiyɔ̃*	*thiĩ*	*thiye, thiya*	*thiin*

This is often contracted, so that we also have :

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*thẽ, thyẽ, thyã*	—	*thyũ*	—
2.	*this*	—	*thyau*	—
3.	*thyɔ̃*	*thĩ*	*thẽ, thyẽ, thyã*	*thin*

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All the above conjugations have negative forms also.

Simple positive verb. (a) *Roots ending in a consonant.*

The infinitive and the future passive participle are the same in form, both being made by suffixing *-nu* to the root. Thus, *garnu*, 'to do', or 'it is to be done'. Both have an oblique form ending in *-na* or *-nā*.

The present participle is formed by adding *-dō* to the root. Thus, *gardō*, 'doing'.

The past participle is formed by adding *-yō* to the root. Thus, *garyō*, 'did'. In Khas-kurā the past participle of transitive verbs has lost their original meaning. Thus, *garyō* does not mean 'done' but 'one who has done'. This participle is adjective and has a feminine ending in *-i* and oblique in *-e*.

The old present, now generally employed as a present subjunctive or as an imperative, occurs in all Indo-Aryan languages in much the same form. It is made by adding the personal terminations to the root direct. Thus, *garũ*, 'I do, I may do'.

The future is formed by adding the syllable *-lā* to the old present, as in Rājasthānī (Mārwāṛī) and somewhat as in Bihārī (Bhojpurī). The aorist tense is quite commonly employed as a future.

The past tense is formed by adding the personal terminations to the past participle. In the third person singular masculine and feminine, and in the third person plural masculine no terminations are added. Thus, *garyō*, 'he did'; *garẽ* (*garyẽ*, ~ *garyã*), 'I did'. The past tense of a neuter verb is exactly the same as that of a transitive verb, and both agree with the subject, and not with the object as in the case of Hindī transitive verbs.

The aorist tense is formed by suffixing the present tense of the auxiliary verb to the root. The latter remains unchanged, but the former is conjugated throughout, and any optional form may be used. Thus, *gar-chhu*, 'I do'. This tense is formed on the

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analogy of the present tense of the adjoining Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Nepal.

What may be called a past aorist is made in a similar way by suffixing the past tense of the auxiliary verb to the root. This tense seems to imply continuous action.

(b) *Roots ending in a vowel.* All verbs whose roots end in a vowel may optionally nasalize that vowel before any consonant except *v*. In the aorist tense, before *chhu*, etc., the nasal becomes *n*. Many verbs having bases ending in *-āu* drop the *u* before *v* and *i* and generally have anunāsika, not *n* in the aorist; thus, *garāũchhu*, 'I cause, shall cause, or caused to make'.

Simple negative conjugation. When the negative is employed with a verb it is sometimes prefixed as a separate word, as is the case in Hindī, and sometimes suffixed to the verb as an enclitic, in some instances even coming between the stem and the personal termination.

The impersonal honorific conjugation. All Indo-Aryan languages have honorific forms of the verb, but Khas-kurā has an entire honorific conjugation. When a person speaking Khas-kurā wishes to say politely 'he did' he says *tes-lē garnu bhō*, lit., 'by him doing became'. Similarly 'you did' would be *tapañi-lē garnu-bhō*, 'by your Honour doing became'. It will thus be seem that whatever the subject is the verb itself, in the form of the honorific conjugation, is always in the third person singular masculine. This form of the honorific conjugation is made by conjugating the direct infinitive with the appropriate tense of the verb *hũnu* 'to become'. Thus, we have, *garnu-hunē*, 'doer, one who is about to do'; *dinu-hos*, 'please give'. In the past tense the contracted form *bhō* is generally employed for *bhayō*, the past tense of *hũnu*; *lagnu bhō*, 'began to do'.

Another form of the honorific conjugation is more Aryan in its construction. Instead of saying 'by him doing became', they sometimes employ the noun of agency with the verb *hũnu*, 'to

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become', conjugated as a personal verb. Thus, *tyō garnē bhayō*, 'he became a doer'.

Passive voice. As in Mārwāṛī Rājasthānī, Khas-kurā has a regular passive voice. In Mārwāṛī it is formed by adding *-ij* to the root, and in Khas-kurā by adding *-ī* (often *i* or *iy*). Thus from the root *gar*, 'make', we have the passive root *garī*, 'be made', which is conjugated like any other verb ending in a vowel.

Causal verbs. Khas-kurā usually forms its causal verbs by the addition of *au* to the root; thus, *garnu*, 'to do', *garāūnu*, 'to cause to be done'. [LSI pp. 30-50]

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607 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES IN KHAS-KURĀ OR NAIPĀḶĪ

English	*Khas-kurā or Naipālī*
one	ēk (-waṭā), yek, yak, yēuṭā, auṭā
two	dui (-waṭā)
three	tīn (-waṭā)
four	chār (-waṭā)
hand	hāt
foot	gōḍā, pāu
head	ṭāukō, sir
a father	bābu-
of a father	bābu-kō
to a father	bābu-lāi
two fathers	dui bābu-haru
I am	ma chhu (hũ)
thou art	tã chhas, (hos)
he is	U (~ tyō) chha, (hō)
we are	hāmi-haru chhaũ, (haũ)
you are	timi-haru chhau (hau)
they are	tini-haru (~ uni-haru) chhan, (hun)
I was	ma thiyẽ
thou wast	tã thiis
he was	tyō thiyō
we were	hāmi-haru thiyaũ

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English	*Khas-kurā or Naipālī*
you were	timi-haru thiyau
they were	tini-haru thiyē
I shall be	ma hũlā
I beat	ma (mai-lē) kuṭũ, kuṭa-chhu
thou beatest	tă (taĩ-lē) kuṭ, kuṭda-chhas
he beats	tyō (tes-lē) kuṭē, kuṭda-chha
we beat	hāmi-haru (-lē) kuṭau, kuṭda-chhau
you beat	timi-haru (-lē) kuṭau, kuṭda-chhau
they beat	tini-haru (-lē) kuṭun, kuṭda-chhau
I beat (past)	mai-lē kuṭẽ
thou beatest (past)	taĩ-lē kuṭis
he beat (past)	tes-lē kuṭyō
we beat (past)	hami-haru-lē kuṭyũ
you beat (past)	timi-haru-lē kuṭyau
they beat (past)	tini-haru-lē kutē
I shall beat	ma (mai-lē) kuṭũ-lā

[LSI pp 81-99]

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CENTRAL PAHĀṚI

608 Speaking roughly the Central Pahāṛī is the language of the western portion of the ancient Sapādalaksha, viz. of the lower Himālaya between Nepal and the Panjab, but omitting the Jaunsar-Bawar tract of Dehradun.

Central Pahāṛī includes two closely connected languages, Kumaunī spoken in Kumaun and Gaṛhwālī of Garhwal, which have been described separately in the following pages.

That Central Pahāṛī and Rājasthānī have close relationship. It becomes clear when a comparison with their principal grammatical forms is made. This would be pointed, where necessary, in the following pages. [LSI pp. 101-107]

KUMAUNĪ

609 Kumaunī is the Aryan language spoken in the sub-Himalayan tract known as Kumaun, which may be taken as including the whole of the Almora district and the northern part of the Naini Tal district of United Provinces.

The original inhabitants of Kumaun, so far as history takes us, as elsewhere in the sub-Himalayan tract, were the Khaśas, and the Khas, or Khasiyā tribe still forms an important element of the population. In Kumaun, most of these are now classed as Brāhmiṇs or as Rājpūts. For many centuries Gūjars and Rājpūt emigrants have been entering this sub-montane tract.

The Rājpūt rulers, who ruled this tract for about nine centuries imposed their own language and customs upon the Khaśas and Gūjars, whom they conquered. The Khasas, themselves, claimed to be Rājpūts by origin, and intermarriages that resulted further tended to assimilate their tribal customs and language to those of their conquerors. One result of this has

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been the complete disappearance of the old Khaśa language as an independent form of Rājasthānī. There are, however, certain well-defined peculiarities in Kumaunī, such as frequent occurrence of epenthesis and disaspiration, which it is difficult to explain otherwise than by assuming the reaction of the Khaśa language that might naturally be expected. [LSI pp. 108-109]

Dialects. Besides the standard literary Kumaunī which is spoken all over the Kumaun area as the polite form of conversation, Kumaunī has roughly twelve varieties. These can be divided into two groups one represented by Kumaiyā̃ dialect of Pargana Kali Kumaun, and the other by Khas-parjiyā. The chief peculiarity of the standard dialect is that it has preserved the terminations of nouns and verbs in full, and this is also the case with Kumaiyā̃, while Khas-Parjiyā and most of the other so-called dialects tend to drop them. [LSI pp. 109-110]

The following is the grammatical sketch of the standard dialect :

Pronunciation. The pronunciation of vowels varies from place to place and amongst different classes of society. The description given here represents the pronunciation used in conversation by educated Kumaunīs of Almora. *Ā* has two sounds, viz., *à* as in German 'Mann', and the second, regular long *a* of Hindī. *E* sounds like the *e* in 'set', as in *cheli*, 'a daughter'. *Ai* sounds like the *a* in 'sat', as in *haiṭh*. *Āi* is like that of the *i* in 'right'. It principally occurs in *tatsama* words, such as *chaitra*. The sound *au* is always long, and is pronounced like the *a* in 'ball', and not like the *au* of the 'house', thus *bhaut*, 'much'.

When *a* is followed by *à* it tends to become itself *à* also. Thus, *baṛo*, 'great', has its plural *bàṛà*. When *e* or *ē* is followed by *à*, it becomes *yà*. Thus, *mero*, 'my', has its masculine plural *myàrà* and the Hindī word *mēlā* becomes *myàḷà* in Kumaunī. Similarly, latter *o* or *ō* when followed by *à* becomes *wà*. Thus, *roṭo*, 'a cake', has its plural *rwàṭà*. When *e* or *o* precedes *o*, many people change them to *yŏ* and *wŏ*, respectively. Thus, they pronounce *mero*, 'my', *myŏro*, and *bōjo*, 'a load', as *bwŏjo*.

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L and *ḷ* when medial or final are often dropped, and to prevent the hiatus thus called, *w* is generally inserted in its place. Thus, *bàdaḷ* or *bàdaw*, 'a cloud'; *beḷiyà* or *beiyà*, 'yesterday'. There is a strong tendency to disaspirate. Thus, *bhūnṇo* or *būnno*, 'to fry'. The cerebral *ṇ* is very common.

As in Khas-kurā, there is a preference in Kumaunī for short vowels at the end of a word. Thus we have *wàmi*, not *nāmī*, 'famous'. [LSI pp. 113-116]

Article. The numeral *ēk*, 'one', is commonly employed as an indefinite article. As usual the place of the definite article is supplied by a demonstrative pronoun. [LSI p. 116]

Noun : Gender. There are two genders, masculine and feminine. These generally follow the Hindī and Rājasthānī rules. The distinction of gender is not confined to sex as in Khas-kurā. A few words which are feminine in Hindī and Rājasthānī are masculine in Kumaunī. Thus, *ā̀kho*, 'an eye'.

Number. There are two numbers, singular and plural.

Tadbhava nouns which in Hindī end in *-ā*, in Kumaunī, as in Rājasthānī, end in *-o*. Thus, Hindī *chēlā*, Kumaunī *chelō* (~*chyōlo*), 'a son'. These nouns form the nominative plural by changing the final *o* to *à*; thus *bhiṇo*, 'a wall', plural *bhiṇà*. Feminine nouns in *i* (~ ī) sometimes form the nominative plural in *iyā̀* (~*iyà*) as in Hindī. Thus, *cheli*, 'a daughter', nom. plur. *cheliyā̀* ~ *cheliyà*, but this form is considered vulgar, the nominative plural of such nouns being regularly the same as the singular.

Case. These cases are generally formed by means of post-positions. Certain nouns are put into an oblique form before these are added.

In the case of most nouns, the oblique form singular is the same as the nominative. Thus, *ràjà-kaṇi*, 'to the king'. But masculine *tadbhava* nouns in *o* make the oblique form singular (and also the nominative plural) by changing the *o* to *à*. Thus,

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ãkho, 'eye' ; obl. form singular and plural *ãkhà*. Occasionally we come across an oblique form in *-ai*, which is used for all kinds of nouns. Thus, we have *rājai-ki cheli*, 'the daughter of the king'. The *-ai* is even added to a plural oblique form. Thus, *pāpinai-ki durdàśà*, 'the evil condition of sinners'.

There are the usual cases, formed respectively with the following postpositions :

Accusative, no postposition, or *-kaṇi*, *-kan*, *-kaĩ*.

Instrumental and Agent, *-le* ; Instr., *kà màriyà* (=Hindī *-kē mārē*)

Dative, *-kaṇī*, *-kaĩ*, *-thaĩ*, (~ *-thẽ*) ; *-huṇi*, *-hũ* ; *-sũ* ; *-kà lijiyà* (=Hindī *-ke liyē*)

Ablative, *-bati*, *-haī*, *-hai-bēr* ; 'from' ; *-mē-hai* ; *-dagaṛi*, 'with'.

Genitive, *-kō* (*-kà*, *-ki*).

Locative, *-mẽ* (~ *-me*), 'in, on' ; *-par*, 'on' ; *-jãlai*.

[LSI pp. 116-122]

Adjectives. Except *tadbhava* adjectives ending in *-o* and a few others, all adjectives are immutable. These adjectives follow the analogy of Hindī. That is to say, they change *o* to *à* when agreeing with a masculine noun which is not in the nominative singular. When agreeing with a feminine noun they change *o* to *i*.

Comparison is made, as in Hindī, by putting the thing with which comparison is made in the ablative case. [LSI pp. 122-123]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the first two personal pronouns are ; *maĩ*, 'I' ; *ham*, 'we' ; *ṭu*, 'thou' ; *tum*, 'you'.

The demonstrative pronouns *yo*, 'this', and *u*, 'that' are also employed as pronouns of the third pronoun. The reflexive pronoun is *apũ*, 'self'. The relative pronoun is *jo*, *je*. The interrogative pronoun is *ko*, 'who ?', which is declined like *jo*, except that in the nominative singular its inanimate form is *kyà* ~ *ke*.

[LSI pp. 123-128]

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Verbs. In the general principles of its conjugation Kumaunī closely follows Hindī ; but the participial tenses all take personal terminations, and there is an independent passive voice formed by adding -ī to the root (as in Khas-kurā).

Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present tense is conjugated as under :

I am, etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*chhũ*	*chhẽ*
2.	*chhai*, (fem.) *chhē*	*chha*
3.	*chh*	*chhan*

When this is employed as a verb substantive, except in the second person singular, the above forms are of common gender. Thus, *chhẽ* is both masculine and feminine, and *chh* means both 'he is' and 'she is'.

When this is employed as an auxiliary verb, the second and third persons singular have optional feminine forms, but are of common gender in the plural. Moreover, when used as an auxiliary the first person singular is *chhũ*, not *chhũ*, and the second person plural is *chhā*, not *chhau*.

There is a negative verb substantive *nihatũ* ~ *nhatũ* 'I am not, I will not be', which is thus conjugated :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*nhatũ* (fem. *nhatyũ*)	*nhatẽ* (fem. *nhàtiyũ*)
2.	*nhàtai* (fem. *nahatyē*)	*nhàtau* (*nhatā*) (fem.) *nhàtiyau* (*-iyā*)
3.	*nhàti* (fem. *nhàte*)	*nhàtan* (fem. *nhàtan* ~ *naĩ*)

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The past changes for gender. It is the same in form, whether it is a verb substantive or an auxiliary. It is conjugated as follows :

I was', etc.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*chhiyũ, chhyũ*	*chhiyũ, chhyũ*	*chhiyã, chhyã*	*chhiyã, chhyã*
2.	*chhiyē*	*chhī*	*chhiya*	*chhiya*
3.	*chhiyo*	*chhi*	*chhiyà*	*chhin*

Instead of this verb, the perfect and pluperfect tenses of the verb *rũṇō*, 'to remain', are very frequently employed as auxiliaries. The perfect 'I have remained', is used to mean 'I am', and the pluperfect, 'I had remained' is used to mean 'I was'.

Active verb. The infinitive or verbal noun has two forms, —a weak and a strong. The weak infinitive is made by adding *-aṇ* to the root. Thus, *hiṭaṇ*, 'to go'. The strong infinitive is made by adding *-aṇo* to the root, with an oblique form in *-àṇà*. Thus, *hiṭano*, 'the act of going' ; *hiṭàna-ko*, 'of going' ; *hiṭàṇà-huṇi*, 'to go'.

The present participle is formed in the same way as the strong infinitive, except that the *n* is usually dental, not cerebral. Thus, *hiṭano*, 'going'. The present participle does not often occur in the direct form, but its oblique form is extremely common. This oblique form may be either *hiṭani* (really an old locative) or *hiṭànà*. It means 'in going', 'while going' and is exactly equivalent to the English 'a-going'.

The past participle may be either verbal or adjectival. The verbal past participle may be either weak or strong.

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The weak verbal past participle is formed by adding *-a* to the root. Thus, *hiṭa*, fem. *hiṭi*, 'gone'. The plural is the same as the singular in both genders. This form of the past participle is only used to make the perfect and pluperfect tenses, with the addition of auxiliary verbs. Thus, *hiṭa-chh*, 'he has gone'. Causal verbs, whose infinitives end in *-ūṇo*, forms the weak past participle in *a*, Thus, from *bachūṇo*, 'to preserve', we have *bachā*, fem. *bachai* ~ *bachē*. The strong verbal past participle is formed by changing the final *a* of the weak verbal past participle to *o*. Thus, *hiṭo*, masc. plur. *hiṭà* ; fem. sing. and plur. *hiti*. Causal verbs form the past participle in *-àyo*. Thus, *bachàyo*, 'preserved'.

The adjectival past participle is formed by changing the *o* of the strong verbal past participle to *-iyo*. Thus, *hiṭiyo*, gone'. It is used when the participle is employed as an independent adjective.

The old present, which, as usual, has generally the sense of a present conditional, is thus conjugated :

'I go, I may go', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hiṭū̃*	*hiṭū̃*
2.	*hiṭai*	*hiṭau*
3.	*hiṭ*	*hiṭau, hiṭan*

The imperative is the same as the old present, except in the second person of which there are several forms, which may be shown as follows :

Sing. *hiṭ, hiṭiyē.*

Plur. *hiṭau, hiṭiyā*

The future is formed by adding *-lo* to the old present, but there are some irregularities. When the subject is feminine, *lo* becomes *li* in the singular, except in the first person in which it

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remains unchanged. In the plural of both genders, *lo* becomes *là*, except in the third person. Thus, *hiṭũlo*. 'I shall go', *hiṭùlà*. 'they shall go'.

The past tense is formed by taking the strong form of the verbal past participle, and adding personal suffixes. In the third person singular and masculine plural, no suffix is added, and we have the past participle standing by itself. The following is the paradigm :

I went', etc.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*hiṭyũ*	—	*hiṭã*	—
2.	*hiṭai*	*hiṭī*	*hiṭā*	—
3.	*hiṭo*	*hiṭī*	*hiṭà*	*hiṭin*

The above is the conjugation of all regular verbs, both transitive and intransitive. In the case of transitive verbs the tense is treated passively, while *hiṭ̃ã* (intransitive) means 'I went', *mār̃ã* (transitive) means 'I was killed'. I' killed him', would be *maĩ-le wī -kaṇi māro*, 'by me, with reference to him, it was killed', or *maĩ-le u màro*, 'by me he was killed'.

Passives and causals. A passive voice is formed by adding *-ī* to the root. Thus, the root of *dekh-aṇo*, 'to see', is *dekh*. The passive root is *dekhī* with an infinitive *dekhīṇo*, 'to be visible'. This is conjugated regularly. Its shorter conjunctive participle is, however, *dekhī*, not *dekhīi*. This conjunctive participle is often prefixed to the verb *jàṇo*, 'to go', and the whole has then the force of simple passive. Thus, *dekhī-jàṇo*, 'to be seen'.

Causal verbs are formed, as in Hindī, by adding *-ā* to the root. The infinitive ends in *-ūṇo*. Thus, *dekhūṇo*, 'to cause to see', with a strong verbal past participle *dekhàyo* and an adjectival participle *dekhaiyo*. So, *haūṇo*, 'to cause to become'. Many causals are formed, as in Hindī, by lengthening the root vowel. [LSI pp. 129-152]

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KHASPARJIYĀ

610 The Khasparjiyā dialect or Kumaunī is spoken in Pargana Barahmandal, and in the adjoining paṭṭīs is of Pargana Danpur, both of Almora district. The standard form of Kumaunī is the language of the educated classes of the town of Almora. This town is situated in Pargana Barahmandal, and Khasparjiyā differs from the standard dialect only in being the language of the uneducated villagers rather than that of the educated towns folk of the same Pargana. [LSI p. 180]

Pronunciation. The great phonetic difference between Khasparjiyā and the standard dialect, is that the former regularly drops final vowels which appear in the latter. Thus, the Hindī *chēla*, 'a son', becomes *chelo* in standard Kumaunī, but *chyal*, in Khasparjiyā. Similarly standard Hindī *bōjha*, 'a load', standard Kumauni *bojo*, Khasparjiyā *bwaj*. These two words also illustrate another tendency of Khasparjiyā, viz. to change *ē* of the standard to *ya*, and to change *o* of the standard to *wa*. [LSI p. 180]

Nouns : Number. Allowing for the dropping of a final short vowel the nominative plural is formed as in the standard dialect. Thus in most cases the nominative plural is the same as the singular. But in some cases the medial vowel is lengthened. Thus *chaṛ*, 'a bird', plural *chāṛ* ; *chyal*, 'a son', plural *chyāl*. The plural of feminine nouns ending in -ī is formed by adding *-y* ; thus, *chēli*, 'a daughter', plural *chēliy*.

Case. Here again, with the same reservation as to the elision of the final vowel, the standard dialect is followed, so far as the singular oblique form is concerned.

In the standard, when the oblique form singular ends in a consonant, an *a* is added before *-le*, the postposition of the agent. In Khasparjiyā, the corresponding postposition is *-l*, and it takes *-ai* before it. Thus, from *kās*, 'younger', we have *kāsai-l*, 'the younger'. In the standard the usual oblique plural ends in *-aũ* ~ *-õ*, of which the nasal is frequently omitted. This remains unchanged before *-l* of the agent case ; thus, *buketaũ-l*, 'with the husks'.

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The postpositions employed are much the same as in the standard. We may note :

Agentive-instrumental,	:	*-l*
Dative-Accusative,	:	*-kaṇi, -thaĩ, -huṇi, -k-lijiy*
Ablative	:	*-baṭi, -hai-bēr*
Genitive,	:	*-k*
Locative,	:	*-mẽ, -mī, -mau*

The only postposition which requires notice is that of genitive. In Khasparjiyā, according to the usual rule, *-ko* and *-kà* both become *-k*, but when this *-k* represents *-kà*, an *-ā-* is inserted. The feminine *-kī* still retains its final vowel, and *-ai-* or *-ē-* is inserted before it in similar cases. Thus, *chyal*, 'a son' ; gen. sing. *chyāl-k*, *chyālā-k*, and *chyalai-ki* or *chyalē-ki*.

[LSI pp. 180-183]

Adjectives. With the usual proviso as to the elision of final vowel, adjectives closely follow the rules of the standard dialect. *Tadbhava* adjectives which end in *-o* in the standard dialect, end in a consonant in Khasparjiyā and usually lengthen the medial vowel in masculine oblique singular and masculine plural ; thus, *bhal*, 'good' ; obl. sing. and plur. *bhāl*.

[LSI p. 183]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of first two personal pronouns are ; *mai*, *mī*, 'I' ; *ham*, 'we' ; *tu*, 'thou' ; *tum*, 'you'.

The demonstrative pronouns *yō*, 'this' and *ū*, 'that' are used as pronouns of the third person. The reflexive pronoun is *apũ*, 'self', of which the emphatic form is *āphī*. The relative pronoun is *jo*. The interrogative pronouns are *kō*, 'who ?' and *kyē~kē* (neut.) 'what ?'.

[LSI pp. 184-186]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The conjugation of the verb substantive closely agrees with that of the standard dialect.

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The present tense is conjugated as under :

'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*chhũ*	*chhũ*
2.	*chai* (fem. *chhe*)	*chhau*
3.	*chh*	*chhan, chhanā*

When used as an auxiliary verb the 2nd plural is *chha*.

The past tense is conjugated as under :

'I was', etc.

	Sing,		Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*chhiy*	—	*chhiy*	—
2.	*chhiyē*	*chhī*	*chhiy*	—
3.	*chhiy*	*chhi*	*chhiy, chiyā*	*chhin*

Finite verb. The infinitive or verbal noun, ends in *-n*, and is declined like a noun, as in *charūṇ-huṇi*, 'for grazing'.

The present participle ends in *-n*, and the past participle is the same in form as the root.

The imperative takes no termination in the singular, and has *-au* in the plural. Thus, *dē*, 'give thou' ; *diyau*, 'give ye'.

The future is conjugated as follows :

'I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārũl*	*mārāl*
2.	*mārlai*	*mārlā*
3.	*māraulō*	*marlā*

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The present is conjugated as follows :

'I strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārãchh, mārchh*	*mārnu*
2.	*mārãchhai, mārchhai*	*mārãchhā, mārchhā*
3.	*mārãchh, marchh*	*mārnī*

The past tense is conjugated as follows :

'I went', etc.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*hiṭyũ*	—	*hiṭ*	—
2.	*hiṭē*	*hiṭī*	*hiṭ*	—
3.	*hiṭ*	*hiṭī*	*hiṭ, hiṭā*	*hiṭin, hiṭi*

Passives and causals follow the standard, and no remarks are necessary.

[LSI pp. 186-189]

GARḤWĀLĪ

611 Garḥwālī is spoken in Garhwal, which as a tract consists of two portions, viz., the state of Tehri Garhwal and to its east the district of Garhwal, and also by an overflow population in the adjoining districts of Almora, Dehradun, Saharanpur, Bijnor and Moradabad.

Garḥwālī is closely allied to Kumaunī. It is a somewhat corrupted form of Rājasthānī. This corruption is not so manifest as it is in the Western Pahāṛī languages of the Simla Hills, further west, but here and there we come across forms of words which distinctly betray Khaśa influence.

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Gaṛhwālī is not a literary language. The dialect of Śrinagar, the ancient capital of the country, is the standard one, and the variations from this standard, are nowhere of importance. The Tehri dialect alone presents prominent divergencies, but even these are not serious.

[LSI pp. 279-280]

The following is the grammatical sketch of the dialect.

Pronunciation. The pronunciation is on the whole the same as in Hindī. Although Gaṛhwālī is distinctly a form of Eastern Rājasthanī, we may say that in its general characteristics it more nearly approaches Hindī than does Kumaunī or Khas-kurā.

[LSI p. 281]

Nouns : Gender. There are two genders, masculine and feminine. These generally follow Hindī and Rājasthānī rules. A few words which are feminine in Hindī, are as in Kumaunī, masculine in Gaṛhwālī.

Number. There are two numbers, singular and plural. *Tadbhava* masculine nouns which in Hindī end in *-ā*, in Gaṛhwālī, as in Rājasthānī, end in *-ō*. Thus, Hindī *ghōṛā*, Gaṛhwālī *ghōṛō*, 'a horse'. These nouns form the nominative plural by changing *ō* to *ā* as in *ghōṛā*, 'horses'. In the case of other masculine nouns, the nominative plural is the same as the nominative singular. Thus, *ghar*, 'a house or houses'. Feminine nouns ending in consonants form the nominative plural by adding *-a*. Thus, *bāt*, 'a word', *bāta*, 'words'. Feminine nouns in *-ī* often change the *-ī* to *ē* in the nominative plural. Thus, *janānī*, 'a woman', plural *janānī* ~ *janānē*.

Case. As in other Indo-Aryan languages, cases are generally indicated by means of postpositions. Certain nouns are put into an oblique form before they are added.

In the case of most nouns the oblique form singular is the same as the nominative, but the masculine *tadbhava* nouns in *-ō* make the oblique form singular, as well as the nominative plural,

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by changing the *-ō* to *-ā*. Thus, *ghōṛō*, 'a horse', obl. form sing. and nom. plur., *ghōṛā*, The oblique form plural ends in *-aũ* or *-ū* (*ũ*) ; thus, *bāta*, 'words' ; obl. plur. *bātaũ* or *bātū*.

As in Hindī and Rājasthānī, the oblique form, singular or plural, can be employed alone to indicate any case, but it is usual to define the case by adding to it one of the following postpositions :

Agent, *-n*

Accusative,—, or else *-saṇī* (*-siṇī*) ~ *-ku*

Instrumental, *-tē* ~ *-n*

Dative, *-saṇī* (*-siṇī*) ~ *kū*

Ablative, *-tē*

Genitive, *-kō*

Locative, *-mā* (in), *-par* (on)

The accusative is either the same as the nominative, or when definiteness has to be indicated, the postposition of the dative is added following the same rules as in Hindī.

[LSI pp. 281-284]

Adjectives. Except *tadbhava* adjectives in *-ō*, all adjectives are immutable. *Tadbhava* adjectives in *-ō* change the termination to *-i* when agreeing with a feminine noun. When agreeing with a masculine noun in the plural or in any case of the singular except the nominative, the *-ō* is changed to *-ā*. Thus, *bhalā ādmī-kō*, 'of a goodman' ; *bhalī janānī*, 'a good woman, good women'.

Comparison is made, as usual, by putting the thing with which comparison is made in the ablative ; thus, *wē-kō bhāī wē-kī bhaiṇ tē lambō chha*, 'his brother is taller than his sister' ; *sab-tē achchā kapṛā nikalī-k*, having brought out the best clothes'.

[LSI p. 284]

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Pronouns. Some of the forms of first two personal pronouns are ; *maĩ* ~ *mī*, 'I' ; *ham*, *hamū*, 'we' ; *tū*, 'thou' ; *tum*, *tumī*, 'you'. The respectful pronoun of the second person is *āp*, 'Your Honour'. The demonstrative pronouns *yō* (fem. *yā*), 'this' and *ō* (fem. *wā*) 'that', are also employed as pronouns of the third person.

The reflexive pronoun is *āp*, 'self', which is used as in Hindī, only with reference to the subject of the sentence. The relative pronoun is *jō*, 'who', and the interrogative pronouns are *kō*, 'who ?, which ?' and *kyā*, 'what ?'.

[LSI pp. 284-286]

Verbs. Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present tense is conjugated as under :

'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*chhaũ*, *chaũ*	*chhawāũ*
2.	*chhaī*,	*chhayāī*
3.	*chha*	*chhan*

The past tense is masc. sing. *chhayō*, plur. *chhayā* ; fem. sing. and plur. *chhaī* for all the three persons.

Active verb. The infinitive or the verbal noun has two forms, a weak and a strong, The strong form is made by adding *-ṇō* to the root ; thus, *khā-ṇō*, 'to eat, the act of eating'. The weak infinitive is made by adding *-aṇ*, or after a vowel, *-ṇ* to the root. The *ṇ* of these forms becomes *n* after *ṇ*, *r*, *ṛ* or *l*. Thus, *kāpan* 'to tremble' ; *māran*, 'to strike'.

The present participle is formed by adding the syllable *-dō* to the root. Thus, *mārdō*, 'striking'. After a vowel the termination is *-ndo* ; thus *khā-ndō*, 'eating'. Sometimes instead of this form we meet a form borrowed from Kumaunī which ends in *-ṇū* (*-nu*) with a feminine *-ṇī* (*-nī*).

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The past participle is formed by adding -*ē* (after a vowel, -*yē*), -*yō* ~ -*yã̄* to the root. Thus, *mār-ē*, *mār-yō*, ~ *mār-yã̄*, 'struck'.

The old present, usually employed as a present subjunctive, or as an imperative is thus conjugated :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārũ*	*mārā̃*
2.	*mārī*	*māryaī*, *mārā*
3.	*mār*	*māran*

The present has two forms. The first is made by conjugating the present participle with the present tense of the verb substantive as in Hindī. Thus, *mārdō chhaũ* ~ *mārnū chhaũ*, 'I am striking'. Much more common is the other form, made by suffixing terminations to the present participle. It is thus conjugated :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārdū*	*mārdawā̃*, *mārdã̄ũ*, *mārdaũ*
2.	*mārdī*	*mārdawa*, *mārdaī*
3.	*mārd*	*mārdin*, *mārdān*

The future is thus conjugated. Its feminine differs from the masculine :

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*mārũlō*, *mārlō*	*mārũlī*, *mārlī*	*mārũla*, *mārla*	*mārũlī*, *mārlī*
2.	*mārilyō*, *mārilō*	*mārilī*	*mārilya*, *mārila*	*mārilī*
3.	*mārlō*	*mārlī*	*mārla*	*mārlī*

The past tense and all other tenses formed from past participle are constructed almost exactly as in Hindī ; i.e. in the case of transitive verbs, the subject is put in the agentive case, and, when, mutable the verb agrees in gender and number with the

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object. The construction differs from Hindī and follows Rājasthānī and Gujarātī in this, that the verb agrees in gender and number with the object, even when the latter is in the dative case. Intransitive verbs are, on the other hand, constructed actively.

There are two forms of the past tense. The first form is made with the past participle in *ē* (*mērē*). This form does not change for gender in the singular. In the plural *n* is added. Thus, we have *maĩ-n pāp karē*, 'I did sin'; *baṛō akāl paṛē*, 'a severe famine fell'. The second form of the past tense is, in the case of a transitive verb, simply the past participle, thus, *wai-n bōlyō*, 'he said'. The second form of the past tense of an intransitive verb has special forms for the first and second persons, but the third person is the same as the past participle. Thus, for the verb *chalnō*, 'to go', we have the following forms :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*chalyũ*	*chalyā, chalyā*
2.	*chalī*	*chalyaī, chalyā*
3.	*chalyō* (fem. *chalī*)	*chalyā* (fem. *chalī*)

The passive voice is formed much as in Hindī, by combining the past participle with the verb *jāṇō*, 'to go', but the oblique singular of the participle is usually employed. Thus, *khōyē gaī-chhayō*, 'he had been lost'.

Causal verbs are formed as in Hindī by adding -ā to the root. The infinitive ends in *-auṇō*. Thus, *charauṇō*, past participle *charāyō*, 'to cause to graze'. [LSI pp. 288-297]

RĀṬHĪ OR RĀṬHWĀLĪ

612 This dialect of Gaṛhwālī is the language of the Khasiyās and Pabilās (non-thread wearing castes) and is spoken throughout the centre of the district of Garhwal, over the greater parts of the Chandpur and Dewalgarh Parganas, and also in about thirty villages of the adjoining Patti Malla Chankot in the Pali Pargana of the Almora district.

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In the following grammatical sketch mostly attention has been devoted to those points in which the dialect differs from the standard Garhwālī.

Pronunciation. This on the whole is more nearly akin to that of Kumaunī, than is the case with the standard dialect. The vowel *ē* is interchangeable with *yā* ; thus we have both *dyā* and *dē*, 'give'. When *ē* is followed in the next syllable by *ō* it optionally becomes *yō*. Thus, *mērō* or *myōrō*, 'my'. In the same way a long *ā* followed by *ō* becomes *ō*. Thus, *chōyō*, 'he was', but *chhāyā*, 'they were'. The vowel *ō*, on the other hand, may become *wā* before *ā*. Thus, *ghōṛī*, 'a mare', but *ghwāṛā*, 'a horse'. [LSI p. 311]

Nouns : Gender. The rules for this are the same as in the standard dialect.

Number. Tadbhava masculine nouns, which in Hindī end in *-ā* usually end in *-ō* as in the standard dialect. Sometimes, however, we have the *-ā* termination, as in *ghwāṛā*, 'a horse'. In both cases nominative plural ends in *-ā*. The final *-ā* may be shortened to *-a*,so that we can also have *ghwāṛa*.

Case. The oblique case singular is formed as in the standard dialect. with the usual optional shortening of a final *-ā*. The oblique plural usually ends in *-õ*, as in *chākrõ-māy-na*, 'from among the servants'.

The following are the usual postpositions employed :

Agentive, *-na*, *-la*

Accusative, — or *-gaṇī*

Instrumental, *-na*, *-la*

Dative, *gaṇī* (to), *-khuṇī* (to) ; *-thā̃* (to) ; *-kā̃* (for)

Ablative *-gaṇī* (from) ; *-baṭi* (from) ; *-sē*, *-tē*, etc.

Genitive, *-kō*.

Locative, *-mā*, *-mā̃* (in, into) ; *-pār* (on) ; *-tal* (under). [LSI pp. 311-313]

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Adjectives. These follow the same rules as in the standard dialect. [LSI pp. 313]

Pronouns. Some of the forms of first two personal pronouns are ; *mī*, *mĩ*, 'I am' ; *ham*, *hamū*, 'we' ; *tū*, *tũ*, 'thou' ; *tum*, *tumū*, 'you'.

The demonstrative pronouns *yo*, *yõ* 'this' ; *wo*, 'that', are also used as pronouns of third person. The reflexive pronoun is *aphū*, 'self'. The relative pronoun is *jõ* or *jū*, 'who ?'. The interrogative pronouns are *kõ*, 'who ?' and *kya*, 'what ?'.

[LSI pp. 313-315]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present tense is conjugated as under :

'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*chũ*, *chhaũ*, *chhaũ*	*chhawā*
2.	*chai*, *chhaī*	*chhawa*
3.	*chha*, *cha*	*chhĩ*

The past tense is masc. sing. *chhayõ* or *chhõyõ*, plur. *chhaya* or *chhayā* ; fem. sing. and plur. is *chhaī*, for all the three persons.

Finite verb. The infinitive or verbal noun closely follows the standard dialect. The strong form ends in *-ṇõ*, (*-nõ*), and the weak form ends in *-ṇa* (*-na*) and is usually but not always oblique.

The present participle has two forms. In one (as in standard Gaṛhwālī) *-do* (obl. *-da*) is added to the root. Thus, *mārdõ* (obl. *mārda*), 'striking'. After the long vowel we have *-ndõ* (obl. *-nda*). The other form is the Kumaunī present participle in *-ṇõ* (*-nõ*).

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The past participle closely follows the standard dialect. There is one form in *-ō*, *-yō*, *-yũ* or *-yaũ*, as in *baiṭhō*, 'seated'; *māryɔ*, 'struck'; *bachīyũ*, 'saved', and another corresponding to the standard form in *ē* or *yē*, ending in *-ē*, *-yē*, *-a* or *-ya*; thus, *mā̆ra*, 'struck'; *āyē* or *āya*; 'came'.

The old present, usually employed as a present subjunctive or as an imperative, is the same as in the standard, as in *mī mārũ*, 'I may beat'.

The present tense has two forms. The first is made by conjugating the present participle with the present tense of the verb substantive, as in Hindī. Any form of the present participle may be used. Thus, *mī̃ bhūkh-na marnū-chhaũ*, 'I am dying of hunger'.

The second form is made by adding terminations to the present participle. Thus we have :

'I strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārnū*	*mārnū*
2.	*mārnī*	*mārnī*
3.	*mārn*	*mānī*

The imperfect is formed, also as in Hindī, by suffixing the past tense of the verb substantive to the present participle.

The future tense is thus conjugated :

'I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārũlō* (~ *lū*) ~ *mārlū* (*mālū*)	*marlā* (*mālā*)
2.	*māril*	*mārlyā* (*mālyā*)
3.	*mārul*	*mārla* (*māla*)

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The past tense is formed from both forms of the past participle as in the standard.

The passive voice is formed by conjugating the past participle with the verb substantive ; thus, *mī māra chhaũ*, 'I am beaten'. As in Kumaunī a passive voice is also formed by adding *-ī* to the root, as in *marīyũ*, 'dead'. [LSI pp. 315-319]

BADHĀNĪ

613 This dialect is spoken in the centre and west of Pargana Badhan of district Garhwal. Like Lōhbyā, it hardly differs from Rāṭhī, and a very brief notice will suffice.

Nouns. Masculine nouns ending in *-ō*, in oblique sing. and nom. plur. end in *-ā* and obl. plur. add nasalisation to the final vowel. Other masc. nouns remain unchanged in obl. sing. and nom. plur., but in obl. plur. add nasalisation or *-õ*. Feminine nouns ending in *-ī* remain unchanged in obl. sing., optionally add *-ē* in nom. plural and *-yõ* in obl. plural.

The postpositions are :

Agentive, *-la* ~ *-l*, *-na* ~ *-n*, 'by'.

Instrumental, *-la* ~ *-l*, *-na* ~ *-n*, 'by'.

Dative (and accusative), *-thaĩ*, *-mũ*, *-saṇī*, *-khaṇī*, *-khuṇī*, *-haṇī*, 'to' ; *-lai*, *-lē*, 'for'.

Ablative, *-tē*, *-baṭī*, 'from'.

Genitive, *-kō* (*-kā*, *-kī*), 'of'.

Locative, *-mã̄*, *-maĩ*, *-maṅg*, 'in, on' ; *-par*, 'on' ; *-madhē*, 'from among'. [LSI p. 326]

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Pronouns. The nominative forms of the first two personal pronouns are *mĩ*, *maĩ*, 'I' ; *tũ*, 'thou', *ham*, 'we' ; *tum*, 'you'. The demonstrative pronouns *yō*, 'this' ; and *wō*, 'that', are also used as pronouns of third person. The reflexive pronoun is *aphū*. The relative pronoun is *jō*, and interrogative pronouns are *kō*, 'who ?' and *kya*, 'what ?'. [LSI pp. 326-327]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present tense is conjugated as under :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*chũ*	*chā, cha*
2.	*chā, cha*	*chū*
3.	*chā, cha*	*cha, cha*

or we may have *chhũ*, and so throughout.

The past is *chiyō* or *chayō*, plur. *chiyā* or *chayā*, fem. sing. and plur. *chī*. Or we may have *chyō*, *chhiyō*, *chhayō* or *chhyō*, and so throughout.

Finite verb. The infinitive ends in *-ṇō* (*-ṇū*) or *-nō* (*-nu*) as usual with an oblique in *-ṇā* (*-ṇa*) or *-nā* (*na*). Thus, *hiṭṇo*, obl. *hiṭnā* or *hiṭna*, 'to go'.

The present participle as usual follows the infinitive.

The past participle, as usual, ends in *-ō*, or in *-ē* (which may be dropped), or in *-yũ*. Thus, *hiṭō*, *hiṭē*, *hiṭ* or *hiṭyũ*, 'gone'.

The present (I go, I am going) as usual has two forms.

First Form

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hiṭṇū-chũ*	*hiṭṇā-cha*
2.	*hiṭṇū-cha*	*hiṭṇā-chū*
3.	*hiṭṇū-cha*	*hiṭṇā-cha*

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Second Form

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hiṭṇũ*	*hiṭṇũ*
2.	*hiṭaṇ*	*hiṭṇa*
3.	*hiṭaṇ*	*hiṭṇī*

The future and past tenses are conjugated as under:

Future, 'I shall go', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hiṭlū, hiṭlō, hiṭnū*	*hiṭla*
2.	*hiṭlyō*	*hiṭlya*
3.	*hiṭlō*	*hiṭla*

Past, 'I went', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hiṭũ*	*hiṭũ*
2.	*hiṭō*	*hiṭa*
3.	*hiṭō*	*hiṭa*

[LSI pp. 327-328]

TEHRI GARHWALI OR GANGAPARIYA

614 The state of Tehri Garhwal has to the west of district Garhwal, from which it is separated along the southern portion of its boundary by the river Ganges. Its language is a recognised dialect of Garhwali, known as the Tehri dialect, and also by the people of Garhwal and Almora, as "Gangapariya" or the language the country beyond the Ganges.

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Immediately to the west of the Tehri state lies the Jaunsar-Bawar tract of the district of Dehra Dun, the language of which is the Western Pahāṛī Jaunsārī. As might be expected, the Tehri dialect shows distinct traces of the latter form of speech, the most important of which is the frequent use of the word *thayō* instead of *chhayō*, to mean 'was'. [LSI p. 342]

The following are the principal points of divergence from the standard dialect.

Nouns. The principal postpositions are :

Agentive, *-na.*

Dative-Accusative, *-kū*, *-ka*, *-saṇī*, 'for', *-laī.*

Instrumental, *-na*, *-sē*, *-tē.*

Ablative, *-mujē*, *-sē*, *-tē* ; 'from among', *-mā-na.*

Genitive, *-kō* (*-kā*, *-kī*).

Locative, *-mã̄*, *-mũ̄.*

The locative postpositions are used after verbs of saying, like the standard *-mā.*

Substantive and adjectives make their oblique forms as in the standard. The plural oblique terminations are *-au* and *-ū*, both of which are frequently nasalised. Thus, *būbau-kō*, or *būbaũ-kō*, 'of fathers' ; *mansū-kō* or *mansũ̄-kō*, 'of men'. [LSI p. 342]

Adjectives. Adjectives follow the standard. [LSI p. 342]

Pronouns. These closely follow the standard. The usual oblique form of *tū*, 'thou', is *twai*, as in *twai-na* (ag. sing.).

The reflexive pronoun is *āphū*, 'self'. The interrogative pronouns are *kō*, 'who ?', and *kyā* or *kyājō*, obl. *kē*, 'what ?'. [LSI pp. 342-343]

Verbs. The verbs substantive are :

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Present, 'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*chhaũ, chhaũ*	*chhayā*
2.	*chhaī*	*chhayāī*
3.	*chha*	*chhana*

Chha may also be used for any person, as in *tū as marna tyār chha*, 'thou art ready to die'.

The usual past is *thayō*, 'was' ; plural *thayā* ; fem. sing. and plur. *thaī*. The standard *chhayō*, etc., is also frequently employed.

Finite verb. The infinitive closely follows the standard dialect. The strong form usually ends in *-ū*, as in *hōṇū*, 'to be' ; but *-ō* also occurs in *gaṇō*, 'to sing'. The weak form ends in *-a*, as in *hōṇa*.

The present participle is formed as in the standard, either with *-dō* or *-ṇū* (*-nū*). Thus, *mārdo, charauṇū*.

The past participle also follows the standard, ending in *-ē*, *-yō*, and *-yũ*, with oblique forms in *-e*, *-ya* and *-yā*.

Imperative follows the standard.

The present has two forms as in the standard. The first is a present definite, *-mārdō chhaũ*, 'I am striking'. The second is conjugated as follows :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārdaũ, mārdũ*	*mārdā*
2.	*mārdī*	*mārdaī*
3.	*mārda*	*mārdāna*

For the future tense we have in the masculine :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārlō*	*mārlā*
2.	*māralyō, marilō*	*māralyā, marlā*
3.	*mārlō*	*mārlā, mārilya*

The past tense closely follows the standard. Thus, *wai-na mārē*, 'he struck' ; *wai-na ni chayō*, 'he did not wish'. For intransitive verbs we have, *-rayō*, 'I remained' ; *chalyō*, 'I went' ; *hōyē*, 'he became' ; *lagena*, 'they began'. [LSI pp. 342-344]

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615 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS

English	*Kumaunī* (Standard)	*Kumaunī* (Khasparjiyā)
one	ēk	ēk (*one or a*), kai=(*a*)
two	dwī	dwī
three	tīn	tīn
four	chār	chār
hand	hāt	hāt
foot	khuṭ	khuṭ
head	khwàṛo	khwar
a father	bāb	bab ; (*ag.*) babai-l
of a father	bàba-ko	bab-k ; (*fem.*) babaik ~babē-k ; (masc. obl.) babā-k
to a father	bàb-kaṇi	bab-kaṇi
two fathers	dwi bāb	dwī-bab
I am	maĩ chhũ	mī chhũ
thou art	tu chai, (*fem.*) chhē	tū chhai
he is	u chh	ū chh
we are	ham chhũ	ham chhũ
you are	tum chhau	tum chhau
they are	ũ chhan	ũ chhanā, chhan
I was	maĩ chiyũ, chhyũ	mī chhiy
thou wast	tu chhiyē, (*fem.*) chhī	tū chhiyē
he was	u chhiyo, (*fem.*) chhi	ū chhiy
we were	ham chhiyã, chhyā	ham chhiy

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AND PHRASES IN CENTRAL PAHĀṚĪ

Gaṛhwālī (Standard)	*Gaṛhwālī* (Rāṭhī)	*Gaṛhwālī* (Tehrī)
ēk	ēk	ēk, bargat
dwi	dwī	dwī, duī
tīn	tīn	tin
chār	chār	chār
hāt	hāt	hāth
khuṭō	khuṭō	khuṭō
sir	mūn	mund, kapāl
bābā	bābū	būbā
bābā-ko	bābū-ko	būbā-kō
bābā-kū	bābū khuṇī	būbā-kū
dwī bābā	dwī bābū	dwī būbā
maĩ chhaũ	mī chhũ, chhaũ	maĩ chhaũ
tū chhaī	tū chhai	tū chhaī
wō chha	wō cha (*sic.*), chha	wō chha
ham chhawāũ	ham chhawã	ham chhayā
tum chayāī	tum chhawā	tum chhayāī
wō chhau	wō chhĩ	wō chhana
maĩ chhayō	mī chhōyē, chhayō	maĩ chhayō chhō, thayō
tū chhayō	tū chhōyō, chhayō	tū chhayō. chhō, thayō
wō chhayō	wō chhōyō, chhayō	wō chhayō, chhō, thayō
ham chhayā	ham chhāyā, chhayā	ham chhayā, chhā, thaya

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English	*Kumaunī* (Standard)	*Kumaunī* (Khasparjiyā)
you were	tum chhiyā	tum chhiy
they were	ũ chhiyà, (*fem.*) chhin	u chhiyā, chhiy
I shall be	maĩ hũlo	maĩ hũlō
I beat	maĩ màrũ-chhu	mī mārachh, mārchh
thou beatest	tu màrã-chhai (*fem.*) -chhe	tū mārã-chhai, mārchhai
he beats	u màrã-chh, (*fem.*) -chhya	ū mārãchh, mārchh
we beat	ham màranũ	ham mārnū
you beat	tum màrã-chhā	tum mārã-chhā, mār-chha
they beat	ũ māranī (*fem.*) maranin	ū mārnī
I beat (past)	maĩ-le màrō	mī-l mār
thou beatest (past)	twī-le màro	twē-l mār
he beat (past)	wī-le màro	wī-l mār
we beat (past)	hama-le màro	hamō-l mār
you beat (past)	tuma-le màro	tumō-l mār
they beat (past)	un-le màro	unō-l mār
I shall beat	maĩ màrũlo	mī mārũl

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Garhwālī (Standard)	*Garhwālī* (Rāṭhī)	*Garhwālī* (Tehrī)
tum chhayā	tum chhāyā, chhayā	tum chhayā chhā, thayā
wō chhayā	wō chhāyā, chhayā	wō chhayā, chhā, thayā
maĩ hōlā	mī hunū	maĩ hōlō
maĩ mārdū	mī mānū	mārdaũ
tū mārdi	tū mārni	mārdi
wō mārd	wō mārn	mārda
ham mārdāwă	ham mārnū	mārdā
tūm mārdāwā	tum mārnī	mārdāī
wō mārdin	wō mānī	mārdāna
main mārē	mī-la (~mai-la) māra	maĩ-na mārē
tīn mārē	tī-la (~tai-la) māra	tī-na mārē
wain mārē	wa-la (~wai-la) māra	wai-na mārē
haman mārē	hamū-la māra	ham-na mārē
tuman mārē	tumū-la māra	tum-na mārē
ũn mārē	wunū-la māra	ũ-na mārē
maĩ mārũlō, mārlō	mī mārũlō	maĩ mārlō

[LSI pp. 353-371]

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WESTERN PAHĀṚI

616 Western Pahāṛī is the Aryan language spoken in the Sub-Himalayas extending from the Jaunsar-Bawar tract of the district of Dehra Dun to Bhadrawah in the Northern Panjab. The tract thus includes Jaunsar-Bawar, most of the Simla Hill States with a small portion of the adjoining district of Ambala, Kulu, the states of Suket, Mandi, and Chamba, and the eastern end of Kashmir.

As in the case of Garhwālī and Kumaunī, the speakers of Western Pahāṛī are of mixed origin. The earliest Aryan speaking inhabitants of whom we have any record were the Khaśas and (at a later stage) also the Gūjars, which were conquered and assimilated by Rājpūt immigrants from the south, who very probably were their distant blood-relations. Throughout these hills, the ruling classes claim to be Rājpūts. These Rājpūts intermarried with their Khaśa-Gujar kin, and gradually their own language became mixed with that of Khaśas—or rather obtained general currency with Khaśa corruptions.

The Western Pahāṛī may be looked upon as a form of Rājasthānī much mixed with the already mixed language of the Khaśa-Gūjars. The traces of old Khaś language become stronger as we go westwards. In Western Pahāṛī they are stronger still, and it is these traces that mainly authorise the separation of it from Central Pahāṛī as a distinct group of dialects.

[LSI pp. 373-374]

617 *Groups of dialects.* Western Pahāṛī consists of a great number of dialects, varying almost from hill to hill. They have been grouped under the following heads :

Jaunsārī and Sirmaurī. Jaunsārī is the language spoken in the Jaunsar-Bawar division of Dehra Dun. Sirmaurī is mainly spoken in the states of Sirmaur and Jubbal. It is closely connected with Jaunsārī, but north-east of the River Giri and in Jubbal it begins to approximate to Kiūṭhalī.

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Baghaṭī and Kiũṭhalī. Baghāṭī and Kiũṭhalī are also closely connected. Baghāṭī is the dialect of the state of Baghat and the neighbourhood, in the south-west of the Simla Hill States, while Kiũṭhalī, in several varying dialects, is spoken in the central portion of the states, especially round Simla itself and in the state of Keonthal.

Kuḷūī and Satlaj group. Kuḷūī is spoken in Kulu, and the Satlaj group in a small set of dialects on each side of the river Satlaj between the Simla district and Kulu. It is a kind of linguistic bridge between Kiũṭhalī and Kuḷūī.

Maṇḍĕāḷī. Maṇḍĕāḷī is the language of the states of Mandi and Suket, and represents southern Kuḷūī merging into the Pañjābī of Kangra.

Chamĕāḷī. Chamĕāḷī (with four dialects) is mainly spoken in the Chamba state, and represents Kuḷūī merging into the Ḍōgrī of Jammu and into Bhadrawāhī.

Bhadrawāh group. The Bhadrawāh group consists of three dialects, spoken by a few people, but of considerable philological importance, which illustrate the final stage of Chamĕāḷī merging, through Bhadrawāhī, into Kāshmīrī.

From the above it will be gathered that we may take Kiũṭhalī-Baghāṭī and Kuḷūī as the typical Western Pahāṛī dialects, and the following brief account of the main features of Western Pahāṛī is based on these two. [LSI pp. 374 375]

Pronunciation. In Western Pahāṛī *a* is generally sounded like the *ŏ* in 'hot'. There is a short *ĕ* sounded like the *ĕ* in 'met'. In some dialects (e. g. in the Simla Sirājī form of Kiũṭhalī) a final *ī* has almost disappeared, *ē* being substituted for it. All these peculiarities also occur in Kāshmīrī. In Kiũṭhalī, and probably elsewhere, the diphthong *ai* is pronounced like a prolonged German *ü*, when originally followed by *i*. When not followed by *i* it sometimes becomes *au*, e.g. for *baihṇ*, 'a sister', Kiũṭhalī has its nominative *bũhṇ* (for *baihaṇī*) while its agent case *bauhṇē*.

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As regards consonants, Western Pahāṛī has a tendency to disaspiration. Thus the Hindī *hōnā*, 'to be', is generally represented by *ōṇū*, or some such form. There is a similar tendency to drop an initial *h* in Kāshmīrī, where we have for instance, *atha*, 'a hand', corresponding to the Hindōstānī *hath*. The sonant aspirates *gh*, *jh*, *ḍh*, *dh* and *bh* show a tendency to drop the aspiration, but more usually the aspiration is transferred to a later stage of the syllable. Thus, *bāī* for *bhaī*, 'a brother', *gōhṛa*, and *ghōṛ*, 'a horse', for *ghōṛā*. The Piśācha hardening of sonant consonants occurs not uncommonly in Western Pahāṛī. Thus, in Kiūṭhalī for *barchī*, 'a spear' we have *parchī*. In Paugwāḷī for *zinda*, 'alive', we have *jinta*.

A consonantal change typical of Western Pahāṛī is the development of two new consonants, *ts*, *tsh*, *z* or *dz*, developed from *ch*, *chh* and *j*, respectively. Thus, in Kiūṭhalī *japṇū*, 'to speak' is pronounced *dzŏpṇū*. The consonants *l*, *r* and *ṛ* are often elided. Thus, (Chamĕāḷī) *kata*, not *kartā*, 'doing'; (Sirmaurī) *dōnā*, for *dauṛnā*, 'to run'.

The initial *y* and *w* are often elided, especially in borrowed words, as in *ād*, for *yād*, 'memory'. In Western Pahāṛī, as in Rājasthānī, the Sanskrit *ś* is preserved, so that we have words like *dēś*, as against the Hindī *dēs*. Like the Eastern dialect of the Piśācha Pashaī, in the Gaddī dialect of Chamĕāḷī every *ś* becomes *kh*, e.g. in *dakh*, 'ten'. [LSI pp. 376-378]

Declension. The declension of Western Pahāṛī follows the general lines of most Indo-Aryan languages. There is in the singular, a nominative and an oblique form, and so also in the plural.

Tadbhava masculine nouns (excluding the few ending in -ī and -ū) fall into classes-strong and weak. Strong *tadbhava* nouns end in -*ā*, -*ō* or -*ū*, as, for example, *gōhṛā*, *gōhṛu*, *gōhṛū*, 'a horse', while weak *tadbhava* nouns end in a consonant, as for example, *ghar* or *gōhr*, 'a house'.

Excepting in the case of border languages, such as Chambĕāḷī, Sirmaurī and Jaunsārī, the oblique form of all Western Pahāṛī nouns is the same in the singular and the plural. Thus, *gōhṛō*, nom. plur. *gōhṛē*; obl. sing. and plur. *gōhṛē*.

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Western Pahāṛī exhibits another typical peculiarity in the declension of weak *tadbhava* masculine nouns. In most Indo-Aryan languages, these do not change in declension, except in oblique plural. The principal exception is Marāṭhī, where we have nom. sing. and plur. *ghar* ; obl. sing. *gharā* ; obl. plur. *gharā*. Western Pahāṛī follows Marāṭhī in having separate forms for such weak *tadbhavas*, except that, as explained above, the oblique forms of the plural are the same as those for the singular. As in Marāṭhī the oblique form is made by adding a vowel, which varies from dialect to dialect.

Besides the oblique form, all Western Pahāṛī languages have an organic locative and agent (singular and plural) formed by adding *-ē*, as in *babbē*, 'by the father', *gōhrē*, 'in the house'. Other case relations are formed with the aid of postpositions.

[LSI pp. 378-380]

Pronouns. The first person nominative fluctuates between forms such as *ã*, *aũ* and *haũ* with minor variations. The oblique form singular of this pronoun is *mã*, *mə̃*, or *mə̃ō*, with minor variations. The genitive singulars are *mērō* and *tērō* or similar forms. Quite irregular is the use of cerebral consonants in Churāhī (Chaměāḷī) *miṇḍā*, 'my' ; *tiṇḍā*, thy ; and the Paṅgwāḷī (Chaměāḷī) *mān* 'my', *tāṇ*, 'thy'. In the plural, the southern dialects have forms based on *ham*, *tum* ; but the northern dialects follow the Piśacha dialects and Pañjābī in having forms like the Kuḷūī *assē*, *tussē*.

The demonstrative pronouns, also used as pronouns of the third person, fall into the usual groups. We may take the Kiũṭhaḷī set, *ēh*, 'this' ; *ō*, 'that' ; *sē*, 'that', as typical. When used as substantives, these have, in the oblique cases of the singular, three genders ; a masculine animate (e.g. *tĕs*) ; a feminine animate (e.g. *tèssau*) ; and an inanimate (com. gen. as in *tĕtth*). When used as adjectives, only the masculine forms are used. The inanimate forms have been noted only in the Simla Hill districts. These three genders are employed exactly as in the Piśacha languages. [LSI pp. 380-381]

Conjugation. The verb substantive has many forms for the present. Practically all the dialects use some form of the root *hō*,

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as in Jaunsārī *ō*, *hō*; Kiũthalī, *ō*; Kuḷūī, *hē*; Manḍĕaḷī, *ha*; Chamĕāḷī, *hai*, all meaning 'he is'. Some of these, such as the Maṇḍĕaḷī, *ha*, are participial in formation not changing for person, but changing for gender and number, as in *hī*, 'she is'; *he*, 'they are'.

Another group is confined to the southern dialects and Kuḷūī. Its basis is the root *as*. In some dialects (e.g. Kiũṭhalī) it is regularly conjugated for number and person. In others (e.g. Kuḷūī), it only changes for gender. In others again (e.g. Jaunsārī), it is immutable for all persons of both numbers and both genders.

A third form of the present tense is *athī* used (with some minor variations of form) in the southern dialects and Kuḷūī.

The *as* group of the verb substantive reappears in nearly all the Piśacha languages, e.g. in Veron *so*, *eso*, 'he is'. With *athi*, we may compare the Piśācha Gārwī and Maiyã, *thū*, 'he is'.

For the past tense of the verb substantive the usual form is *thiyō*, *thyō* or *thō*, treated like the Hindī *thā*. A variant form is Kuḷūī *tī*, which does not change for gender, number or person.

The active verb calls for few remarks. It follows the lines of Rājasthānī and of the other Pahāṛī dialects. [LSI pp. 381-382

JAUNSĀRĪ

618 Jaunsārī is spoken in the Jaunsar-Bawar Pargana of the Dehra Dun district. This consists of a hill tract with an area of something under 350 square miles, being a longish irregular parallelogram wedged in between Garhwal and the Panjab state of Sirmaur.

Jaunsārī is accordingly a mixed language, agreeing mostly with Sirmaurī but much affected by the Hindī spoken to its south in the rest of Dehra Dun. It also shows points of contact with Gaṛhwālī lying immediately to its east. In many points it agrees so closely with Western Hindī that it might almost be classed as a very irregular dialect of that language, instead of being classed as a form of Western Pahāṛī. [LSI p. 383]

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The following is the grammatical sketch of the language, based on very insufficient materials :

Pronunciation. When there is a long vowel in the preceding syllable, a final *a* is often pronounced. Thus, *duīja*, 'another' ; *pitlōśa*, 'a bath'. The vowel *a* is pronounced something like the *o* in 'hot' ; *ā* and *ō* are interchangeable when final. This is especially common in the case of nouns, adjectives, and participles which in Hindī, end in *-ā*, but in Gaṛhwālī and Kumaunī in *-ō*. As in Central Pahāṛī a short *ĕ*, sounded like *e* in 'met', often occurs as a substitute, for *i*, as in *tĕs-kō*, 'of him', equivalent to the Hindī *tis-kā*.

The consonant *chh* is interchangeable with *s*, as in *chhaśa* or *saśa*, 'a hare'. We sometimes find aspiration omitted, as in *bi* or *bhī*, 'also' ; *ghŏr* or *gŏr*, 'a house' ; *tha* or *ta*, 'was'. *L* when medial or final is very often dropped. To fill up the hiatus thus caused, a *w* is sometimes inserted in place of the *l*. Thus, *bādal* or *bādō*, 'a cloud' ; *pāla* or *pāwā*, 'frost'. [LSI pp. 385-386]

Nouns. There are two numbers, singular and plural.

Tadbhava nouns which end in *-ō* or *-ā*, form the nominative plural by changing *ā* or *ō* to *ē*. Thus, *ghōṛā* or *ghōṛō*, 'a horse' ; plur. *ghōṛē*, 'horses'. In the case of other masculine nouns, the nominative plural is the same as the nominative singular. The feminine nouns ending in *-ī* form the nominative plural by changing *i* to *iã* or *iyã*, the nasal being frequently dropped, and those ending in *-u* change the *ū* to *uã*. Thus, *beṭī*, 'a daughter', plur. *beṭiã* or *beṭiyã* ; *aśu*, 'a tear', plur. *aśuã*. Most feminine nouns ending in consonants seem to form their plurals by adding *-ĩ*.

Case. As in other Indo-Aryan languages, cases are generally indicated by postpositions. Certain nouns are put in an oblique form before these are added. The oblique form, singular or plural, can be employed above to indicate any case, as in *ghōrō ãdia*, while coming to the house'.

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The postpositions are :

Agent, *-ẽ̃*.

Accusative, —, or else *-kh*.

Instrumental, *-ẽ̃*, *-lēi*.

Dative, *-kh*.

Ablative, *-ĩ̃* 'from', *-tē* ~ *-tī* 'from' *-auri* 'from', *-mūjhī* 'from among', *-bhērī* 'from near'.

Genitive, *-kō* ~ *-kā*.

Locative, *-mũjh* 'in', *-pũda* 'in' *-dā* 'on', *-chh* 'on, upon', *-bhēr* 'near' *-ḍhāiyā* 'near'. [LSI pp. 386-389]

Adjectives. Except *tadbhava* adjectives in *-ā* or *-ŏ*, all adjectives are immutable. *Tadbhava* adjectives in *-ā* or *-ŏ* change the termination to *-ī* when agreeing with feminine nouns. When agreeing with a masculine noun in the plural or in any case of the singular except the nominative the *ā* or *ŏ* is changed to *ē* ; thus, *bhŏlŏ admī*, 'a good man', *bhŏlē ādmī*, 'good men' ; *bhŏlī bēṭī-mānukh*, 'a good woman' ; *bhŏlī bēṭī-mānukhā* 'good women'.

Comparison is made, as usual, by putting the thing with which comparison is made in the ablative case. [LSI p. 389]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of first two personal pronouns are ; *hãũ*, *aũ*, *mẽ̃*, 'I' ; *ām*, *āmẽ̃*, *ham*, 'we' ; *tū*, 'thou' ; *tum*, *tũẽ̃*, 'you'.

The demonstrative pronouns are also employed as pronouns of the third person. In the singular they have different forms for the masculine and the feminine. The nominative singular forms are ; *ĕū*, *ĕjŏ* (*-ā*), (masc.) *ĕū*, *ĕjī* (fem.), 'this' ; *sō*, *sŏjŏ* (*-ā*), (masc.), *sō*, *sŏjī* (fem.) 'that'. The oblique forms singular and plural, have each a neuter form used only when referring to inanimate nouns.

The relative pronoun is *jō* or *jŏjŏ* (*-ā*), 'who, which, that'. The interrogative pronouns are *kũṇa*, 'who ?' and (neuter) *ka*, 'what ?'. [LSI pp. 390-393]

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Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. There are three forms of the present tense of this verb. The first is conjugated as follows :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ũ, õ*	*õ, ã*
2.	*au, ō, ẽ*	*au, ō*
3.	*ō, õ*	*au, o*

Sometimes *h* is also prefixed to these forms ; thus, *hũ*, 'I am' ; *hō*, 'he is'. The second form is *ŏsõ* or *asõ*, and is used without change for all persons and both numbers. The third form is *āthī* or *āthĩ*, also used as *ātī*. This form occurs in most Western Pahāṛī dialects, and is only used with a negative, not changing for number or person. Thus, *āthĩ-nã*, 'I am not, thou art not', and so on. Sometimes the two are combined as in *nāthī*.

The past tense is *thō (thā)*. fem. *thī* ; plur. masc. *thē*, fem. *thī*. It is used exactly like the Hindī *thā*, 'was'. In these forms instead of *th*, *t* is also used.

Active verb. The infinitive or verbal noun is formed by adding *-ṇõ* (*-nõ*) to the root. Thus, *khā-ṇõ*, 'to eat, the act of eating'.

The present participle is formed by adding *-dō* (*-dā*) to the root. Thus, *kardō* (*kardā*) 'doing'. When the root ends in a vowel, the termination is *-ndō* (*-ndā*).

The past participle is formed by adding *-ō* (or *-ā*) to the root. Thus, *mārō* (or *mārā*), 'struck'.

The present is conjugated as under :

'I strike, I am striking', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārũ ~ mārõ*	*mārũ ~ mārõ*
2.	*mārẽ, mārõ, mārī*	*mārō ~ mārõ*
3.	*mārõ*	*mārõ*

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It will be observed that *mārõ* can be used for any person of either number.

The imperative second person singular is the same as the root. Thus, *dē*, 'give thou'. The second person plural adds *-ō* Thus, *dēō*, 'give ye' ; *nōṭhō*, 'go ye'.

The future tense is thus conjugated, in the masculine :

'I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārmā (-mō)*	*mārmẽ, mārdē*
2. & 3.	*mārdā (-dō)*	*mārdē*

The feminine form is *mārdī*, which remains the same in all the numbers and persons. It will be observed that, except the 1st person masculine, all these forms are simply the present participle.

The past tense indicative is formed nearly as in Hindī, and like all other tenses formed from the past participle, is constructed almost exactly as in that language, i.e. in the case of transitive verbs, the subject is put in the agent case, and the verb agrees in gender and number with the object. The construction differs from Hindī and follows Rājasthānī and Gujarātī, and also Garhwālī and Kumaunī in this, that the verb agrees with the object, even when the latter is in the dative case. Intransitive verbs are, on the other hand, constructed actively. The past tense is simply the past participle, which agrees with the subject (or, in the case of transitive verbs, with the object) in gender and number.

Passive voice. As in Kumaunī and Rājasthānī, a passive is formed by adding *-ī* to the root of the verb. Thus, *hārchṇõ*, 'to lose', *hārchiṇõ*, 'to be lost'.

Causal verbs are formed, as in Hindī, by adding *-ā*, to the root, as in *pakāṇō*, 'to cook'. Sometimes, as usual *õ* is substituted for *ā*, as in *śuṇōndā lagā*, 'he began to cause to hear'.

[LSI pp. 393-400]

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SIRMAURĪ

619 Sirmaurī is spoken in the state of Sirmur, and also in some hill tracts of Ambala, bordering on Sirmur, and over most of the state of Jubbal.

Dialects. The river Giri runs through the state of Sirmur from the north-west to the south-east and divides the state into nearly equal portions. The dialect of the Cis-Giri country is called simply Girīpārī. The dialect spoken in a portion of Jubbal state lying immediately to the north-east of Sirmur, is also a form of Girīpārī locally known as Biśśau. These two dialects are much alike. The main difference is that Dhārṭhī, as might be expected from its vicinity to the Western Hindī of Ambala, is not so distinctly Pahāṛī as Girīpārī. [LSI pp. 456-457]

SIRMĀURĪ DHĀRṬHĪ

620 The materials for the illustration of this dialect are very insufficient, and the following remarks must be taken with some reserve.

Pronunciation. The vowel scale is very uncertain. *ŏ* is pronounced like *o* in 'hot', and *ĕ* sounded like the *e* in 'met'. Vowels *ū* and *ō* and *ī* and *ē* are freely interchangeable. Thus, we have both *sī* and *sē*, 'he', and *guwā* and *gōwā*, 'he went'.

As regards consonants, a marked peculiarity is the frequent dropping of an initial *h*, as in *hã̄* or *ã̄*, 'I' ; *ath*, 'a hand' ; *iraṇ*, 'a deer'. Similarly the aspiration of sonant consonants is usually dropped, as in *bã̄d* (not *bã̄dh*), 'bind' ; *ghŏr* or *gŏr*, 'a house'. There is a tendency to soften hard consonants, as in the word *dã̄d* (for *dã̄t*), 'a tooth'. [LSI p. 460]

Nouns. In Sirmaurī *tadbhava* nouns usually end in *-ā*, *-ō* being rarely met with. These, as in Hindī, form their oblique singulars and nominative plurals in *ē*. Thus, *gauṛā*, 'a horse' ; obl. sing. and nom. plur. *gauṛē*. For the oblique plural, the usual form ends in *-ō*, as in *gauṛō*, *kutō*, etc.

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Feminine nouns appear generally to remain unchanged both in the singular and in the plural ; but sometimes take *-ō* as in *nalsō dittī*, 'a complaint was given.'

Case. The case of the agent and instrumental always ends in *-ē*, both in the singular and in the plural. Thus, *kanchhē bēṭē bolō*, 'the younger son said'. *Bāwē dēkhā*, 'the father saw him'.

Other case relations are, as usual, defined by postpositions, the most usual of which are :

Instrumental : *-ē* ~ *-dā*

Dative : *-khē* ~ *-gē*

Ablative : *-dā*

Genitive : *-rā*

Locative : *-dā*, 'in' ; *-mō*, 'in' ; *-pādē*, 'on'.

Of the above *-rā* sometimes appears as *-rō* and *-dā* as *-dō*. Moreover these two postpositions are adjectival, and agree, like adjectives, with the governing word, in the same manner as the Hindī *-kā*, *-kē*, *-kī*. The accusative, is usually the same as the nominative, but, as in Hindī, when definiteness is required, it takes the form of dative. [LSI pp. 460-462]

Adjectives. Adjectives are declined exactly as in Hindī. Comparison is also effected as in Hindī, the thing with which comparison is made being put in the ablative. [LSI p. 462]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of first two personal pronouns are ; *hā̃*, *ã̄*, *hō̃*, or *ã̄w*, 'I' ; *hām*, *hāmā*, *homē*, 'we' ; *tū*, 'thou' ; *tum*, 'you'.

The demonstrative pronouns, *ai*, 'this, and *sē* 'that' are also employed as pronouns of the 3rd person. The relative pronoun is *jē*. The interrogative pronouns are *kuṇ*, 'who', and *kā*, 'what ?'. [LSI pp. 463-464]

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Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present tense is declined as follows :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*asu, ŏsū*	*asa, ŏsŏ*
2.	*asē, ŏsē*	*asa, ŏsŏ*
3.	*asa, ŏsŏ, ŏsõ*	*asa, ŏsŏ*

When used as an auxiliary, we sometimes find *sa* or *sŏ* used instead of *asa* (*ŏsŏ*). The past is *thiyā*, or *thā*, 'was', plur. *thiyē* or *thē* ; fem. (both numbers) *thī*. Like Hindi it does not change for person.

Active verb. The infinitive or verbal noun is formed by adding *-ṇā* (*-nā*) to the root. Thus, *ṭipṇā*, 'to beat, the act of beating'.

The present participle is formed by adding *-dā* to the root as in *ṭipdā*, 'beating'. If the root ends in a vowel, the *n* is inserted. as in *ōndā*, 'being'.

The past participle is formed by adding *-ā* to the root, as in *ṭipā*, 'beaten', *ōā*, 'become'.

The second person singular of the imperative is the same as the root, and the plural adds *-ŏ*, or after *-ā*, *-ɯ*.

The old present, used chiefly as a present subjunctive, is thus conjugated :

'I may strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ṭipū ṭipũ*	*ṭipū, ṭipũ*
2.	*ṭipē*	*ṭipŏ*
3.	*ṭip, ṭipŏ, ṭipõ*	*ṭipŏ, ṭipõ*

The future is conjugated as under :

'I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ṭipūẽ*	*ṭipõgē*
2.	*ṭiplā*	*ṭiplē*
3.	*ṭipla*	*ṭiplē*

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The definite present is formed by suffixing the present tense of the verb substantive to the old present ; thus, *ṭīpõ sa*, 'he is striking'. *Raũ sa*, 'he dwells'.

The past, perfect and pluperfect are formed from past participle, exactly as in Hindī. [LSI pp. 464-466]

SIRMAURĪ GIRĪPĀRĪ

621 The vocabulary of Girīpārī Sirmaurī contains many words which are relics of the old Khaśa language. Many of them give evidence of phonetic changes which would lead us to class the Khaśa languages with the Piśācha languages.

Pronunciation. The pronunciation of vowels is the same as that of Sirmaurī Dhārṭhī.

As regards consonants, as in Sirmaurī Dhārṭhī initial *h* is frequently dropped ; thus, *hāmē* of *āmē*, 'we'. Two consonantal changes are note-worthy, as they are typical of the Piśācha languages. These are the change of *t*, (derived from an ancient *tr*) to *ch* as in *chīn*, 'three', and *khēch*, 'a field', and the change of *d* to *j* as in *bēśuj* for *bēśūd*(h), 'senseless', and *dālij* for *dālid*, 'poor'. *L* and *r* between two vowels are liable to elision, as in *pīṭulā*, or *pīṭuā*, 'I shall beat'. [LSI pp. 478-479]

Nouns. As in Dhārṭhī, masculine *tadbhava* nouns usually end in *-ā*, though a termination *-o* also occurs. These nouns form their oblique cases singular and the nominative plural in *-ē*, as *chhoṭē-khē*, 'to the son', *chhoṭē*, 'sons'. The oblique plural of these nouns is the same as the singular.

Other masculine nouns form the agent and locative cases by adding *-ē*. For other cases of the singular, the oblique form is made by adding *-a*(*-õ*) to the noun. The nominative and oblique plurals are the same as the nominative and oblique singulars, respectively.

Feminine nouns appear to remain unchanged throughout the singular and plural, except that they take *-ē* in the singular agent and locative.

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Case relations (excluding those of the agent and locative) are made with the aid of postpositions. The following are the more important :

Instrumental : This case is usually treated like the agent, and takes *-ē*. Sometimes it has the postposition *-rē*.

Accusative-dative : *-khē*, *-ēkh*, *-gē*, 'to or for' ; *-rī* (*-rē*) *-taĩ*, 'for'.

Ablative : *-dō* (~ *-dū*), 'from'.

Genitive : *-rā*.

Locative : *-dā*, *-mē*, *-mũjē*, 'in' ; *-gēś*, *-gēśī*, *-gāśī*, 'on'. [LSI pp. 479-481]

Adjectives. The rules are as in Hindī. [LSI p. 481]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of first two personal pronouns are *hãwē*, *ãw*, *ã*, *mõ*, 'I' ; *hāmē*, *āmē*. *hãwē*, 'we' ; *tū*, *tũ*, 'thou' ; *tūẽ*, 'you'.

The demonstrative pronouns *ē*, 'this', and *sē*, or *sē-jē*, 'that', are also employed as pronouns of the third person. The reflexive pronoun is *āpū* or *āpō*. The relative pronoun is *jō*, and the interrogative pronouns are *kuṇē*, 'who ?' and *kā*, 'what ?'. [LSI pp. 481-483]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present tense is conjugated as under :

'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*sũ* ~ *sā*, *sō*, *as* (*ŏs*), *asō* (*ŏsō*)	*sa*, *sō*, *as* (*ŏs*), *asō* (*ŏsō*)
2.	*sa*, *sō*, *as* (*ŏs*), *asō* (*ŏsō*)	*sa*, *sō*, *as* (*ŏs*), *asō* (*ŏsō*)
3.	*sa*, *sō*, *as* (*ŏs*), *asō* (*ŏsō*)	*sa*, *sō*, *as* (*ŏs*), *asō* (*ŏsō*)

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It will be observed that *sa* (~ *sõ*), *as* (~ *õs*), ~ *asõ* (~ *õsõ*) can be used for any person of either number, and are the only forms for every person except the first person singular.

Active verb. The present participle is formed by adding *-dā* (~ *-dõ*) to the root, as in *pīṭdā*, 'bearing'. If the root ends in a vowel, an *n* is inserted, as in *dēndā*, 'giving'.

The past participle is formed by adding *-ā* (~ *-õ*) to the root, as in *pīṭā*, 'beaten'. The second person singular of the imperative is the same as the root, and the plural adds *-õ*. Thus, *dē*, 'give thou me' ; *dēõ*, 'give ye'.

The old present, used chiefly as a present subjunctive, is thus conjugated :

'I may strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*pīṭ̃ũ̃*, *pīṭẽ*	*pīṭ̃ũ̃*, *pīṭẽ*
2.	*pīṭẽ*	*pīṭẽ*, *pīṭ*
3.	*pīṭ*, *pīṭẽ*, *pīṭõ*	*pīṭẽ*, *pīṭ*

It will be observed that *pīṭẽ* may be used for any person of either number.

The future is conjugated as follows :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*pīṭũla*, *pīṭũ̃ẽ*, ~ *pīṭwa*	*pīṭũlẽ*
2.	*pīṭẽla*, *pīṭla*	*pīṭẽlẽ*, *pīṭlẽ*
3.	*pīṭla*	*pīṭlẽ*

The present is formed by suffixing the present tense of the verb substantive to the old present. Thus, *pīṭũ sũ̃* (~ *sa*), 'I strike', and so on.

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The past tense is formed from the past participle, exactly as in Hindī.

The passive is formed with *jan̄ā*, as in Hindī. Causal verbs are also made as in Hindī. [LSI pp. 483-486]

BAGHĀṬĪ

622 The Baghāṭī form of the Simla Hill dialects centres round the state of of Baghat. It is spoken in the Pinjaur and Dharampur Thānās of the state of Patiala, immediately to the south and south-east of Baghat, in the states of Bija and Kuthar to its east, and in the Bharauli Pargana of the Simla district to its north. To its east the dialect is the Sirmaurī of the state of Sirmaur, to its north the Kiūṭhalī of the Śrīnagar Thānā of Patiala, to its west the Haṇḍūrī of Mailog, and to its south the Western Hindī of Ambala.

Baghāṭī is closely allied to Sirmaurī. Its principal point of difference is the universal use of the vowel *ā* as the termination of the oblique form of nouns ending in consonants and the use of *-dē* instead of *-dō* or *-dā* as the postposition of the ablative. [LSI p. 495]

The following is the brief grammatical sketch of the dialect :

Pronunciation : The pronunciation of Baghāṭī does not differ from that of Sirmaurī and other cognate languages. As a special point, not hitherto noted, we may draw attention to the occasional pronunciation of *ch* as *t̲s* and of *j* as *z* as in *t̲sārṇā*, 'to graze (cattle)' ; *t̲sāzāra*, 'good, beautiful'. This is a common incident in the pronunciation of Piśācha languages of North-West Frontier, including Kāshmīrī. [LSI pp. 495-496]

Nouns : In the case of all nouns the termination of the agent and of the locative case is always *-ē*.

Tadbhava nouns in *-ā* change the *-ā* to *-ē* in all cases both of the singular and plural, except the nominative and vocative singular. In the vocative that *-ā* is changed to *-ĕā* in the

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singular, and to *-ĕā* in the plural; thus, *gōhrĕā*, 'O horse!' *gōhrĕō*, 'O horses!' All masculine nouns ending in consonants, have the nominative plural the same as the nominative singular. In the vocative singular they add *-a*, and in the vocative plural *-ō*. The declension of feminine nouns closely follows that of masculine except that the vocative singular always ends in *-ē*; thus, *baihṇ*, 'a sister'; *baihṇā*, 'sisters'.

In the Baghāṭī nouns, except in the nominative and vocative cases, there is no difference between the singular and the plural.

Other case relations are indicated by terminations, the commonest of which are:

Accusative, *-khē*.

Instrumental, *-sāī*, with.

Dative, *-khē* 'to ~ for'; *-kaē* ~ *-kaē-khē*, 'to, towards', *-rī -tāi*, 'for'.

Ablative, *-dē*, 'from', *-mē-dē*, *-mẽ-dē*, 'from in, from among'.

Genitive, *-rā*.

Locative, *-mē*, *-mẽ*, *-man jhē*, 'in'; *-dē*, 'in, on'; *-pădē*, 'on'; *-pāē* 'on'.

The genitive postposition is, of course, an adjective. Fem. *-rī*; masc. sing. obl. and plural, *-rē*. [LSI pp. 496-498]

Adjectives: All adjectives except those ending in *-a* are indeclinable. Those ending in *-ā* exactly follow the rules of Hindī. Comparison is formed, as in Hindī. [LSI p. 498]

Pronouns: The nominative forms of first two personal pronouns are; *au*, 'I'; *hamẽ*, 'we'; *tū*, 'thou'; *tumẽ*, 'you'. The demonstrative pronouns *ēh*, 'this' and *sē*, 'that' are also used as pronouns of the third person. In the oblique case they have feminine forms, thus *tĕs-rā*, 'of him'; *tăā-rā*, 'of her'.

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The relative pronoun is *jō*. The interrogative pronouns are *kuṇ*, 'who ?' and *kāh*, 'what ?'. The indefinite pronouns are *kōī*, 'anyone, someone' ; *kuchh*, 'anything, something'.

[LSI pp. 498-500]

Verbs : *Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive* : The present tense of the verb substantive is conjugated as follows :

'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ŏssū*	*ŏssū*
2.	*ŏssō*	*ŏssō*
3.	*ŏssō*	*ŏssō*

The past is *thā* ~ *thiyā*, fem. *thī* ; plur. *thē* ~*thiyē*, fem. *thī*. It does not change for person, being treated exactly as in Hindī. There is a negative verb substantive *nīhai*, 'I am not', not changing for person or number.

Corresponding to the Hindī *hōnā*, we have *ōnā*, 'to become, to be'. Its past participle is *ōā*, and its present is :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ōū*	*ōū*
2.	*ō*	*ō*
3.	*ō*	*ō*

Active verb : The infinitive or verbal noun, is formed by adding *-ṇā* (*-nā*) to the root ; thus, *ṭīpṇā*, 'to strike' ; *baṇnā*, 'to become'.

The present participle is formed by adding *-dā* to the root as in *ṭīpda*, 'striking'. If the root ends in a vowel, an *n* is inserted, as in *ōndā*, 'being'.

The past participle is formed by adding *-ā* ~ *-yā* to the root. Thus, *ṭīpā* ~ *ṭīpyā*, 'struck'.

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The imperative singular is the same in form as the root. Thus, *ṭīp*, 'strike thou'. Its plural takes *ō*. Thus, *ṭīpō*, 'strike ye'.

The present indicative, also used as a present subjunctive, is thus conjugated :

'I strike, I may strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ṭīpū*	*ṭīpū*
2.	*ṭīpō*	*ṭīpō*
3.	*ṭīpō*	*ṭīpō*

The future is conjugated as follows :

'I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*ṭīpūẽ*	*ṭīpūẽ*	*ṭīpūẽ, ṭīpmẽ*	*ṭīpmī̃*
2.	*ṭīplā*	*ṭīplī*	*ṭīplẽ*	*ṭīplī*
3.	*ṭīplā*	*ṭīplī*	*ṭīplẽ*	*ṭīplī*

The past is formed exactly as in Hindī, the past participle being used for all persons, with appropriate changes of gender and number. In the case of transitive verbs the construction is passive, with the subject of the agent case.

Causals are formed as in Hindī. Thus, *śuṇaṇā*, 'to cause to hear'. [LSI pp. 501-505]

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623 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND PHRASES

English	*Jaunsārī*	*Sirmaurī* (Dhārṭhī)
one	ēk, ēkō	ēk
two	dūi	dū
three	tīn	tīn
four	chār	chār
hand	hāth, ātha	āth
foot	gōḍō, bā̃gnī, lāt	lāt
head	mū̃ḍ	mū̃ḍ
a father	bābā	ēk bāp
of a father	bābā-kā	ēkī bāpū-rā
to a father	bābā-kh	ēkī bāpū-rā
two fathers	dui bābā	dū bāpū
I am	hāū ũ, õ	ã̃ asū (ŏsū)
thou art	tū ẽ	tū asē
he is	sō au, ō hō	sē asa
we are	ām ẽ̃, ã̃	hām asa
you are	tum au, ō	tum asa
they are	sŏjē au, ō	sē asa
I was	hāū thā	ã̃ thiyā
thou wast	tū thā	tū thīyā
he was	sō thā	sē thiyā
we were	ām thē	hām thīyō

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IN JAUNSĀRĪ, SIRMAURĪ, BAGHĀṬĪ

Sirmaurī (Girīpārī and Biśśau)	*Baghaṭī*
ēk	ēk
dū	dō
chōn	tīn
chār	chār
hāth	hāth
gāgṇā	lāt
mū̃ḍ	mū̃ḍ
bābā	bāō
bābē-rā	bāō-rā
bābē-rī tāī̃	bāō-dē
dū bābē	dō bāō
ã̃w sū̃, ~ sa	aū̃ ŏssū
tū̃ sa	tū ŏssū
sē sa	sē ŏssō
āmē sa	hamē̃ ŏssū
tuē̃ sa	tumē̃-ŏssū
sē sa	sē ŏssō
ã̃w thā	aū̃ thā
tū̃ thā	tū thā
sē thā	sē thā
āmē thē	hāmē̃ thē

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English	*Jaunsarī*	*Sirmaurī* (Dhārṭhī)
you were	tum thē	tum thīyē
they were	sõjē thē	sē thīyē
I shall be	hāũ hōmā	ã̃ ōwẽ
I beat	hāũ mārũ	ã̃ ṭipū
thou beatest	tū mārẽ	ṭū ṭīpē
he beats	sō mārõ	sē ṭīp ; ṭipŏ
we beat	ām mārũ	hām ṭīpū
you beat	tum mārō	tum ṭīp ; ṭīpŏ
they beat	sõjē mārõ	sē ṭīp ; ṭipŏ
I beat (past)	mẽ mārā	mẽ ṭīpā
thou beatest (past)	tẽ mārā	tẽ ṭīpā
he beat (past)	tīṇẽ mārā	tēṇiyē ṭīpā
we beat (past)	āmẽ mārā	hāmē ṭīpā
you beat (past)	tūõ mārā	tumē ṭīpā
they beat (past)	tī w mārā	tinē ṭīpā
I shall beat	hāũ mārmā	ã̃ ṭipūẽ

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Sirmaurī (Girīpārī and Biśśau)	*Baghaṭī*
tūẽ thē	tumẽ thē
sē thē	sē thē
ōulā	aũ ōūē
ãw pīṭū sũ, ~ sa	aũ ṭīpū
tũ pīṭē sa	tū ṭīpō
sē pīṭ sa, pīṭē sa	sē ṭīpō
āmē pīṭū sa, pīṭē sa	hamẽ ṭīpū
tūẽ pīṭ sa, pīṭē sa	tūmẽ ṭīpō
sē pīṭ sa, pīṭē sa	se ṭīpō
maŭ (~ mã, maĩ) pīṭā	mōẽ ṭipā ~ (ṭīpyā)
tã piṭā	tōẽ ṭīpā (ṭīpyā)
tĕnē pīṭā	tĕnnē ṭīpā (ṭīpyā)
āmē pīṭā	hamẽ ṭīpā (ṭipyā)
tūẽ pīṭā	tumẽ ṭīpā (ṭīpyā)
tĕniẽ pīṭā	tinnē ṭīpā (ṭīpyā)
ãw pīṭūla	aũ ṭīpūē

[LSI pp. 529-547]

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THE KIŨṬHALĪ GROUP

624 The Simla Hill states are bounded on the north by the river Satlaj. Speaking roughly, the southern half of the whole tract is occupied by Sirmur, Baghat and the adjoining parts of Patiala. The northern half has in its centre the state of Keonthal and the Śrīnagar thānā of Patiala. Here the language is Kiũṭhalī, reaching from Baghat and Sirmur right upto the state of Bhajjī lying along the south bank of the Satlaj.

West and east of this central Kiũṭhalī tract other Western Pahāṛī dialects are spoken, all of which are closely connected, and which may conveniently be classed together as the Kiũṭhalī group. On the west, in the state of Nalagarh is Haṇḍūrī, and to the east, in order going eastwards, spoken in Eastern Keonthal, Kotkhai, and several adjoining and less important states, are Simla Sirājī, Barāṛī, Kīrnī, and Śŏrāchŏlī. Kūchī is spoken in the western part of the state of Bashahr, immediately to the north and north-east of Barāṛī and Śŏrāchŏlī.

Details regarding these dialects will be found in the following pages. All these dialects closely resemble each other, and the common main point of distinction is the method of forming the oblique case of masculine nouns ending in *-a* consonant. In Sirmaurī these end in *-ē* or *-ŏ*, in Baghāṭī in *-a*, and in the languages of the Kiũṭhalī group in *-ŏ* or *-ŏ*. [LSI p. 549]

KIŨṬHALĪ

625 Kiũṭhalī is properly the language of the state of Keonthal (Kiũṭhal) and is the principal language of the Simla Hill States. It is the vernacular language of Simla itself.

The state of Keonthal is scattered in various detached portions over the middle of the Simla Hills, and has, moreover, various subordinate states, such as Theog, Koti and others. Kiũṭhalī is

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spoken in the main portion of the state immediately to the south-east of Simla, and also in the subordinate state of Koti. It is also spoken in the Śrīnagar thānā of Patiala and in the states of Dhami and Bhajji as well as in the headquarters of Simla.

To its east Kiūṭhalī has Sirmaurī, Simla Sirājī, Baraṛī, Kīrnī, and Śōdhōchī, to its south Baghātī, to its west Haṇḍūrī, and to its north Sukētī, all of which are closely allied to Kiūṭhalī.

The most striking peculiarities of Kiūṭhalī are the termination *-ō* of the oblique form of masculine nouns ending in consonants, as compared with the *-ā* of Baghāṭī and the *-ē* of Sirmaurī, and the use of *-hagē* as the postposition of the dative. [LSI p. 550]

The following is the brief grammatical sketch of the dialect:

Pronunciation. Kiūṭhalī strongly resembles Sirmaurī in its phonetic system. There is the same pronunciation of *a* as the *ŏ* of 'hot', and of *ā*, at the end of a word, as *ō*. Both these are prominent features of Kiūṭhalī. The use of *ō*, and sometimes *ū*, instead of a final *ā* is also very common. Thus, we have both *chōhṭā* and *chōhṭō*, 'a son'. An initial *a* or *ā* is sometimes elided, as in *gīṭhī* (Hindī *aṅgīṭhī*). A peculiar sound resembling a much prolonged German *ü*, as in *būhṇ* is met with. This sound also occurs in Kāshmīrī. *H* is dropped as frequently as in the other Simla Hill dialects. So also aspiration of consonants, especially of sonants is sometimes dropped, as in *baī*, for *bhāī*.

Ch and *j* are pronounced as *t͡s* and a *z* (often *d͡z*), as in Piśācha languages. *Ṛ* occurs initially in words, which does not occur in other Indian languages. Thus, *ṛāmbī*, 'a weeding instrument'. Another noteworthy peculiarity is the frequent change of *t* (especially when representing an older *tr*) to *ch*, as in *chaun*, 'three'; *chāmbā*, 'copper'. [LSI pp. 559-561]

Nouns. All nouns, without exception, have their agent and locative cases singular and plural, ending in *-ē*. Thus, *gōhṛē*, 'by or in a horse, or by or in horses', from *gōhṛā*, 'a horse'.

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Except in the nominative and vocative cases, all Kiũṭhalī nouns have the plural the same as the singular. The only nouns in which the nominative plural is different from the nominative singular are masculine *tadbhavas* in *ā* (*ō*) like *gōhṛā*.

Case relations are indicated by postpositions. The oblique form itself can also be used without a postposition for any oblique case. The commonest postpositions are :

Accusative *-khē, -hāgē, -gē*

Instrumental -same as the ablative. Sometimes the same as the agent.

Dative *-khē, -hāgē, -gē, -rī tēī, -rī khātar,* 'to or for'.

Ablative *-dā* (*-dō*), *-hāgō, -phā* 'from' ; *-sāthī,* 'with'.

Genitive *-rā.*

Locative *-dā* (*-dō*), *-mājē,* 'in' ; *-pānde,* 'upon'.

[LSI pp. 561-564]

Adjectives : The rule for adjectives is the same as in Hindī.

Pronouns : The nominative forms of first two personal pronouns are ; *ã, ãw,* 'I' *hamẽ, hāmẽ,* 'we' ; *tū,* 'thou', *tumẽ, tussẽ,* 'you'.

The demonstrative pronouns, *ēh,* 'this', and *sē* 'that', are also used as pronouns of the third person. These have feminine and (in the singular) neuter forms. The relative pronoun *jō* and interrogative pronoun *kuṇ* 'who ?', are declined like the demonstrative pronouns. [LSI pp. 565-568]

Verbs : *Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive* : The present tense is thus conjugated :

'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ŏssū, ãsū, ~ ũ*	*ŏssũ, ãsũ, ũ*
2.	*ŏssē, ãsē, ai*	*ŏssō, ãsō, ō*
3.	*ŏssā, ŏssō, ãsā, ãsō, ã, ō*	*ŏssã, ŏssō, ãsā, ãsō, au*

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It will be seen that there are three sets of forms. The first commences with a short *ŏ*. followed by double *ss*, the second commences with *ā*, followed by a single *s*, and the third is a simple vowel or diphthōng. In the third person the termination may be either *-ā* ~ *-ō*, according to the general law, that final *-ā* ~ *-ō* are interchangeable, but the usual forms are *ŏssō*, *āsā*, *ā* and *ō*. There is a negative form of the present, *nĩ h*, *ānthi*, which is the same for all persons of both numbers.

The past is *thīā* ~ *thā*; plur., *thīē* ~ *thē*; fem. (both numbers) *thī*. Like the Hindī *thā* it does not change for person.

Active verb: The infinitive or verbal noun is formed by adding *-ṇū* (~ *-ṇu*) to the root. Thus, *ṭīpṇū* ~ *ṭīpṇu*, 'to strike'.

The past participle is formed by adding *-dā* or (*-dō*) to the root. Its oblique masculine ends in *-dē*, and its feminine in *-dı*. Thus, *ṭīpdā*, 'striking'.

The past participle is formed by adding *-ā* (~ *-ō*) to the root. Thus, *ṭīpā* (*ṭīpō*), 'struck'.

The second person singular of the imperative is the same in form as the root. The second person plural adds *-ō* (~*-ā*). Thus, *ṭīp*, 'strike thou'; *ṭīpō* (~ *ṭīpā*), 'strike ye'.

The present indicative is conjugated as follows:

'I strike,' etc.

	Sing,	Plur.
1.	*ṭīpū*	*ṭīpū*
2.	*ṭīpē*	*ṭīpō*, *ṭīpā*
3.	*ṭīpō*, *ṭīpā*	*ṭīpō*, *ṭīpā*

A present definite may be formed by adding the verb substantive to the simple present, as in *ṭīpō ŏssō*, 'he is striking'; but more usually it is formed by adding *lagē rōā* either to the present participle or to the oblique form of the infinitive.

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The future is conjugated as follows. It changes for gender :

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*ṭīpūã, ṭīpūmã*	*ṭīpūī̃, ṭīpūmẽ*	*ṭīpūmẽ*	*ṭīpūmī̃*
2.	*ṭīpēlā (-lō)*	*ṭīpēlī*	*ṭīpōlē*	*ṭīpōlī*
3.	*ṭīpōlā (-lō)*	*ṭīpōlī*	*ṭīpōlē*	*ṭīpōlī*

The past tense is formed exactly as in Hindī. The past participle alone is used. In the case of transitive verbs, the participle is passive, and the subject is put in the case of the agent, exactly as in Hindī. Thus, *mōẽ ṭīpū*, 'he was struck by me'. *mōẽ ṭīpī*, 'she was struck by me', and so on.

The passive voice is formed as in Hindī, with *zāṇū*, 'to go', as in *ã ṭīpā zāū*, 'I am being beaten', but it is seldom used.

Causal verbs, are, as a rule, formed by adding *-au* to the root. Thus, *ṭīpauṇū* (with the *ī* shortened), 'to cause to strike'.

[LSI pp. 568-574]

HAṆḌŪRĪ

626 The word 'Haṇḍūrī' means literally, the language of the state of Hindur or Nalagarh, lying immediately to the south-west of the rest of the Simla Hill States. But it is not the language of the whole of the state, and it is also spoken in other states adjoining.

In Nalagarh itself two languages are spoken. To the west there is the Pōwādhī Pañjābī of the plains. In the east the language is Haṇḍūrī, which is also spoken in the state of Mailog, lying to the east of Nalagarh.

To the north-east of Nalagarh and to the north of Mailog lie the states of Baghal and Kunhiar. Here the language is Bāghaḷī.

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It is only Haṇḍūrī, but more mixed with Pañjābī. It is, in fact, a transition dialect showing Haṇḍūrī merging into the Kahluri Pañjābī of Bilaspur.

Haṇḍūrī itself is a transitional form of speech. It is a mixture of Kiūṭhalī and Pañjābī, and a very brief notice will suffice to show its character. [LSI p. 586]

Nouns. Nouns may be declined as in Kiūṭhalī with the plural generally the same as the singular, and with masculine nouns, like *ghar*, ending in consonants, making the oblique form in *-ō (gharō)*, or they may be declined as in Pañjābī with an oblique plural in *-ã*, as in *haṛīyã-khē*, 'to the servants'.

The agent case generally takes the Pañjābī postposition *-nē*, but sometimes, we have the Kiūṭhalī termination *-ē* as well, as in *putē-nē*, 'by the son'. The locative may end either in the Kiūṭhalī *-ē*, or may be formed as in Pañjābī. The postposition of the dative-accusative is the Kiūṭhalī *-khē*, with *-gē* for a variety. The postposition *-jō* is also used for the same cases. The usual postposition of the ablative is *-tē*, as in *kūē-tē*, 'from the well', or *-thē*. The genitive almost always has the Kiūṭhalī *-rā*, but sometimes we find the Pañjābī *-dā*.

Pronouns. The nominative forms of first two personal pronouns are *hãũ*, 'I' ; *āsē*, 'we' ; *tũ* ~ *tū*. 'thou' ; *tusē*, 'you'. For the demonstrative pronouns, we have *ē*, 'this', and *sē*, ~ *ō*, 'that'. As usual, these are also used as pronouns of the third person. The relative pronoun is *jō*. 'Who ?' is *kiō* and 'what ?' is *kyā*.

Verbs. As regards verbs, the verb substantive is the same as in Pañjābī, but *hē* ~ *hai* may also be used for any person of either number. *Nihũ*, is 'I am not'.

The principal parts of the verb *mārna*, 'to strike', are as follows :

Present participle *mārdā* ; past participle *marĕya*~*māryā*.

Imperative 2. Sing. *mār* ; plur., *mārō*.

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Old present Sing. 1. *mārũ*, 2. *mārɛ*, 3. *mārɛ* ; plur. 1. *mārɛ*, 2. *mārɔ*, 3. *mārɛ*.

The future is :

Masc. Sing. 1. *mārũga*, 2. *mārga*, 3. *mārga* ; plur. 1. *mārge*, 2. *mārɔge*, 3. *mārge*.

The past tenses are formed as usual from the past participle.

[LSI pp. 586-587]

SIMLA SIRĀJI

627 In the difficult mountain country, known as Sirāj, comprising the east of the main portion of Keonthal state, including the small states of Theog and Ghund and part of Punur, part of the state of Kumharsain, the states of Darkoti, and Balsan, the Kaneti tract of the state of Bashahr, and most of the British tract of Kotkhai, the dialect spoken closely resembles standard Kiũṭhalī. To distinguish the dialect spoken here from the Sirājī of Kulu, we may call it Simla Sirājī. [LSI p 593]

The following are the points in which it differs from the standard Kiũṭhalī :

Pronunciation. As in Sirmaurī, a final *-ī* very often becomes *-ɛ*. It is especially common in the case of feminine nouns. There is the same interchange of final *-ɔ* and *-a* that we have observed in Kiũṭhalī, as in *dɔ* ~ *da*, the sign of the ablative case, but the *ɔ* termination is much more common.

Nouns. The declension of nouns is nearly the same as in Kiũṭhalī. The only important difference is that masculine nouns ending in a consonant often have an oblique form in *-ŏ* instead of *-ɔ*. Thus, the oblique form of *dɛś*, 'a country', is either *dɛśɔ* ~ *dɛśŏ*. The postpositions of the dative are *-kɛ* ~ *-kŏ* instead of *khɛ*, and *agɛ* instead of *hāgɛ*.

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Pronouns. The nominative forms of first two personal pronouns are ; *ã*, 'I' ; *tũ*, 'thou', *ẽ*, *aimũ*, *ẽ̃*, 'we', *tũẽ*, 'you'. As usual, the demonstrative pronouns *ẽh*, 'this' ; and *sẽ*, 'that' are used as pronouns of the third person. The relative pronoun is *jõ*. 'What ?' is *ka* instead of *kah*, and 'anything' is *kichh* instead of *kuchh*.

Verbs. The verb substantive is thus conjugated in the present tense :

'I am,' etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ũ*	*ũ*
2.	*ai*	*õ*
3	*au*, *õ*, *ð*	*au*, *õ*, *o*

Or *sõ*, *ðsõ* ~ *ðsõ̃* may be used for any person of any number as in Bisśau dialect of Sirmaurī.

The past is *ta* ~ *thā*, fem. *ti* ~ *thī*, etc.

The conjugation of the present differs slightly from the standard. It is :

'I beat', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*pīṭū*	*pīṭū*
2.	*pīṭa*	*pīṭõ*
3.	*pīṭõ*	*pīṭõ*

Similarly, the future masculine is :

'I shall beat', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*pīṭūla*	*pīṭūmẽ*, *pīṭmẽ*
2.	*pīṭela*	*pīṭõlẽ*, *pīṭlẽ*
3.	*pīṭela*, *pīṭlā*	*pīṭõlẽ*, *pīṭlẽ*

[LSI pp. 593-595]

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ŚÕRĀCHŌLĪ

628 Śõrāchõlī is the Pahāṛī dialect of the Thakurate of Rawain,—a portion of the Keonthal state. The Thakurate is situated immediately to the east of the Barāṛ Pargana of Jubbal.

As Śõrāchõlī is closely connected with Sirājī, it will be sufficient to give a brief account of the principal points in which the grammar differs from that standard Kiũṭhalī. [LSI p. 602]

Pronunciation. The interchange of *ī* and *ē* is extremely common; thus we have *pauṇchārē dīṇē*, 'a feast was given'. Similarly, the confounding of vowels *ā*, *õ*, and *ũ* is very common. The termination of the genitive is either *-rõ* ~ *-rā*, and that of the ablative is *-dā*, *-dõ*, *-dū*. The elision of initial *h* is very common. Thus, *hāmē* ~ *āmē*, 'we'. As example of the metathesis of the consonant *h*, we have *āhth*, 'a hand'.

Nouns. In Kiũṭhalī the oblique form of masculine nouns ending in consonants is made by adding *-õ*. Thus, *gauhr*, 'a house', obl. *gauhrõ*. In Sirājī this *-õ* often becomes *-õ*, and this is also the case in Śõrāchõlī. The postpositions closely resemble those of the standard. The genitive takes *-rā* (*-rõ*) as usual. For the instrumental there is *kõrī* (*kõrē*), as, in *rõśṭē kõrī bānh*, 'bind (him) with ropes'. For the ablative, besides *-dā* (*-dõ*, *-dū*), there are *khu* and *kiu*. For the locative there is the usual *-dā* (*-dõ*).

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the personal pronoun are; *ã*, *aũ*, 'I'; *hāmē*, *āmē*, 'we'; *tū*, 'thou'; *tumē* 'you'. The demonstrative pronoun 'this' is *ē* and that is *sē*, *sēõ*. The relative pronoun is *juṇ* or *jõ*. *Kā* is 'what?'.

Verbs. The verb substantive has many forms for the present. The following have been noted:

'I am', etc.

Sing. and Plur.

1. *õsū*, *asū*, *sū*

2, 3. *õsõ*, *sõ*, *õsõ*, *sõ*, *asā* (*õ*), *sā*, *õ*, *ũ*

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The singular and plural are the same, and so are the second and third persons. The past is *thō ~ thiyō*.

The active verb shows few irregularities, and most of these are matters of spelling.

The present tense is thus conjugated :

'I strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*pīṭū*	*pīṭū, pīṭē*
2.	*pīṭō*	*pīṭō, pīṭē*
3.	*pīṭō, pīṭŏ, pīṭā*	*pīṭō, pīṭē*

The above are the forms noted. There are doubtless others also. The following forms have been noted for the future masculine :

'I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*pīṭūlō*	*pīṭūlē*
2.	*pīṭlō*	*pīṭēlē*
3.	*pīṭlō*	*pīṭlē*

The past is quite regular. [LSI pp. 602-604]

KŌCHĪ

629 In the western half of the state of Bashahr, the language spoken is Aryan, and towards the east the language is the Tibeto-Burman Kanāw[a]rī or Kanaurī, and other connected forms of speech. There are doubtless many Aryan dialects spoken among the western mountains and these are all grouped together by the local tradition under the name of Kōchī.

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The brief grammatical sketch given below is presumably based on the dialect spoken near Rampur, which is a form of Kiūṭhalī, closely allied to Simla Sirājī and Śōrāchōlī. It shows a few traces of the influence of the Kulu Sirājī spoken on the other side of the Satlaj, such as the use of the postposition *-lē* for the dative, but these are of small importance, and Kōchī must certainly be classed as a form of Kiūṭhalī. [LSI p. 613]

Pronunciation. As regards pronunciation the facts are much as in Sirājī. Thus there is the frequent interchange of *ē* and *ī*, as in *ghŏrchī* ~ *ghŏrchē*, 'property'. So also, there is the interchange of *ā*, *ō* and *ū*. As in Kiūṭhalī, the aspiration of the initial aspirated consonant is transferred to the end of the first syllable. An initial *y* is liable to be dropped, as in *ād* for *yād*, 'memory'.

Nouns. In the declension of nouns we have the occasional Sirājī change of *-ō* to *-ŏ* as in *mānsŏ-rē*, 'of a man'. In other respects the oblique form is made as in Kiūṭhalī.

In addition to the usual Kiūṭhalī postpositions, we may note *-lē*, 'to'; *wilē*, 'near': *-mājī*, 'with, together with' and *-kŏrē* (~*kŏrī*), 'with, by means of'.

Pronouns. There are several forms differing slightly from those found in Standard Kiūthalī. Thus, we have *haū* or *hă*, 'I'; *tū*, 'thou'; *ē* or *yah*, 'this'. *Kā* is 'what?' and *kichh*, 'anything'.

Verbs. The verb substantive in the present tense is *sō* ~ *asō*. This verb has also a present participle *āsdō*, and a conjunctive participle *āsiyō*, with which forms we may compare the Kāshmīrī *asun*, 'to be', which is conjugated throughout.

The imperfect is *thā*, etc., as usual.

The conjugation of the active verb calls for few remarks, as it is practically the same as in Kiūṭhalī. [LSI pp. 615-616]

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630 LIST OF THE STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES

English	*Kiũṭhalī*	*Haṇḍurī*
one	ēk	ēk
two	dō	dō
three	chaun	tīn
four	tsār	chār
hand	hāth	hāth
foot	lāt	pair
head	mūṇḍ	sir
a father	bāpū	bāō
of a father	bāpū-rā	bāō-rā
to a father	bāpū-khē, hāgō	bāō-khē
two fathers	dō bāpū	dō bāē
I am	ã̄ ŏssū, āsū	hã̄ ũ̄ hē
thou art	tū ŏssē, āsē	tũ̄ hē
he is	sō ŏssā, ŏssā, āsā, āsō	sē hē
we are	hamã̄ ŏssū, āsū	āsē hē
you are	tumẽ̄ ŏssō, āsō	tusē hē
they are	sē ŏssā, ŏssō, āsā, āsō	sē hē
I was	ã̄ thā, thīyā	hāũ̄ thā
thou wast	tū thā, thīyā	tũ̄ thā
he was	sē thā, thīyā	sē thā
we were	hamȭ thē, thīyē	āsē thē
you were	tumẽ̄ thē, thīyē	tusē thē

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FOR THE KIŪṬHALI GROUP

Simla Sirāji	*Sŏrachŏli*
ēk	ēk
dō	duī
chaun	chīn
chār	chār
hāth	āhth
lāt	bāgṇĕ
mũṇḍ	mũṇḍ
bābā	bābū
bābē-rā	bābū-rā
bābē-ka	bābu-khē
dō bābē	duī bābū
ãũ sō, ŏsō, ŏsõ	aũ ŏsū, āsū, sū
tū ai, sō, ŏsō, ŏsõ,	tū ŏsŏ, sŏ, āsā, sā
sē au, ō, ŏ, sō, ŏsō, ŏsõ,	sē, ŏsŏ, sŏ, āsā, sā
ẽ ũ, sō, ŏsō, ŏsõ	āmē, ŏsū, āsū, sū
tūẽ ō, sō, ŏsō, ŏsõ	tumē ŏsō, sŏ, āsā, sā
sē au, ō, ŏ, sō, ŏsō ŏsõ	se ŏsō, ŏs, āsā, sā
ã ta, thā	aũ thō
tū tā, thā	tū thō
sē tā, thā	sē thō
ẽ tē, thē	āmē thiē
tūẽ tē, thē	tumē thē

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English	*Kiũṭhali*	*Haṇḍūri*
they were	sē thẽ, thīyē	sē thē
I shall be	ã ōhūmā	hãũ hũgā ũgā
I beat	ã ṭīpū	hãũ mārũ
thou beatest	tū ṭīpē	tũ mārē
he beats	sē ṭipā, ṭīpō	sē mārē
we beat	hamẽ ṭīpū	āsē mārē
you beat	tumẽ ṭīpā, ṭīpō	tusē mārō
they beat	sē ṭīpā, ṭīpō	sē mārē
I beat (past)	mōẽ ṭīpā	mẽ mārĕyā
thou beatest (past)	tũẽ ṭipā	tẽ mārĕyā
he beat (past)	tinīē ṭīpā	tiniyē mārĕyā
we beat (past)	hamẽ ṭīpā	āsē mārĕyā
you beat (past)	tumẽ ṭīpā	tusē mārĕyā
they beat (past)	tīhnē ṭīpā	tīnē mārĕya
I shall beat	ã ṭīpdā lāgã-rōā	hãũ marũgā

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Simla Sirāji	*Sŏrachŏli*
sē tē, thē	sē thē
ã hūlā	aũ ōūlō
ã pīṭū	ãũ pīṭu
tū pīṭē, pīṭā	tū pīṭō
sē pīṭō	sē pīṭō
ẽ pīṭū	āmē pīṭē
tūẽ pīṭō	tumē pītē
sē pīṭō	sē pīṭō
mōẽ pīṭā	mūĩ pīṭō
toẽ pīṭā	tūĩ pīṭō
tēnnē pīṭā	tiṇĩ pīṭō
ẽ pīṭā	āmē pīṭō
tūẽ pīṭā	tumē pītō
tinē pīṭā	tinē pīṭō
ã pīṭūlā	ãũ pīṭūlō

[LSI pp. 627-645]

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THE SATLAJ GROUP

631 The hill country between the river Bias and the river Satlaj, known as Kulu Siraj, consists of a high range dividing two systems of valleys,—one feeding the former and the other the latter river. The northern, or Bias, system of valleys is known as Inner Siraj, and the southern, or Satlaj system is known as Outer Siraj.

The language spoken across the Satlaj in Outer Siraj is closely allied to that spoken in the portion of the south side of the Satlaj valley opposite Outer Siraj, and including the state of Sangri, parts of Keonthal and Kumharsain, a small portion of Bashahr and the Kotgarh *'alāqa* of Simla, and, for convenience of reference, these two are put together as forming the Satlaj Group.

The language of Inner Siraj, on the Bias side of the watershed, is different, and is allied to Kuḷuī.

The Satlaj group forms a linguistic stepping stone between the languages of the Simla Group and those of Kulu Group. It consists, as explained, of two dialects, viz. Śŏdōchī spoken south of the Satlaj, and Outer Sirājī spoken north of the river. The following is the brief grammatical sketch of Śŏdōchī. The points where outer Sirājī differs have been noted. [LSI pp. 647-648]

Pronunciation. The pronunciation of Śŏdōchī and Outer Sirājī follows the usual Western Pahāṛī lines. *A* is almost always pronounced as the *ŏ* in hot. There is the same continual change of a final *ā* to *ū* or *ō*. Unlike, however, the other Simla dialects, the vowel *ō*, whether original or a secondary development, is always changed to *au* when final, and often undergoes the same change when not final. Thus, the Hindī *hōnā*, 'to become', is represented in Sŏdōchī by *auṇau* or *auhṇau*.

Ch often becomes *ts*, as in *chhōṭu* or *tshōṭū*, 'a son', and similarly *j* becomes *z*, as in *uz uṇau*, for *ujuṇau*, 'to arise', or *dz*, as in *dzībh*, for *jībh*, 'the tongue'. *H* is often dropped, as in *ŏṭṇau*, 'to go to one side', Hindī *haṭnā*. Sometimes the *h* is

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retained, but is placed after the vowel which it originally preceded, as in *auṇau* or *auhṇau*, the Hindī *hōnā*, 'to become'. The same is the case with aspirated sonant consonants. *T* (especially when representing an older *tr*), as usual, is liable to be changed to *ch*. Thus, we have *chaun*, 'three' ; *rāch*, Hindī *rāt*, 'night'. [LSI p. 652]

Nouns. A very common termination of nouns and adjectives is *ṭau* (or *ṭṛau*) added without changing the meaning, Thus, we have *bāhrṭau*, 'a load', Hindī, *bhār*.

The declension of nouns as a whole closely follows that of the Simla dialects, but there are divergencies of importance.

The genitive termination *-rō* of Simla drops its initial *r*, and becomes *au* (or *b*), which is added, like a true termination, to the main word, Thus, the genitive of *gauhr*, 'a house', is *gauhrau* or *gauhrō*, and of *tshōṭī*, 'a girl', *tshōṭīau*. In the case of nouns ending in *-au* (*-ā*, *-ō*) or *-ū*, the termination of the nominative is dropped, and the genitive (singular or plural) termination is *-čau*, that of the agent being *-ēyai*. Thus, from *gōhṛau*, 'a horse', the genitive (singular or plural) is *gōhṛčau* (*gōhṛčō*), and the agent (singular or plural) *gōhṛēyai* (*-ēyē*).

The other cases, as elsewhere, are formed with postpositions added to an oblique form. The postpositions of the dative-accusative is *-lai* (of which *-lē* and *-lhē* are variants), or *-kē*. That of the locative is *-dē* or *-dī*, though sometimes, in the parable, we come across the Kiũṭhalī adjectival *-dō*. For the ablative the postposition is *-kā*, or *-thakā*, *-mã̄* means 'from in'.

[LSI pp. 652-654]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the first two personal pronouns are ; *mũ̄* (o.s. *hũ̄*) 'I' ; *hamẽ̄*, *hāmẽ̄*, 'we' ; *tū*, 'thou' ; *tumẽ̄*, *tūmẽ̄*, 'you'. In the nominative plural, the final nasal may be omitted.

The demonstrative pronouns, also used as pronouns of the 3rd person, have three genders in the singular, when used as substantives. When used as adjectives, the masculine form is used

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whatever may be the gender of the noun with which they are in agreement. The nominative singular forms are ; *jau* (*jō*), *ēṇ*, *ēh* (o.s. also *ē*), 'this', *sau* (*sō*) *sai* (*sē*) (o.s. also *ōh*)

The interrogative pronoun is *kuṇ*, 'who ?'. Its neuter is *kai* (*kē*) and the relative pronoun is *d̲zau* or *d̲zuṇ*, 'who'.

[LSI pp. 654-655]

Verbs : *Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive.* The verb substantive in the present takes the form *ā*, *āsā*, or (o.s.) *assā*, all of which are used for all persons of both numbers. In the first person singular and plural, we also find the form *ã*. O. s. has also *ũ* in the first person singular.

The past tense is *tau* (*-tō*), plur. *tai* (*-tē*) ; fem. sing. and plur. *tī*. A negative verb substantive is *nĕhī ainthi*, 'I am not'. It does not change for number or person.

Active verb. The infinitive is formed by adding *-ṇau* (*-ṇā*, *-ṇō*) ; thus, we have, *piṭṇau* (*-ṇā*, *-ṇō*) 'to strike'.

The present participle is formed by adding *-dau* (*-dā*, *-dō*) : thus, *piṭdau* (*-dā*, *-dō*), 'striking'. The past participle is formed by adding *-au* (*-ā*, *-ō*) ; thus *piṭau* (*-ā*, *-ō*), 'struck'.

The second singular imperative is the same as the root ; thus, *piṭ*, 'strike thou'. The second plural is formed by adding *-au* (o.s. *-ā*) ; thus, *piṭau* (o.s. *piṭā*). 'strike ye'.

The present is used both as a present indicative and as a present subjunctive, and in Outer Siraj as a future. It is conjugated as under :

'I strike, I may strike (o.s. I shall strike)', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*piṭū*	*piṭī*, *piṭā*
2. & 3.	*piṭā*	*piṭā*

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A definite present may be formed with the past participle of the verb *laggṇau*, and the present participle, as in *mũ piṭdau lāgau aundau*, 'I am beating', equivalent to the Hindi *mai mārtā lagā hotā* (*hũ*).

The future is thus conjugated :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*piṭmũ, piṭũ*	*piṭmẽ, piṭi, piṭa*
2.	*piṭa*	*piṭa*
3.	*piṭā*	*piṭa*

It will be seen that this tense is the same as the present, except that it has additional forms in the first person singular and plural.

The past tenses are formed from the past participles as usual, and need no remarks. [LSI pp. 655-657]

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632 STANDARD LIST OF SELECT WORDS AND PHARASES IN THE ŚŎDŌCHĪ DIALECT

English	*Śŏdōchī*
one	ēk
two	dōē, dōī
three	chaun
four	tsār
hand	hātth
foot	lāt
head	mūṇḍ
a father	bāb
of a father	bābō
to a father	bābā-lai
two fathers	dōō bāb
I am	mũ ã, ā, āsā
thou art	tū ā, āsā
he is	sō ā, āsā
we are	hamẽ ā, ā, āsā
you are	tumẽ ā, āsā
they are	sai ā, āsā
I was	mũ tau
thou wast	tũ tau
he was	sō tau

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English	*Śŏdōchī*
we were	hamẽ tai
you were	tumẽ tai
they were	sai tai
I shall be	mũ aumũ
I beat	mũ piṭũ
thou beatest	tũ piṭā
he beats	sō piṭā
we beat	hamẽ piṭī, piṭā
you beat	tumẽ piṭā
they beat	sai piṭā
I beat (past)	maĩ piṭau
thou beatest (past)	taĩ piṭau
he beat (past)	tīnī piṭau
we beat (past)	hamẽ piṭau
you beat (past)	tumẽ piṭau
they beat (past)	tīnē piṭau
I shall beat	mũ piṭmũ

[LSI pp. 663-667]

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KULU GROUP

633 In Kulu and Siraj Tahsils of Kulu subdivisions of the Kangra district, except a few isolated spots such as Malana in Kulu, the language spoken belong to the Western Pahāṛī Group. The principal river of the Kulu Tahsil is the Bias. The river Sainj, running east to west, joins the Bias at Lārjī, near the western boundary of the subdivision.

Siraj lies between the Sainj and, on the south, the Satlaj. It is cut into a northern and southern half by the Jalori or Suket range. The northern portion being known as Inner Siraj, and the southern as Outer Siraj. The language of Outer Siraj forms a member of the Satlaj Group of languages, and has been described above. The language of Kulu proper is known as Kuḷuī or Kuḷuhī. That of the Inner Siraj is known as Inner Sirājī. In the valley of the Sainj, there is a distinct dialect, akin to Inner Sirājī, which Mr. Graham Bailey names Sainjī. [LSI p. 669]

KUḶUĪ

634 This dialect is spoken in Kulu proper, i.e. in the Kulu Valley on the Upper Bias. It possesses most of the peculiarities of the Western Pahāṛī dialect already described, but presents a few independent features. Although it has the usual Western Pahāṛī tendency to pronounce *a* like the *ŏ* in 'hot', and *ā* like *ō* or *a*, this is not so universal as in the Simla Group. In the declension of nouns we may note that masculine nouns ending in a consonant have an oblique form ending in *-ē* or *-ā*, and that similar feminine nouns have an oblique form in *-ī*. The postposition of the dative is *-liĕ*, and *-na* is used both for the locative and for the ablative. The word for 'he is' is *sā* or *hē*, and for 'he was', *tī* or *thā*. The distinguishing mark of the future tense is the consonant *l*, and the past participle usually ends in *-ā*, but sometimes in *-a*. [LSI p. 670]

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Pronunciation. There is a tendency to shorten long vowels, as in *hŏth* or *hath*, 'a hand' ; *kŏnn*, instead of the Hindī *kān*, 'an ear'. A final long *ā* of *tadbhava* masculine nouns, such as *ghoṛā*, is often changed into -*ō* or -*ū*, but this is not so general as in the Simla dialects, in which the change is the rule.

The consonantal changes noted in the Simla dialects also occur in Kuḷuī, but are not so frequent. Final *s* is often changed to *h*, as in *brās* or *brah*, 'rhododendron'. Instead of initial *kh*, we have *chh* in the word *chhet*, 'a field'. As in the Simla dialects, there is a preference to the *ś*-sounds, instead of *s*. [LSI p. 673]

Nouns. As in the Simla Pahāṛī dialects, the plural is, as a rule, the same as the singular. The only exceptions are *tadbhava* masculine nouns in -*ā* and feminine nouns ending in a consonant. The former make the nominative plural by changing -*ā* to -*ē* ; thus *ghoṛā*, 'a horse' ; *ghoṛē*, 'horses'. The latter add -*ī* in the nominative plural. Thus, *bēhṇ*, 'a sister' ; *bēhṇī*, 'sisters'. The oblique cases of the plural are always the same as those of the singular.

The nouns have also a case of the agent singular or plural formed by adding -*ē* to the oblique form. But if the oblique form already ends, or can end, in -*ē*, this -*ē* is dropped before the -*ē* of the agent case ; thus *ghoṛā*, 'a horse', obl. form *ghoṛē*, ag. *ghoṛē*.

The cases are as usual, formed by postpositions added to the oblique form. These are, *rā*, 'of' ; *bĕ*, 'to' ; *rī tāĩ* or *rī tāē*, 'for' ; *na*, 'from' ; *na*, 'in' ; *mŏñjhē* or *mañjē*, 'in' ; *mŏñjhē-na*, 'from in' ; *sŏṅghē*, 'with, together with, or with, by means of' ; *aggē*, near, towards, to near'. The genitive postposition is, as usual, an adjective, being -*rā* when agreeing with a masculine singular noun in the form of the nominative. [LSI pp. 673-674]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of first two personal pronouns are ; *haũ*, 'I' ; *āssē*, 'we' ; *tū*, 'thou' ; *tussē*, 'you'. The demonstrative pronouns, which are also used as pronouns of the third person, are *ēh*, 'this', and *sau*, 'that'. They have feminine forms in the singular of agentive and locative cases, but nothing corresponding to the neuter forms of the Simla dialects.

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The relative pronoun is *jē* and interrogative pronouns are *kuṇ*, 'who ?' and *ḳī*, 'what ?'. [LSI pp. 675-676]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present, 'I am', etc., is *sā* ; plural *sā* or *sī* used for all persons. If the subject is feminine, *sī* may be o tionally used in the singular. The negative verb substantive is *nẹ̄h athī*, 'I am not', etc, used for all persons of both numbers. The past tense, 'I was', etc. is *tī*, used throughout for both genders, both numbers, and all persons. Instead of *tī*, we may have *thā*, masc. plur. *thē*, fem. sing. and plur. *thī* used exactly as in Hindī.

Active verb. The infinitive ends in *-ṇā* (*-nā*) or *-ṇū* (*-nū*) ; thus, *hōṇā* or *hōṇū*, 'to be'.

The present participle ends in *-dā*, or after a vowel, in *-ndā* ; thus, *mārdā*, 'striking'. The past participle is usually formed by adding *-ū* to the root, but sometimes we have *-a* instead of *-ū*. Thus, *marū*, 'beaten'.

The second person singular of the imperative is the same in form as the root, and the plural adds *-a*. Thus, *mār*, 'strike thou' ; *māra*, 'strike ye'.

The old present corresponding to Hindī *maĩ mārū̃*, seems to have fallen out of use, The ordinary present is, however, formed from it. The old form was *mārā*, for all persons, of both numbers, and the modern present is formed by adding the present of the verb substantive to this. Thus, *mārā-sā* (or *-sī*, etc.), 'I strike, thou strikest', etc. for all persons of both numbers. A present definite is formed by suffixing *-sā* to the present participle. Thus, *mārdā sā*, 'I am striking', but the final *a*, in this case, is usually dropped, so that we get *mārdas* (plur. *mārdēs* ; fem. *mārdīs*), for all persons.

The future is thus conjugated :

'I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*mārauū̃, mārnū*	*mārauū̃, mārnū*	*mārauū̃, mārnū*	*mārauū̃, mārnū*
2.	*mārlā*	*mārlī*	*mārlē*	*mārlī*
3.	*mārḷa*	*mārlī*	*mārlē*	*mārlī*

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The tenses formed from the past participle, call for no remark. They are formed and used, exactly as in Hindī.

There is a distinct passive voice. In the infinitive, present participle, and future, *-ī* is added to the root. Thus, *mārīṇū*, 'to be beaten'; *mārīndā*, 'being beaten'; *haũ mārīnnū*, 'I shall be beaten'. For the other tenses, the past participle in *ūā* seems to be used, as in *haũ marūā sā*, 'I am beaten'. The passive is often employed to express ability, as in *mārīndā-sā*, 'it can be struck, i.e., striking is possible'. [LSI pp. 676-679]

INNER SIRĀJĪ

635 The following is the brief grammatical sketch of the dialect:

Pronunciation. The pronunciation is the same as in the Simla dialects. There is the same sound of *a* as the *ŏ* in 'hot', and as in Simla, a final *ā* is absolutely interchangeable with *ŏ*. It is also, as in Outer Sirājī and Śŏdhōchī, equally interchangeable with *au*. When we have *s* in Hindī, we often have, as usual, an *ś* pronounced as *sh* in Inner Sirājī, as in *śōbhlā*, 'good'. [LSI p. 689]

Nouns. The nominative plural is usually the same as the nominative singular. But *tadbhava* nouns in *-ā* (*-ŏ*, *-au*, *-ū*) change the final *-ā*, etc. to *-ē*. Thus, *ghōṛā*, 'a horse', plur. *ghōṛē*. Feminine nouns ending in a consonant add *-ā* in the plural. Thus, *bhīṇ*, 'a sister', plural *bhīṇā*. The oblique form plural is always the same as the oblique form singular.

The agent case, which is also used as a locative, is generally formed in the case of masculine nouns by adding *-ē*, or by changing a final *-ā* (*-ŏ*, *-au*, *-ū*) to *-ē*. Thus, *ghōṛā*, 'a horse'; *ghōṛē*, 'by a horse, or by horses'. But in the case of feminine nouns the agent case is the same as the oblique form.

Most of the postpositions are the same as in the other Western Pahāṛī dialects and in Kuḷuī, but there are a few peculiar to Inner Sirājī. The following are the more common:

-rā (*-rō*, *-rau*), 'of',

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-bē, 'to', Also used for the accusative like the Hindī *-kō*. This is the same as in Kuḷuī.

-rī tŏṇī, 'for, for the sake of'.

-mŏñjĕ ~ *-mŏñjhē*, 'in'.

-paraundē, 'on'.

-lēṛā, *-nā*, *-kā̃*, *-āgē*, 'from', and all also used to form an ablative of the instrument.

As usual the genitive postposition is an adjective.

[LSI pp. 689-690]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the first two personal pronouns are ; *hā̃*, *hā̃ũ̃*, 'I' ; *assē*, *hammē*, 'we' ; *tū*, 'thou' ; *tussē*, *tŏmme*, 'you'.

The demonstrative pronouns, which are also used as pronouns of the third person, are *tō*, *yē* 'this' ; *sau*, *sa*, 'that'. In the agentive and oblique neuter cases they have masculine forms. The demonstrative pronoun *sau*, when the object of a verb, is often attached as a termination to the verb which governs it, and then drops its final vowel, and becomes simply *s*. Thus, *dē-s*, 'give it'.

The relative pronoun is *d̲zō*, *d̲zuṇ* and interrogative pronouns are *kuṇ*, 'who ?, which ?' and *kē*, 'what ?'. [LSI pp. 691-692]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present tense of the verb substantive is *āsā* or *sā*, 'I am, thou art', etc., which does not change in conjugation, being used for all persons of both numbers and both genders. There is a nagative verb substantive *nī̃h* (or *nē̃ī̃*) *ādō*, '(I) am not'.

The past of the verb substantive is *thī*, 'I was, thou wast', etc., which like *asā*, is immutable, and does not change for gender, number of person.

Active verb. The infinitive ends in *-ṇā* (*-ṇō*, *-ṇau*) ; thus, *t̲sīkṇā* (*t̲sīkṇō*, *t̲sīkṇau*), 'to strike'.

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The present participle is formed by adding *-dā* (*-dō*, *-dau*) to the root. Thus, *ʦīkdāu* (*ʦīkdō*, *ʦīkṇau*), 'to strike'.

The present participle is formed by adding *-dā* (*-dō*, *-dau*) to the root. Thus, *ʦīkdāu* (*ʦīkdō*, *ʦīkdau*), 'striking'. As in other Western Pahāṛī dialects, this participle is used in inceptive compounds, as in *tēā khuśī kardē lāgē*, 'they began to make rejoicing', and also as an infinitive of purpose.

The past participle is formed by adding *-ā* (*-ō*, *-au*, *-ū*) to the root. Thus, *ʦīkā* (*ʦīkō ʦīkau*, *ʦīkū*), 'struck'. The terminations in *-au* and *-ū* are those most commonly used.

The second person singular of the imperative is the same in form as the root. The plural is formed by adding *-ā*. Thus, *ʦīk*, 'strike thou' ; *ʦīkā*, 'strike ye'.

The old present or present subjunctive is conjugated as follows :

'I strike, I may strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ʦīkū*, *ʦīkũ*	*ʦīkū*, *ʦīkũ*
2.	*ʦīkē*	*ʦīkā*
3.	*ʦīkē*	*ʦīkau*

The future is formed by adding *-lā* (*-lō*, *-lau*) to the root. Of these *-lau* is the most common. This changes for number and gender, but does not change for person. Thus, *ʦīklau*, 'I (masc.), thou (masc.) or he will strike' ; *ʦīklē*, 'we, you or they (all masc.) will strike', The feminine is *ʦīklī* for all persons of both numbers.

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The present participle, without any auxiliary is used for the ordinary present, and changes for gender and number, but not for person. Thus, *ts̲īkdā* (*-dō*, *-dau*), I (masc.) strike, thou (masc.) strikest', and so on. The masculine plural is *ts̲īkdā*, and the feminine for both numbers is *ts̲īkdī*.

The imperfect is formed by adding *thī* to the present participle, as in *hã̄ ts̲īkdau-thī*, 'I was striking'.

The tenses formed from the past participle call for no remark, they are made exactly as in Hindī. [LSI pp. 692-695]

SAINJĪ

636 Sainjī is closely connected with Inner Sirājī. Therefore only a brief account of the points in which it differs from that dialect is being given.

Pronunciation. The pronunciation of Sainjī may be taken as, on the whole, the same as that of Inner Sirājī. There is a tendency to pronounce *a* or *ā* as *au*, even in the middle of a word. Thus, *kahã̄* or *kauhaũ*, 'from'. The most noteworthy difference, however, is the Sainjī tendency to drop final vowels. Thus, instead of the Inner Sirājī *ghōṛē-rā*, Sainjī has *ghōṛe-r*, 'of a horse'. [LSI p. 701]

Nouns. The result of the tendency to drop final vowels has reduced two postpositions namely *-rā* of the genitive, and *-bĕ* of the dative-accusative to being simple consonants, *r* and *b*, respectively. Before other postpositions the ordinary oblique form is used. The other postpositions are the same as in Inner Sirājī, except that those of the ablative are *aga*, and *kã̄*, *kahã̄*, or *kauhã̄*. [LSI pp. 701]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of personal pronouns are, *haũ*, 'I'; *assē*, 'we'; *tū*, 'thou', *tūssē*, 'you'. The demonstrative pronouns are *ēō*, 'this', and *sō*, 'that'. The remaining pronouns do not present important variations. [LSI pp. 702]

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Verbs : *Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive.* The present tense is *sā*, which, as in Inner Sirājī is immutable. It is often suffixed to another word and then drops its vowel, as in *kēs*, 'what is (your name)', for *kē-sā*. The negative verb substantive is *nčhī athī*, 'is not', and is also immutable.

The past tense is *tī* as in Kuḷuī, instead of the *thī* of Inner Sirājī. It is also immutable.

Active verb. The old present and present subjunctive is thus conjugated. It is the same in the singular and the plural, and the second and third persons are the same. :

'I may strike', etc.

Sing. and Plur.

1. *ts̲īkū*

2. & 3. *ts̲īkē*

The future has three forms, all different. It is not known, as to whether they all can be used with the same verb, but the terminations attached to the verb *ts̲īkṇā*, 'to strike' are being given here.

The first form changes the *-l* of the Inner Sirājī future to *-r*. We thus get the following, the singular and plural being identical :

'I shall strike', etc.

Sing. and Plur.

1. *ts̲īkūr*

2. *ts̲īkar*

3. *ts̲īkār*

The second form distinguishes the singular from the plural, but in each number there is no distinction of person. Thus :

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'I shall strike', etc.

1st, 2nd, and 3rd persons

Sing. *tsīkū*

Plur. *tsīkī*

This form seems to be a derivative of the old present. This tense is often confounded with the future, and in Kāshmīrī has lost its present signification and is only used as a future or as a present subjunctive.

The third form takes the *b* which is the distinguishing mark of the future in Eastern India. The same *b* also occurs in the Gawarbati Piśācha language. Only one example, viz., *tsīkūb*, 'I shall strike', is available. [LSI pp. 703-704]

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English	*Kuḷuī*	*Inner Siraji*	*Sainjī*
one	ēk	ēk	ḷēk
two	dūī	dūī	dūī
three	trāi, (in west Kulu) chīn, chān	chēṇ	chīṇ
four	chār	tṣ̲ār	tṣ̲ār
hand	hŏtth, hāth	hāth, hŏth	hāth
foot	dz̲oṅgh, dz̲ŏṅgā	pair, khur	païr
head	muṇḍ	muṇḍ	muṇḍ
a father	bāb	bāb	bābā
of a father	bābē-rā, bābā-rā	bābā-rē	bābēr
to a father	bābē-bĕ, bābā-bĕ	bābā-bĕ	bābāb
two fathers	dūī bāb	dūī-bāb	dūī bābē
I am	haũ sā, hē	hã̃ sā, āsā	haũ sā
thou art	tū sā, hē	tū sā, āsā	tū sā

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he is	sau sā, hē	sau sī, āsā	sō sā
we are	āssē sī, sā, hē	āssē sā, āsā	āssē sā
you are	tussē sī, sā, hā	tūssē sā, āsā	tūssē sā
they are	tē sī, sā, hā	tēā sā, āsā	tēā sā
I was	haũ thā, tī	hã̄ thī	haũ tī
thou wast	tū thā, tī	tū thī	tū ti
he was	sau thā, tī	sau thī	sō tī
we were	āssē thē, tī	āssē thī	āssē tī
you were	tussē thē, tī	tūssē thī	tūssē tī
they were	tē thē, tī	tēā thī	tēā tī
I shall be	haũ hōnū	hã̄ hōulā, hōlā	haũ hōūr, hōlā
I beat	haũ mārā-sā	hã̄ ṭsīkdau	haũ ṭsīkdā
thou beatest	tū mārā-sā	tū ṭsīkdau	tū ṭsīkdā
he beats	sau mārā-sā	sau ṭsīkdau	so ṭsīkdā
we beat	āssē mārā-sā	āssē tsīkde	āssē tsīkdā

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English	*Kuḷuī*	*Inner Sirāj*	*Sainj*
you beat	tussē mārā-sā	tussē ṯsikdē	tūssē ṯsikdā
they beat	tē mārā-sā	tēā ṯsīkdē	tēa ṯsikdā
I beat (past)	maĩ mārū	maĩ ṯsikū	mōẽ ṯsikū
thou beatest (past)	taĩ mārū	taĩ ṯsikū	tauẽ ṯsīkū
he beat (past)	tēiē mārū	tūī ṯsīkū	tēōē ṯsikū
we beat (past)	assē mārū	āssē ṯsīkū	āhē ṯsīkū
you beat (past)	tussē mārū	tūssē ṯsīkū	tūssē ṯsikū
they beat (past)	tinhē mārū	tēā ṯsikū	tēāē ṯsikū
I shall beat	haũ mārnū	haũ ṯsīkulau, ṯsiklau	haũ ṯsīkūr, ṯsikū, ṯsikūb

[LSI pp. 705-713]

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THE MANDI GROUP

638 The state of Mandi lies between Kulu and the district of Kangra. Immediately to its south lies the state of Suket, which is separated from the Simla Hill states by the river Satlaj. The language of Mandi is called Maṇḍĕāḷī, and that of Suket is called sukētī, the two being closely connected. The mountainous south-eastern portion of the Mandi is geographically a portion of the Kulu Siraj, but the language spoken here is Maṇḍĕāḷī slightly mixed with that language, and is called Maṇḍĕāḷī Pahāṛī. Maṇḍĕāḷī proper is spoken over the rest of the state.

[LSI p. 715]

While the language of Mandi is widely different from that of Kangra district, lying immediately to the west, in its general character, it does agree with it in a few points which we may here note. In all other points the western Pahāṛī character of Maṇḍĕāḷī is well preserved.

In pronunciation Maṇḍĕāḷī agrees with Kangra than with Kulu. There does not seem to be any tendency to pronounce the ordinary *a* like the *ŏ* of hot'. Thus, we have *ghar*, 'a house', not *ghŏr*. The common Western Pahāṛī interchange of *ā* with *ō* or *ū* has not been noted in Maṇḍĕāḷī proper. The Western Pahāṛī changes of *ch* to *ṯs*, of *j* to *z* and of *t* (*tr*) to *ch* do not seem to occur. In all these Maṇḍĕāḷī agrees with Kāṅgṛī as against Western Pahāṛī. The distinguishing mark of the Maṇḍĕāḷī future is not the Western Pahāṛī *-lā*, but the Kāṅgṛī *-ghā*. Compare the Inner Sirājī *ṯsīk-ul*, 'I shall strike', with the maṇḍĕaḷī and Kāṅgṛī *mār-ghā*.

[LSI p. 720]

MAṆḌĔĀḶĪ

639 *Pronunciation.* As explained above standard Maṇḍĕāḷī has abandoned the peculiarities of Western Pahāṛī pronunciation.

[LSI p. 721]

Nouns. Masculine *tadbhava* nouns in *-ā* form their nominative plural in *-ē*, and feminine nouns ending in a consonant

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add -ī. Thus, *ghōṛā*, 'a horse' ; *ghōṛē*, 'horses' ; *baihṇ*, 'a sister' ; *baihṇī*, 'sisters'. In the case of all other nouns the nominative plural is the same as the nominative singular.

For all nouns, all other cases of the plural, except the vocative, are the same as the corresponding case of the singular. The agent case is formed by adding -*ē*, as in *ghar*, 'a house' ; *gharē*. 'by a house or houses'. The vocative singular of all masculine nouns ends in -*ā*, and of most feminine nouns in -*ē*, the vocative plural always ends in -*ō*.

The usual postpositions are :

Dative-accusative : -*jō* ; for the dative we also have -*kanē*, 'to'.

Ablative : -*gē*, -*thē*, 'from' ; -*kanē*, 'with, together with, with, by means of' ; -*sāōgī*, 'with'.

Genitive : -*rā* (masc. sing. obl. and plur. -*rē*, fem. -*rī*), which, as usual, is adjectival.

Locative : -*mañjh* ~ -*mañjhā*.

[LSI pp. 721-722]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of first two personal pronouns are ; *haũ*, 'I' ; *āssē*, 'we' ; *tũ*, 'thou' ; *tūssē*, 'you'.

The demonstrative pronouns, which are also used as pronouns of the third person are, *ēh*, 'this', and *sē*, 'they'. In the agentive and oblique cases these have fem. and neut. forms in the singular.

The relative and interrogative pronouns are ; *jō*, *je* 'who' ; *kuṇ*, 'who ?' ; and *kyā*, 'what ?'. [LSI pp. 722-723]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The verb substantive is *hā* for the present, and *thā* for the past. Both are adjectival, and neither changes for person, becoming *hē* and *thē*, respectively, when the subject is masculine plural, and *hī* and *thī*, respectively, it is feminine (sing. and plur.). North Maṇḍĕaḷī differs slightly. 'I am' is *hē*, and 'he is' is *hā* or *hē*. The past is *thīā*, plur. *thīē* ; fem. *thī*.

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Active verb. Besides the usual array of verbal nouns and participles, Maṇḍĕāḷī has a participle indicating state or condition, as e.g. *baiṭhī-rā*, 'in a state of being seated'; *mārī-rā*, 'in a condition of being beaten'. The *-rā* is either the genitive post-position, or else the past participle of the verb *raihṇā*, 'to remain', and changes for gender and number in the usual way.

The infinitive is formed by adding *-ṇā* (*-nā*) to the root; *pauṇā*, 'to fall'.

The present participle is formed by adding *-dā* to the root, as in *mārdā*, 'striking'. If the root ends in a vowel or a simple *h*, then *-ndā* is added.

The past participle is formed by adding *-yā* to the root. Thus, *māryā*, 'struck'.

The imperative second person singular is the same in form as the root. Its plural adds *-ā*. Thus, *mār*, 'strike thou'; *mārā*, 'strike ye'.

The present is formed by adding *-ẵ* to the root, to which the verb substantive *hā* is added. Thus, *haũ mārā̃-hā*, 'I strike', *mārā̃* does not change for number or person, but the *hā* changes for gender and number, but not for person. A present definite is formed, as in Hindī from the present participle, with the present of the verb substantive. Thus, *haũ mārdā-hā*, 'I am striking'.

The future tense, as has been stated above, agrees with Kāṅgrī, and not with Western Pahāṛī. It has two forms. The first is made, as in Kāṅgṛi, by adding *-ghā* to the root. Thus, *mārghā*, '(I) shall strike' '(thou) wilt strike, (he) will strike.' This does not change for person, but, if the subject is in the masculine plural it becomes *mārghē*, and if the subject is feminine (singular or plural) it becomes *mārghī*. The second form of the future is made by adding *-eṅg* or, if the root ends in a vowel, *-ṅg* to the root. Thus, *māraṅg*. This does not change for gender, number or person.

The tenses formed from the past participle are formed exactly as in Hindī, and require few remarks.

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The passive voice is formed, as in Hindī, by conjugating the past participle with *jaṇā*, 'to go'. Thus, *māryā jaṇā*, 'to be struck'.

Causals are formed as in Hindī.

[LSI pp. 724-728]

MAṆḌĚĀḶĪ PAHĀṚĪ

640 The Pahāṛī dialect of Maṇḍĕāḷī is a mixed form of speech, partly resembling standard Maṇḍĕāḷī and partly resembling Inner Sirājī. A brief notice pointing out where it differs from standard Maṇḍĕāḷī will suffice.

In pronunciation we notice the occasional prefixing of an *h* before a vowel, just as in the Maṇḍĕāḷī *hākkhī*, 'an eye'. So here we have *handar*, 'within', and *saṅghē*, not *saṅgē* 'with'.

The declension of nouns closely resembles the standard. Most feminine nouns ending in consonants have the oblique form in *-ā* as in Inner Sirājī. Thus, *bhīn* 'a sister', obl. *bhiṇā*.

The pronouns are the same as in standard Maṇḍĕāḷī. *Maĩ* is also used for *hāõ*, 'I'.

For the present tense of the verb substantive, we have *hā* (*hē*, *hī*) as in the standard. The first person singular and plural is sometimes *hãā*.

Another, and a new form is *āhdā* (masc. plur. *āhdē*; fem. sing. and plur. *āhdī*), which, like *hā*, does not change for person.

Yet another form is *śa*, which does not change at all, being the same for singular, plural, masculine, feminine, and for any person.

The past is *thā*, (*thē*, *thī*) as in the standard.

The conjugation of the active verb closely follows that of the standard dialect. While the principle of formation is the same, some of the forms vary slightly from the standard.

[LSI pp. 746-747]

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SUKĒTI

641 Sukētī differs hardly at all from standard Maṇḍĕāḷī. The main difference is in the vocabulary, which more nearly approaches that of Kiũṭhāḷī and Sirājī than does Maṇḍĕāḷī.

A few points in grammar may be noted. There is the Kiũṭhalī tendency to pronounce *ē* as *ī* and *ā* as *ō*. Thus, we have *asī* for *asē*, he will come' ; *khāō* for *khaa*, 'they may eat'.

In the declension of nouns the locative of *ghar*, 'a house', is *gharā*, as in Maṇḍĕāḷī Pahāṛī, not *gharē*. The postposition of the dative is *-jō* or *-lē*, and of the ablative, *-thē* or *-tē*. In the pronouns, for 'that', besides *-sē*, we have also *-ōṅ*.

In verbs the present subjunctive occurs in *asī* (*asē*), he may come (*asṇā*, 'to come') ; *khaũ*, 'I may eat' ; *khāō* (for *khaa*), 'they may eat'.

[LSI p. 757]

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642 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES FOR THE MANDI GROUP

English	*Maṇḍĕaḷī*	*Maṇḍĕaḷī Pahāṛī*	*Suketī*
one	ēk	ēk	ēk
two	dūī	dūī	dūī
three	trāē	chīn, trāē	tīn
four	chār	chār	chār
hand	hăth	hăth	hāthā
foot	pāõ, pair	pair	pairā
head	mūṇḍ, sir	sir	muṇḍ
a father	bāb	bāb	bāb
of a father	bābā-rā	bābā-rā	bābbā-rā
to a father	bābā-jō	bābbā-jō	bābbā-jō
two fathers	duī bāb	dūī bāb	dō bāb
I am	haŭ hā, *fem.* hī	hāõ āhdā	haŭ hã̄
thou art	tū̃ hā, *fem.* hī	tū̃ āhdā	tū hā
he is	sē hā, *fem.* hī	sō āhdā	ōh hai
we are	āssẽ hē, *fem.* hī	hamhẽ āhdé	ăssē hai
you are	tussē hē, *fem.* hī	tumhẽ āhdē	tussē hai
they are	sẽõ hē, *fem.* hī	sō āhdē	ōh hai
I was	haŭ thā, *fem.* thī	hāõ thā	haŭ thā
thou wast	tū thā	tū̃ thā	tū thā
he was	sē thā	sō thā	ōh thā

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English	*Maṇḍĕaḷī*	*Maṇḍĕaḷī Pahāṛī*	*Suḳeṭī*
we were	āssē thē, *fem.* thī	hamhẽ thē	āssē thē
you were	tussē thē	tumhẽ thē	tūssē thē
they were	sĕõ thē	sō thē	ōh thē
I shall be	haũ hūghā	hāõ hōṅghā	maĩ hũghā
I beat	haũ mārã-hā	hāõ chikã-hā	haũ mārã-hā
thou beatest	tũ mārã-hā	tũ chikã-hā	tũ mārã-hā
he beats	sē mārã-hā	sō chikã-hā	ōh mārã-hā
we beat	āssē mārã-hē	hamhẽ chikã-hē	assē mārã-hē
you beat	tussē mārã-hē	tumhẽ chikã-hē	tussē mārã-hē
they beat	sĕõ mārã-hē	sō chikã-hē	ōh mārã-hē
I beat (past)	maĩ mārĕā	maĩ chikyā	maĩ māryā
thou beatest (past)	taĩ mārĕā	taĩ chikyā	taĩ māryā
he beat (past)	tīnē mārĕā	tēī chikyā	unē māryā
we beat (past)	āssẽ mārĕā	hamhẽ chikyā	asai māryā
you beat (past)	tussẽ mārĕā	tumhẽ chikyā	tusai māryā
they beat (past)	tinhē mārĕā	tinhẽ chikyā	unhē māryā
I shall beat	haũ mārghā, *fem.* mārghī ; māraṅg	hāõ chikaṅghā	haũ mārghā

[LSI pp. 759-767]

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CHAMĔĀḶI

643 Chamĕāḷī is the name of the main Aryan language spoken in the state of Chamba, which lies to the north of the district of Kangra.

In the north-east of the state, in Chamba-Lahul, the language is Tibeto-Burman. In the extreme west of the state, there is a dialect called Bhaṭĕāḷī, which is a form of Ḍōgrī.

The state of Chamba is mountainous. It is traversed by three snowy ranges, which more or less parallel to one another, cross the state from south-east to north-west. Between the first and second ranges lies the valley of the Ravi and its affluents, containing the three wizarats of Chamba, Bharmaur, and Churah, in which the three dialects, standard Chamĕāḷī, Gādī and Churāhī are spoken respectively. The valleys lying between second or mid and the third or Inner Himalaya ranges is divided into two parts by a lofty spur from the Zanskar range. The tract to the north-west of the spur is called Pangi, and its language is the Paṅgwāḷī dialect of Chamĕāḷī. [LSI p. 769]

Position in regard to neighbouring languages: Chamĕāḷi, while clearly belonging to the Western Pahāṛī Group of languages, is the most western of its members, and has immediately to its south and south-west dialects connected with Pañjābī and in the north-west connected with Kāshmīrī. The influence of Kāshmīrī dialects, which are connected with 'Piśācha' languages of North-Western India, has been shown especially in the matter of vocabulary again and again in all the Pahāṛī dialects lying to the west of Kumaunī. And so is the case with Chamĕāḷī, which is even more evident in its case.

As regards the influence of Pañjābī, this is more accidental, being simply due to geographical proximity. In standard Chamĕāḷī especially, certain changes of consonants such as that of *t* to *ch* or *ts*, which are common in Western Pahāṛī have disappeared, though they still survive to a limited extent in Gādī, Churāhī and Paṅgwāḷī.

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Those masculine nouns which in Pañjābī end in *-ā* also end in standard Chaměāḷī in *-ā*, whereas in Western Pahāṛī they generally end in *-ō* or *-ū*.

In three of the dialects the postposition of the genitive is the Western Pahāṛī *-rō* (*-rā*), and this is, as usual adjectival. Only in Paṅgwāḷī does it cease to be adjectival, and the North-Western influence being strongest here, the tendency for an *r* to be elided comes into force, and the *rō* (in its locative form) becomes a simple *ē*.

While the genitives of the personal pronouns in standard Chaměāḷī and Gādī are *mērā*, *tērā*, etc., all borrowed directly from Pañjābī. Churāhī has an interesting set of which cerebral consonants are the distinguishing characteristics. Thus, *miṇḍā*, 'my' ; *asṛā* 'our'. Paṅgwāḷī true to the Piśācha influence, drops the intervocalic *ṛ*, and has either *mẽ*, 'my' ; *hẽ*, 'our', or else shows a relic of the cerebral *ḍ* and *ṛ*, by ending the words with a cerebral *ṇ*. Thus, *māṇ*, *hēṇ*, etc.

The conjugation of verbs calls for few remarks. In all the dialects it follows Pahāṛī in all its typical peculiarities.

[LSI pp. 770-771]

STANDARD CHAMĚĀḶĪ

641 *Nouns* : The declension of the Chaměāḷī noun in some respects resembles that of Pañjābī rather than that of the other Western Pahāṛī languages. In the latter the oblique plural is the same as the oblique singular, but in Chaměāḷī there is a special form of the oblique plural, ending, as in Pañjābī in *-ã*.

Tadbhava masculine nouns in *-ā*, form the nominative plural by changing *-ā* to *ē*. Thus, *ghōṛā*, 'a horse', *ghōṛē*, 'horses'. Feminine nouns ending in consonants, and exceptionally one or two ending in vowels, and *-ī* or *-ā* in the nominative plural. Thus, *baihṇ*, 'a sister', *baihṇī* or *baihṇã*, 'sisters'. In the case of all other nouns, the nominative plural is the same as the nominative singular.

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As usual in Western Pahāṛī languages, nouns have an oblique form, and also a separate agent case, often also used as a locative. There is also a separate form for the genitive singular.

The genitive postposition *-rā* is generally added to the oblique form as in other Western Pahāṛī languages, but, in the case of masculine nouns ending in a consonant, like *ghar*. 'a house', in which the oblique form ends in *-ā*, *-ē* is substituted for *-ā*. Thus *ghar* ; obl. sing. *gharā* ; gen. sing. *gharē-rā*. This does not apply to the plural, in which the *-rā* is always added to the unchanged oblique form.

The usual postpositions are :

Accusative-dative : *jō*, 'to' ; *-tikar*, 'for' ; *-karī*, 'for, on account of'.

Ablative : *-kachhā*, 'from' ; *-kanē*, with, by means of, together with' ; *-mañjhā* 'from in'.

Genitive : *-rā*.

Locative : *-bichch*, *-mañjh*, 'in' ; *-tikar*, 'upto' ; *-par* 'on', *-kanē*,*-kachh*, 'near'.

The genitive *-rā* is as usual an adjective.

[LSI pp. 776-778]

Pronouns : The nominative forms or the first two personal pronouns are ; *haũ*, 'I' ; *asī*, 'we' ; *tũ*, 'thou' ; *tusī*, 'you'.

The demonstrative pronouns *ēh*, 'this' *sē*, *ō* 'that' are also used as pronouns of the third person. In most of the Western Pahāṛī dialects these pronouns have three genders, a masculine, a feminine, and a neuter, but this does not appear to be the case in Chamĕāḷī.

The relative pronoun is *jē* and interrogative pronouns are *kuṇ*, 'who ?', and *kai* or *kyā*, 'what ?'.

[LSI pp. 778-780]

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Verbs: *Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive.* The conjugation of the verb substantive approaches more nearly that which we find in Maṇḍĕāḷī, rather than that of other Western Pahāṛī dialects. There is no trace of the forms with *s* (*sā*, ŏssŏ, etc.), which are common further east. The present does not change for person. For all persons of the singular, it is *hai*, and for all persons of the plural *hin*. This *hai* means, 'I am, thou art', and 'he is'.

The past tense is *thiā* or *thiyā*, used exactly like the Hindī *thā*. The masculine plural is *thiē* or *thiyē*, and the feminine singular and plural is *thī*.

Active verb: The infinitive always ends in *-ṇā*; thus, *mārṇā*, 'to strike'.

The present participle is formed by 'adding' *-dā* *-(ndā)* to the root. Thus, *mārdā*, 'striking'; *khāndā*, eating.

The past participle is formed by adding *-ĕā* or *-yā* to the root. Thus, from *mārṇā*, 'to strike', past participle *mārĕā* or *māryā*. The masculine plural is *mārē*, and the feminine (sing. and plur.) *mārī*.

As in Maṇḍĕāḷī, Chamĕāḷī has a static past participle formed by changing the final *-ĕā* ~ *-yā* of the past participle to *ō* and adding *rā*; thus, *mārĕā* or *māryā*, 'struck', *mārō-rā*, 'in the state of being struck'.

As in other connected languages, the 2nd person singular of the imperative is the same in form as the root. The second person singular is formed by adding *-ā* to the singular. Thus, *mār*, 'strike thou'; *mārā*, 'strike ye'. If the root of the verb ends in *-ā*, it and the termination *-ā* of the 2nd plural coalesce into a single *-ā*; thus, gaḷatā 'say ye', becomes *galā*.

The old present and present subjunctive is conjugated as follows:

'I strike', 'I may strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārā*	*mārā*
2.	*mārē*	*mārā*
3.	*mārō, mārē*	*mārān*

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In the case of verbs whose roots end in *-ā*, the *-ā* of the first person singular and plural generally coalesces with the *-ā* of the root into *-ā*.

The present tense is formed from the present participle, with the present tense of the verb substantive. The participle changes for gender and number, and the verb substantive for number only. Thus, sing. masc. *haũ mārdā hai, haũ mārdī hai,* 'I strike or am striking'. In this tense the verb substantive is often dropped, so that we have the present participle alone, as in *haũ mārdā*, 'I strike'.

The future is formed on the same principle as that followed in most Western Pahāṛī dialects. The syllable *-lā* is added to the root. Thus, *haũ mārlā*, 'I shall strike'. The masculine plural is *mārlē*, and the feminine of both numbers *mārlī*. There is no change for person.

The tenses formed from the past participle need few remarks, being formed exactly as in Hindī.

The passive voice is made, as in Hindī, by conjugating *jāṇā* with past participle. Thus, *haũ mārēā jāndā hai*, 'I am being beaten'.

Causal verbs are formed much as in Hindī. Thus, *suṇṇā*, 'to hear', causal *suṇāṇa*. [LSI pp. 780-784]

GADĪ

645. The Gaddīs are a pastoral tribe inhabiting the mountainous Bharmaur or Brahmaur Wizarat of the state of Chamba, and the adjoining parts of the Kangra district. The Bharmaur Wizarat is situated in the extreme east of the Chamba state. Further east lies Kulu, the language of which is Kuluī. To the south lies Kangra, where Kāṅgṛī is spoken. To the north lies Lahaul, the language of which is Tibeto-Burman.

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Gādī is a form of Chamĕāḷī, but, as might be expected, it shows traces of the influence of Kuḷuī and of Kāṅgṛī. It also possesses several independent features. One of them is the common pronunciation of the consonant *ś* as *kh*, sounding something like the *ch* in the word 'lock' or in the German 'act'. Thus, the word *śuṇnā*, 'to hear', becomes *k̲huṇnā*; *daś* 'ten', becomes *dak̲h*. It will be remembered that in other Western Pahāṛī dialects this *ś* retains its proper sound like that of the *ss* in 'session', and does not become *s* as in Hindī. On the other hand in Kāshmīrī and its related languages *ś* becomes *h*, and we may fairly reckon *kh* as an intermediate stage in the process.

The conjugation of verbs is often peculiar. Most noteworthy is the frequency of the termination *-chh* added to the roots of many verbs. Thus, the verb *gāhṇā*, 'to go', make *gachnā* (compare the Kāshmīrī *gat̲sha*, and the Sanskrit *gachchhāmi*), 'I may go'.

[LSI p. 792]

Pronunciation. There are several curious changes of vowels. The vowel *a* becomes *u* in *kumāṇā*, to work, to earn', and it becomes *i* in *kiṭṭha* 'together'. The vowel *i* becomes *u* in *muḷnā*, 'to be met', and *ō* becomes *a* in *balṇā*, 'to say'. Sometimes, a sonant aspirate loses its aspiration, as in *baṇḍnā*, 'to divide'. This is the regular rule in Kāshmīrī and other related languages.

[LSI pp. 795-796]

Nouns. The declension of the Gādī noun is more like that of Maṇḍĕāḷī than that of Chamĕāḷī, although it also has points in common with the latter. The main point in which it differs from Chamĕaḷī is that, as in Manḍĕālī and most other Western Pahāṛī dialects, the oblique form of the plural is the same as that of the singular, instead of having the Chamĕāḷī ending *-ā*.

The nominative plural is generally the same as the nominative singular. The only exceptions are *tadbhava* masculine nouns in *-a* like *ghoṛa*, 'a horse', which change the *-ā* to *-ē*; feminine nouns ending in consonants like *bhēṇ* or *bēhṇ*, 'a sister', which add *-i*; and feminine nouns in *-ū*, like *dhīū*, 'a daughter', which add *-ā*.

Besides the oblique, there are three organic cases, agent, locative and vocative.

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The usual postpositions are :

Acc.-dat. : *-jō*, *-bō*, *-gō*, 'to' or 'for'.

Instr. : *-sēitē*, 'with (by means of)'.

Abl. : *-thaũ*, *-thãũ*, 'from' ; *-mañjhā*, 'from in', *-sēitē*, 'with (together with)'.

Gen.: *-rā*, 'of'.

Loc.: *-mañjh*, *-mã̄*, *-mah*, 'in' ; *-mallē*, 'near (=pās)'.

Of the above *-rā* is, as usual, an adjective.

[LSI pp. 796-797]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the first two personal pronouns are ; *aũ*, *mũ*, *ãũ*, 'I' ; *assē*, ; *assi*, *assũ*, 'we' ; *tū*, 'thou' ; *tussē*, *tussā*, 'you'. As in Kāṅgṛī Pañjābī they have special forms for the dative singular, which are, *mẽ*, *mãhũ*, *muñjō*, *miñjō*, *māgō* and *tujjō*, *tāgō*.

The demonstrative pronouns *ih* 'this' ; *uh*, *ōh*, 'that' are also used as pronouns of the third person,

The relative pronoun is *jē*, *jō*, 'who, which, what', and correlative pronoun is *sō*, 'that, he, she, it', which is also used as a definite demonstrative and as a pronoun of the 3rd person. The interrogative pronouns are, *kuṇ*, 'who ?, which ?' and *kiā*, *kyā* 'what ?'. [LSI pp. 797-799]

Verbs: Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present tense of the verb substantive is conjugated as follows :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hũ*, *hā*	*hũ*, *han*
2.	*haĩ*, *hā*	*hin*, *han*
3.	*hā*	*hin*, *han*

The past tense does not change for person. Its masculine singular is *thū*, and its masculine plural is *thīē*. The feminine of both numbers is *thī*.

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Active verb. Several of the most common verbs in Gadi have forms which are strange to other Indo-Aryan languages. Such are, *balṇā*, 'to say', *bēbhṇā*, 'to sit', *gāhṇa*, 'to go', *īṇa*, 'to come'.

The infinitive is formed by adding *-ṇā* (*-nā*) to the root; thus, *bēkhṇā*, 'to sit'.

The present participle has three forms. One is formed, as in Chamĕāḷī, by adding *-dā* (*-ndā*) to the root. Thus, *mārdā*, 'striking'. Another adds *-andā*, to the root, as in *māranda*, 'striking'. The third adds *-nw̃*, as in *mārnw̃*, 'striking'.

The past participle is formed, as in Kuḷuī, by adding *-ū* to the root. Thus, *mārū*, 'struck'. Sometimes, however, and especially in the formation of the passive, the Chamĕaḷī form in *-čā* ~ *-yā* is used. Thus, *māryā gāhṇā*, 'to be struck'.

As usual the second person singular of the imperative is the same in form as the root, and the second person plural adds *-ā*. Thus, *mār*, 'strike thou'; *mārā*, 'strike ye'.

The old present and present conjunctive is thus conjugated:

'I strike, I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārũ, mārā̃*	*mārũ, mārā̃*
2.	*mārẽ*	*māran, mārā*
3.	*māra*	*māran*

The future is formed by adding *-lā* to the old present. The *-lā* changes for gender and number, and there is a tendency to drop the terminations of the old present. Thus:

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'I shall strike', etc.

	Sing		Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*mārũlā, mārlā*	*mārlī*	*mārũlē, mārlē*	*mārlī*
2.	*mārlā*	*mārlī*	*mārlē*	*mārlī*
3.	*mārlā*	*mārlī*	*mārlē*	*mārlī*

It will be seen that *mārlā* (*-lē, -lī*) can be used for all three persons. The first is the only person that retains the old terminations.

For the present, the present participle in *-dā* or *-andā* is used. The present participle in *-nũ* is also employed, but only in the first and second persons.

The tenses formed from the past participle are made exactly as in Hindī.

The passive voice is made by conjugating the Chaměāḷī past participle in *-ěā* ~ *-yā* with *gahṇā*. Thus, *aũ mārya gāhṇdā*, 'I am being beaten'. Sometimes we come across the passive formed with *-ī*, as in other Western Pahāṛī dialects. Thus, *pakaṛiṇā*, 'to be seized'. [LSI pp. 799-803]

CHURĀHĪ

646 Churāhī is spoken in Churah wizarat of Chamba state. It is much more closely connected with standard Chaměaḷī than is Gādī. [LSI p. 817]

Pronunciation. There is a tendency to drop aspiration, especially after sonant mutes. Thus, for Hindī *bhī* we usually have *bī*. Before another consonant *r* is usually elided. Thus, *mārnā*, 'to strike', becomes *mānā*. The same elision of *r* has been noticed in the Raṭhī dialect of Gaṛhwālī. In the Piśācha

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languages *r* is very frequently elided. On the other hand *r*, sometimes becomes *ṛ* or *ḍ*. This is most prominent in the case of the genitives of the personal pronouns, where we have *asṛā*, 'our'; *tuaṛā*, 'your'; *miṇḍā*, 'my'; and *tiṇḍā*, 'thy'. A similar change occurs in Kafir Piśācha languages. In Gādī we have come across instances of the occasional insertion of *r*, where it is not expected, and the same occurs in Churāhī, Thus, we have *bhrukkṇa*, 'hungry'; *śikhrna*, 'to learn'. *Ṛ* shows a tendency to become *ḷ*, as in *kuḷī*, 'a girl', the Chamĕāḷī *kuṛī* and Kāshmīri *kūrü*.

[LSI pp. 821-822]

Nouns. The principal divergence from the standard dialect lies in the declension of masculine nouns ending in a consonant. In standard Chamĕāḷī these make their oblique forms by adding *-ā*, as in *gharā*. Gādī follows the same rule. Both dialects, however, change the *-ā* to *-ē* in the genitive. Thus, *gharē-rā*. Churāhī, on the other hand, has *-ē* throughout for the oblique form.

The most common postpositions are :

Accusative-Dative : *-nī*, 'to'; *rē-tẽī̃*, 'for'.

Ablative, : *-kanā*, *-kachchhā*, 'from'; *-mañjhā*, 'from, among'; *-lā*, 'with, by means of' *-kanē*, *-kinē*, ~ *-kĕnī*, and *-sētē*, 'with, together with'.

Genitive : *-rā* ~ *-rō*.

Locative : *-majh*, *-mañjh*, *-māh*, 'in'; *-pran*, 'upon'.

[LSI pp. 822-823]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of first two personal pronouns are ; *aũ*, *haũ* ; 'I' ; *āssē*, *ahē*, 'we' ; *tū*, 'thou' ; *tūē*, *tuhē*, 'you'.

The demonstrative pronouns, *ēh*, 'this', and *ō*, *ōh* 'that', are also used as pronouns of the third person. Their oblique forms have separate words for the feminine singular, viz., *ĕssĕ*, *ussĕ*. As in other Western Pahāṛī dialects, this feminine form is used only as a substantive,

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The relative and correlative pronouns are *jē*, 'who', and *sē*, 'that'. The interrogative pronouns are *kaṇū*, 'who ?', and *kutū* or *kitū*, 'what ?'. [LSI pp. 823-824]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. Several forms of the present tense of the verb substantive are met with. We have *ā, atē, aĩ, ātē*. There is a feminine form *āitī* or *ātī* also.

The past tense is *thiā, thĕā* or *thīā*, pl. *thiē* or *thīē* ; fem. (sg. and pl.) *thī*. A peculiar form *thiē* for the feminine is also reported to occur.

Active verb. The infinitive ends in *-ṇā* (*-nā*) or *-ṇū* (*-nū*), the latter form being more common. A weak infinitive formed by dropping the final vowel is sometimes found. Thus, *maraṇ lagga*, 'he began to die'.

The present participle is formed by adding *-ta* (*-ntā*) to the root. Thus, from *jharṇū*, 'to fall', *jharṭā*, 'falling'. The Chameāḷī forms in *-dā* are also used.

The past participle is formed by adding *-ĕā* or *-yā* to the root. Thus, *mārĕā* or *māryā*, 'struck'. Sometimes only *-ā* is added, so that we also have *mārā*. Again, the Kuḷuī form in *-ū*, instead of *-ā* is also common, as *mārū*.

As in other Chamba dialects and in Mandi there is a static participle formed by changing the *-ĕā* ~ *-yā* of the past participle into *ōrā*. Thus, *mārĕā*, 'struck', *marōrā*, 'in the state of having been struck'.

The second person singular of the imperative is the same in form as the root, the plural is formed by adding *-ā*. Thus, *mār*, 'strike thou' ; *mārā*, 'strike ye'.

The present definite is formed by adding the verb substantive to the present participle, as in Hindī, but the verb substantive may either precede or follow the participle. Thus, *mārtā* or *mātā*, 'striking' ; *aũ mātā ā* or *aũ ā mātā*, 'I am striking'.

The future in most Pahāṛī dialects is formed by adding *-lā* (*-le*, *-lī*) to the root or to the old present. Churāhī uses the same suffix, added to the root, and also employs another suffix *-mā*,

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used in Kiūṭhalī and other connected dialects of the Simla Hill states. In Kiūṭhālī the *-mā* is reserved for the first person, but in Churāhī this distinction is very loosely kept. *-Mā* is generally used for the first person and *-la* for the second and third, but we occasionally find *-lā* for the first person and *-mā* for the third. Both *-mā* and *-la* change for gender and number as usual, but not for person. When the root ends in a consonant, a junction vowel is usually inserted between the root and the termination. Thus, from *jhaṛṇu.* 'to fall', with *ī* as junction vowel we have *jhaṛīmā*, 'I shall fall'.

The tenses formed from the past participle (the past, perfect, and pluperfect) call for few remarks. They are made on the same lines as in Hindī.

The passive voice is formed, as usual, by conjugating the past participle with *gahṇhū.* Thus, *aũ mārĕā gāthā*, 'I am being struck'. [LSI pp. 825-829]

PAṄGWĀḶĪ

647 Paṅgwāḷī is a form of Chamĕāḷī spoken in Pangi and is the farthest outpost of Western Pahāṛī looking to the north-west.

Due to the mixed nature of the population that speaks it, and also due to their isolated life, Paṅgwāḷī has several marked peculiarities of its own. In several particulars it agrees with languages of the Bhadrawāh group, and could equally well be classed therein. [LSI p. 846]

Vocabulary. In the vocabulary some of the commonest words present a strange appearance. Such are *ṭīr*, 'the eye'; *gĭh* or *gi*, 'a house'; *hōā*, 'a son'; *śappaṛ*, 'a hill', and so on. [LSI p. 846]

Pronunciation. As in Kuḷuī *j* is pronounced as *dz̲*; thus, *jollī* or *dz̲ollī*, 'a wife'. Similarly, as in Simla dialects *t* is changed to *ch*, as in *jōchṇā*, for *jotnā*, 'to yoke'. *R* and *l* when occur before another consonant are dropped, as in *hānā*, for

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hẽrnā, 'to see'; *bōtā*, for *bōltā*, 'I am saying'. In the Piśācha languages of the north-west frontier *r* or *ṛ* between two vowels is often dropped, and the same is the case here. Thus, *kūī*, or *kūṛī*, 'a girl'; *ḏzōī* (for *jōrī*) 'with'. [LSI pp. 848-849]

Nouns. The declension of nouns presents some variation from standard Chamĕāḷī.

Masculine *tadbhava* nouns in *-ā* can also end in *-ū*, so that we have *chhẽlū*, 'a kid'; *dittā* or *dittū*, 'given'.

Such nouns, as usual, form their nominative plural by changing *-ā* to *-ẽ*, as in *ghōṛẽ*, 'horses'.

Similarly the oblique form singular and plural is *ghōṛẽ*. Other masculine nouns do not change in the oblique form. The agent genitive and locative cases of masculine nouns, whether singular or plural are formed by adding *-ẽ*. Thus, *gīh*, 'a house', *gīhẽ*, 'by a house or houses, of a house or houses, or in a house or houses'. Feminine nouns are differently declined. The genitive singular and plural optionally adds *-ā*. Nouns ending in *-ī* do not otherwise change, but those ending in a consonant add *-ī* in every case except the genitive, and the nominative singular.

The usual postpositions are :

Accusative -dative : *-dī*, *-jẽ*, 'to'; *-dōstī*, 'for'.

Ablative : *-kanā*, *-kiā̃*, 'from'; *-kẽ*, *-kanẽ*, 'with, together with'; *-lāī*, 'with, by means of'.

Locative : *-bichch*, 'in'; *guṭṭh*, 'on'; *-antar*, 'in'.

The genitive in *-ẽ* is immutable. The final *-ẽ* of the genitive and locative is often dropped. [LSI pp. 849-850]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of first two personal pronouns are ; *aū*, 'I'; as, *ãs*, *asī*; *tū*, 'thou'; *tus*, *tũh* 'you'. The genitive forms, as in the case of substantives, are immutable.

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The demonstrative pronouns, *ēh*, 'this', and *ōh*, 'that', are also used as pronouns of the third person. The relative pronoun is *jē* and correlative pronoun is *sē*.

The interrogative pronouns are *kas*, 'who ?' and *kī*, 'what ?'.

[LSI pp. 850-851]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The foundation of the present tense is *asa* or *asū*, 'am, art, is'. This is not conjugated for person, but changes for gender and number, exactly like Hindi *thā*, 'was'. Its masculine plural is *asē*, and its feminine singular and plural is asī.

The initial *a* may be dropped, so that we also have *sa*, *sē* and *sī* ; or again, the final vowel may be dropped, so that we can have *as*, immutable, for both genders and both numbers.

Another form of this present tense is *hanā* or *hanū* which is treated exactly like *asa*, having a masculine plural *hanē*, and a feminine singular and plural *hanī*. Cf. Shinā (Piśācha) *hanō*, 'he is'.

Finally for the third person singular or plural, we can have *ahi*, 'is' or 'are'. This does not change for gender.

The past tense is *thiyā* or *thyā*, 'was'. This is treated exactly like the Hindī *thā*, having a masculine plural *thiyē* or *thē* and feminine singular and plural *thī*. It does not change for person.

Active verb. The infinitive is formed by adding *-a* (*-nā*) or *-ṇū* (*-nū*) to the root ; thus, *śuṇnā*, 'to hear'. A weak form of the infinitive ending in *-ṇ* (*-n*) is also found ; thus, *maran*, 'to strike'.

The present participle is formed by adding *-tā* (masc. plural *-tē* ; fem. sing. and plur. *-tī*) to the root, before which *r* is usually elided. Thus, *biśtā*, 'sitting' ; *mārtā*, or more usually, *mata*, 'striking'. If the root ends in a vowel, this is nasalised before the *-ta* of the present participle ; thus *bhūta*, 'becoming'.

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The past participle is formed by adding *-ā* or *-ū* to the root. Thus, *mārā*, or *mārū*, 'struck'.

As in other Chameāḷī dialects, there is a static past participle formed by changing the final *ā* of the past participle to *ōr* or *ōrā*. Thus, *mārōr* or *mārōrā*, 'in the state of having been struck'.

The imperative second person singular is the same in form as the root. The second person plural adds *-ā*. Thus, *biś*, 'sit there'; *biśā*, 'sit ye'.

The present, both definite and indefinite, is simply the present participle changing for gender and number, but not for person. Thus, *aũ biśtā*, 'I sit, am sitting', feminine *aũ biśtī*, and so for all persons of the singular. The plural is *ãs biśte* (fem. *biśtī*), 'we sit or are sitting'.

The future is formed by adding *-al* to the root. Thus, *biśal*, 'I, thou, or he will sit'. It does not change for person but does change for gender and number. The masculine plural is *biśël*, and the feminine for both numbers is *biśil*. If the root ends in a vowel, the termination is *-l* simply.

The tenses formed from the past participle call for few remarks. They are formed as in Chameāḷī and Hindi.

The passive voice is formed with the past participle, and *ghēṇā*, 'to go'. Thus, *aũ mārā ghētā*, 'I am being struck'.

[LSI pp. 851-854]

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648 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES

English	*Chameăḷī*	*Gaḍī or Bharamaurī*
one	ikk	ak
two	dō	dūī
three	trai	trai
four	chaur	chaur, chōūr
hand	hatth	hatth
foot	pair	paraṛ
head	sar	śir
a father	bab	bab
of a father	babbē-rā	babā-rā, babē-rā
to a father	babbā-jō	babā-jō
two fathers	dō babb	dūī bab
I am	haŭ hai	aŭ hū̃, hā
thou art	tū hai	tū haĩ, hā
he is	ō hai	ōh hā
we are	asī hin	assē hū̃, hau
you are	tusī hin	tussē̃ hin, hau
they are	ō hin	ōh hin, hau
I was	haŭ thiyā	aŭ thū
thou wast	tū thiyā	tū thū
he was	ō thiyā	ōh thū
we were	asī thiyē	assē̃ thīē̃
you were	tusī thiyē	tussē̃ thīē̃
they were	ō thiyē	ōh thīē̃
I shall be	haŭ hōlą	aŭ bhōlā, bhuchhūlā

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IN THE CHAMĔĀḶĪ DIALECTS

Churāhī	*Pangwaḷī*
ak, ikk	yak, ik
dō, dōī	dūī, dō
trē, trāi	tlāī
chōūr	chaur
hatth, hatt	hatth
paīṛ, pēṛ	khūr, khūṛ
śir	magar, kupāḷ
babb	bau
babbē-ra	bauē
babbā-nī, babbē-nī	bau-jē
dō babb	dūī bau
aũ ā	aũ asā, sā, as
tū ā, ātē	tū asā, sā, as
ōā, ātē	sē asā, sā, as, ahi
ahē ātē	as asē, sē, as
tuhē ātē	tus asē, sē, as
ō ātē	sē asē, sē, as, ahi
aũ thĕā	aũ thyā
tū thĕā	tū thyā
ō thĕā	sē thyā
ahē thīē	as thyā
tuhē thīē	tus thyē
ō thīē	sē thyē
aũ bhōmā	aũ bhōl

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English	*Chameāḷī*	*Gādī or Bharamaurī*
I beat	haŭ mārdā	aŭ mārdā, mārandā, mārnũ
thou beatest	tū mārdā	tū mārdā, mārandā, mārnẽ
he beats	ō mārdā	ōh mārdā, māranda
we beat	asī mārdē	assẽ mārdē, mārandē, mārnũ
you beat	tusī mārdē	tussẽ mārdē, mārandē, mārnũ
they beat	ō mārdē	ōh mārdē, mārandē
I beat (past)	maĩ mārĕā	mẽĩ mārū
thou beatest (past)	taĩ mārĕā	taĩ mārū
he beat (past)	unī mārĕā	unī mārū
we beat (past)	asã mārĕā	assē mārū
you beat (past)	tusã mārĕā	tussē mārū
they beat (past)	unhã mārĕā	ūīyẽ mārū
I shall beat	haŭ mārlā	aŭ mārlā, mārũlā

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Churāhī	*Paṅgwaḷi*
aũ mārtā, mārtā ā, ā mārtā	aũ kuṭṭtā
tũ mārtā, mārtā ā, ā mārtā	tũ kuṭṭtā
ō mārtā, mārtā a, ā mārtā	sē kuṭṭtā
ahē mārtē, mārtātē, ātē mārtē	as kuṭṭtē
tuhē mārtē, mārtātē, ātē mārtē	tus kuṭṭtē
ō mārtē, mārtātē, atē mārtē	sē kuṭṭtē
mĩ mārĕā	maĩ kuṭṭtā
tĩ mārĕā	taĩ kuṭṭtā
unī mārĕa	tĕnī kuṭṭtā
ahē mārĕā	as kuṭṭā
tuhē mārĕā	tus kuṭṭā
unā mārĕā	tĕnhī kuṭṭā
aũ māmmā	aũ kuṭṭāl.

[LSI pp. 862-876]

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THE BHADRAWĀH GROUP

649 The Bhadrawāh group includes three dialects, viz., Bhadrawāhī Bhaḷēsī and Pāḍarī. Bhadrawāhī and Bhaḷēsī are both spoken in Bhadrawāh, a Jagir lying within Kashmir territory, immediately to the north-west of Chamba state, and south of the Chenab river. Pāḍarī is spoken in Padar, a mountainous portion of the Kashmir district of Ūdhampur. Padar, separated from Bhales by a valley only six or seven miles across, lies north of and contiguous to Pangi. It occupies the valley of the Chenab from the Pangi frontier for about thirty miles down to the valley of Siri, where Kaṣṭawār begins.

Paṅgwāḷī dialect for questions of geographical convenience has been classed as a dialect of Chamĕāḷī, although it is a mixed language and in many particulars agrees with the dialects of Bhadrawāh group, in which Western Pahīṛī is merging into Kāshmīrī. It illustrates the first stage of merging, the Kāshmīrī influence becoming stronger as we get into Bhadrawāh. The three dialects are separately described below. Here attention to only those points which they have in common is being drawn.

In the pronunciation of the vowels they all closely follow Kāshmīrī. Most marked is the tendency to epenthetic change which is a prominent feature of that language. Thus, in Bhadrawāhī we have *hāthī*, 'an elephant', oblique form *haithē* ; in Bhaḷēsī, *ūī*, 'come thou', *ēiā*, 'come ye' ; in Pāḍarī *ghōṛī*, 'a mare', *ghūṛĕr*, 'of a mare'.

In Pāḍarī the vowel *y* is often inserted before *i* or *ē* as in Kāshmīrī. Thus, *pyiṭṭh*, 'the back' ; *dyittō*, for *ditta*, 'given'.

In Bhadrawāh group we find that *bhr* of Paṅgwāḷī often becomes *ḍhl*. This is due to Tibeto-Burman influence, as in Western Tibetan *br* is pronounced *dr* in Ladakhī and *ḍ* in Lahul dialect. Thus, in Bhadrawāhī we have *ḍhlukkhō*, 'hungry' ; in Bhaḷēsī *ḍhḷĕḍḍ*, 'a sheep'. Sometimes *b* alone becomes *ḍl*, as in

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Bhadrawāhī *banhdṇū*, Pāḍarī *dlaṇḍ*. 'to bind'. Again we find *tr* often becoming *tl* or *ṭḷ*, as in *tlāī* or *trāī* (Bhadrawāhī), *tlaə* (Pāḍarī) 'three'.

As is usual in the neighbouring languages *ch* frequently becomes *ts* and *j* becomes *z* or *dz*. Thus, in Bhadrawāhī, we have *tsūūr*, 'four' ; *tsarnū*, 'to graze' ; *manz*, 'in'.

The close connection between the Bhadrawāh group, Paṅgwāḷī and Kāshmīrī is further illustrated from the following vocabulary of a few selected words :

English	*Paṅgwāḷī*	*Bhadrawāhī*	*Bhaḷēsī*	*Paḍarī*
bird	*pakhrū*	*tsarōllī*	—	*pōkkhar*
egg	*aṇḍhĕru*	*ṭhūl*	—	*thūl*
girl	*kūī*	*kūī, kōī*	*kūī*	*kōī*
moon	*jōsan*	*chānaṇī*	—	*tsainnē*
sister	*dēddī, bhaiṇ*	*baihṇ, haihṇ*	*hinyi*	*bhēṇ*
six	*chhē*	*śah*	*tsai*	*shĕh*
hundred	*sau*	*śauū*	*sau*	*hath*

[LSI pp. 881-887]

BHADRAWĀHĪ AND BHAḶĒSĪ

650 These two dialects are closely connected and may conveniently be considered together. The principal difference between the two is that Bhaḷēsī is found of dropping an *r* between two vowels. Thus the genitive singular of *ghōṛū*, 'a horse', is *ghōṛē-rū* in Bhadrawāhī and *ghōṛēū* in Bhaḷēsī. [LSI p. 888]

Nouns. The *tadbhava* nouns in *ū*, like *ghōṛū*, 'a horse', may optionally end in *-ā*, *-au* or *-ō*. Thus, *ghōṛā*, *ghōṛau* or *ghōṛō*. The same is true for adjectives, and for infinitive and participles of verbs.

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The nominative plural of *tadbhava* masculine nouns ending in *-u* (*-ā*, *-au*, or *-ō*) is formed by adding *-ē* ; thus, *ghoṛū*, nom. pl. *ghōṛē*. Other masculine nouns remain unchanged. Feminine nouns ending in *-ī* form their nom. plur. by adding *-ā̃* in Bhadrawāhī and *-ā* in Bhaḷēsī. Thus, from *kūī*, 'a daughter' we have *kūīā̃* in Bhadrawāhī and *kuīā* in Bhaḷēsī. Feminine nouns ending in a consonant remain immutable in Bhaḷēsī and add *-ī* in Bhadrawāhī.

Cases are usually formed by adding suffixes or postpositions to the oblique form. In some cases oblique form itself is used to indicate the case relation. The genitive pastpositions *-rū*, *-kĕrũ* (Bhadrawāhi) and *-ĕū*, *-kĕū* (Bhaḷēsī) are as usual adjectives.

[LSI pp. 888-890]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of first two personal pronouns are ; *aũ*, 'I' ; *as*, 'we' ; *tū*, 'thou' ; *tus*, 'you'.

The demonstrative pronouns are ; *īh*, *ēh* (Bhad.) *ēh* (Bhaḷ.) 'this' ; *ōh*, that'. The relative and correlative pronouns are ; *zē*, *zai* (Bhad.). *dzē* (Bhaḷ.) 'who, which' ; *tē*, *sē*, *tai* (Bhad.) *tē*, *sē* (Bhaḷ.) 'that'.

The interrogative pronouns are ; *kauṇ* (Bhad.), *kaṇū* (Bhaḷ.), 'who ?', *kuṇ* (Bhad.) *kī*, *kē* (Bhaḷ.) 'what ?'. [LSI pp. 891-893]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive : The present tense is conjugated as follows :

		Bhadrawāhī	*Bhaḷēsī*
		'I am', etc.	
Sing.	1.	*āĩ*	*ahū̃*, *hū̃*
	2.	*ās*	*ahas*, *has*,
	3.	*āhē*, *ai*, *aĕ*	*ahā*, *hā*
Plur.	1.	*āhm*	*aham*, *ham*
	2.	*āhth*	*ahth*, *hath*
	3.	*āhṇ*, *āṇ*	*ahan*

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The past tense is masc. *thīū* (Bhaḷ. *thiū*), pl *thīē* (Bhaḷ. *thiē*) ; (Bhad.) fem. sing. and plur. *thī* ; (Bhaḷ.) fem. sing. *thē*, plur. *thī*.

As usual this does not change for person.

Active verb. The infinitive is formed by adding *-ṇū* to the root in both the dialects ; thus, *kuṭṇū*, 'to strike'.

The present and past participles are formed by adding *-tū* and *ū* to the root in both the dialects ; thus *kuṭṭū*, 'striking' and *kuṭṭū*, 'struck'.

The static past participle is formed by adding *-ōrō* (Bhad.), *-ūō* (Bhaḷ.) to the root ; thus, *kuṭṭōrō*, *kuṭṭūō*, 'in the state of being struck'.

In Bhaḷēsī the feminines of the present and past participles are slightly irregular. In the singular they change the final *-ū* (*-ā*, *-au* or *-ō*) to *-ē*, not to *-ī*. Thus, *kuṭṭē*. In the plural they take *-ī* as usual. Thus, *kuṭṭī*.

The imperative in both dialects is in the singular the same as the root and the plural adds *-ā*. Thus, *kuṭ*, 'strike thou' ; *kuṭṭā* (for *kuṭā*) 'strike ye'.

The old present and present subjunctive is conjugated as follows. In Bhadrawāhī there is a special feminine form in the singular.

	Bhadrawāhī		*Bhaḷēsī*
	Masc.	Fem.	
Sing.			
1.	*kuṭṭau* ~ *kuṭṭī*	*kuṭṭī*	*kuṭṭā*
2.	*kuṭṭas*	same	*kuṭṭas*
3.	*kuṭṭē*	same	*kuṭṭō*
Plur.			
1.	*kuṭṭam*	same as masc.	*kuṭṭam*
2.	*kuṭṭath*, *kuṭṭat*	,,	*kuṭṭaṭh*
3.	*kuṭṭaṇ*	,,	*kuṭṭan*

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The future tense changes for gender. Bhaḷēsī follows Pādrī in this tense, rather than Bhadrawāhī. It is conjugated as follows :

	Bhadrawāhī		*Bhaḷēsī*	
Sing.				
1.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
			kuṭṭau, kuṭṭēn	*kuṭṭūn*
2.	*kuṭalō*	*kuṭailai*	*kuṭṭal*	*kuṭṭūl*
			kuttal	*kuṭṭūl*

	Bhadrawāhī		*Bhaḷēsī*	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
Plur.				
1.	*kuṭmalē kuṭmē*	*kuṭmailai*	*kuṭmal*	*kuṭmūl*
2.	*kuṭalē, kuṭlē*	*kuṭailai*	*kuṭṭal*	*kuṭṭūl*
3.	*kuṭalē, kuṭlē*	*kuṭailai*	*kuṭṭau*	*kuṭṭūn*

The present is formed by adding personal terminations to the present participles. It changes for gender, and it will be observed that in the Bhadrawāhī feminine *t* is changed to *ch*, closely resembling the common change of *t* to *ṯs* in Kāshmīrī feminines.

	Bhadrawāhī		*Bhaḷēsī*	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
Sing.				
1.	*kuṭṭā*	*kuṭchā*	*kuṭṭū* (*-tau, -to*)	*kuṭṭē*
2.	*kuṭṭā*	*kuṭchā*	*kuṭṭus* (*-tōs*)	*kuṭṭē*
3.	*kuṭṭē*	*kuṭchē*	*kuṭṭū* (*-tau, -tō*)	*kuṭṭē*
Plur.				
1.	*kuṭṭam*	*kuṭcham*	*kuṭṭam*	*kuṭṭam*
2.	*kuṭṭath*	*kuṭchath*	*kuṭṭath*	*kuṭṭath*
3.	*kuṭṭaṇ*	*kuṭchaṇ*	*kuṭṭē*	*kuṭṭī*

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The tenses formed from the past participle call for no remarks. They are built on the usual lines, transitive verbs being constructed passively, agreeing in gender and number with the object having the subject in the case of the agent.

[LSI pp. 893-899]

PĀḌARĪ

651 Pāḍarī agrees with Kāshmīrī more closely than do the two others of the group.

Due to the lack of sufficient material available the following account of the dialect must be taken with considerable reserve.

[LSI pp. 903]

Pronunciation. Epenthesis is very common almost as common as in Kashmīrī—and the whole system of conjugation is full of it, but for want of sufficient material no general rules for these changes can be laid.

Pāḍarī has a marked tendency to drop final vowels of terminations. Thus, the *-rā* of the Bhadrawāhī genitive becomes a simple *-r*, and *-l*, the sign of the ablative, represents an original *-lā*. [LSI pp. 903-904]

Nouns. Cases are usually indicated by adding suffixes and postpositions to the nominative or oblique form. The agentive case is identical with the oblique form. The ablative is formed by adding *-l* in the singular and *-kal* in the plural. The genitive adds *-ar* in the singular and *-kar* in the plural. Thus. *kōī*, 'a girl', genitive, *kūyar*, (sing), *kūī-kar* (plur.). The plural of the dative is the same as the oblique form. The singular adds *-as* ; thus, *bhēn*, 'a sister', dative, *bhēṇas*.

[LSI pp. 904-905]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of first two personal pronouns are ; *aũ*, 'I' ; *as*, 'we' ; *tū*, 'thou' ; *tus*, 'you'. The genitive forms are ; *miũn*, *meṇ* 'mine', *tiũṇ*, *teṇ*, 'our' *hiũn*, *heṇ* 'thine', *tōhṇ*, *tuṇ*, 'your',

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The demonstrative pronoun is *ēh*, 'this'. The relative and correlative pronouns are *dzə*, 'who, which', and *sə*, 'that'. The interrogative pronouns are *kaṇh*, 'who ?' and *kī*, 'what ?'. The word for 'own', equivalent to the Hindi *apnā*, is *ampaṛ*, fem. *ampēṛ*. [LSI pp. 905-906]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present tense is *han*^{a} or *hainā*, plural *han*^{a} *han*^{ē}, *hin*^{ē} or *haiṇe*. This is masculine, the corresponding feminine form being *hin*^{ī} or *hainī* for both numbers. This tense does not change for person.

The past tense is :.

	Sing.	Plur.
Masc	*thē*^{a}	*thē*^{ē}
Fem.	*thī*	*thī*

It does not change for person.

Active verb. The infinitive is formed by adding *-ṇ* (*-aṇ*) to the root ; *kŏṭaṇ*, 'to strike'.

The present participle is formed by adding *-ṇa* to the root ; thus, *kŏṭṇa*, 'striking'.

The past participle is formed by adding *-ṭa* to the root ; thus *kŏṭṭa*. 'beaten'.

As in Chamĕāḷī, and other Western Pahāṛī dialects, there is a static past participle formed by changing the final *a* of the past participle to *ŏr* or *aur* ; thus *kŏṭŏr*, 'in the state of having been struck'.

The imperative 2nd sing. is the same in form as the root, the plural adding *-ai* ; thus, *kŏṭ*, 'strike thou' ; *kŏṭai*, 'strike ye'.

The future has the 2nd and third person identical and changes for gender. It is conjugated as follows :

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'I shall strike', etc.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	*kŏṭul, kūṭal*	*kūṭal*	*kŏṭul, kūṭal*	*kūṭal*
2 & 3.	*kŏṭal*	*kŏčṭél*	*kŏṭṇal*	*kuṭnĕ^{i}l^{j}*

When the root of the verb ends in a consonant, the first person is generally based on the form *kŏṭul*, with various epenthetic changes. If the root ends in a vowel, the first person usually, but not always, ends in a nasal *-ũ*.

The present tense, which is also used as past conditional, is simply the present participle, changing for gender and number, but not for person. Thus, *aũ kŏṭna*, 'I (masc.) strike, (if) I had struck, I should have struck (if)'. The masc. plur. is *kŏṭnĕ*, and the fem. sing. and plur, *kŏ^{c}ṭnī*.

The past tense is simply the past participle.

[LSI pp. 906-910]

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652 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES FOR THE BHADRAWĀH GROUP

English	*Bhadrawahī*	*Paḍarī*
one	ak	yak
two	dūī	dūī
three	tlāī, trāī	tlaē
four	ts̲ūūr, ts̲ōūr	ts̲ōur
hand	hatth	hat
foot	pāō	khur
head	dŏg	magir
a father	bau	bāb
of a father	bauĕ-rū	bābbar
to a father	bauē-jō	bābbas
two fathers	dūī bau	dūī bāb
I am	aũ āī	aũ han[a], *fem.* hin[i]
thou art	tū ās, as	tū han[a], *fem.* hin[i]
he is	ōh āhē, ai	sĕ han[a], *fem.* hin[i]
we are	as āhm	as han[a], hinĕ, hanĕ, *fem.* hin[i]
you are	tus āhth, āth	tus han[a], hinĕ, hanĕ, *fem.* hin[i]
they are	ūṇhā āhṇ, ān	tahna han[a], hinĕ, hane, *fem.* hin[i]
I was	aũ thīō (*fem.* thī)	aũ thē[a], *fem.* thī
thou wast	tū thīō	tū thē[a], *fem.* thī
he was	ōh thīō	sĕ thē[a], *fem.* thī

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English	*Bhadrawāhī*	*Pāḍarī*
we were	as thīē (*fem.* thi)	as thēẽ, *fem.* thī
you were	tus thīē	tus thēẽ, *fem.* thī
they were	ūnhā thīē	tāhṇª thēẽ, *fem* thī
I shall be	aũ bhōlō	aũ
I beat	aũ kuṭṭã	aũ ⎫
thou beatest	tū kuṭṭã	tū ⎬ kŏṭna, *fem.* kŏĕṭnī
he beats	ōh kuṭṭē	sĕ ⎭
we beat	as kuṭṭam	as ⎫
you beat	tus kuṭṭath, kuṭṭat	tus ⎬ kŏṭnĕ *fem.* kŏĕṭnī
they beat	ūṇhā kuṭṭaṇ	tāhṇa ⎭
I beat (past)	mĩ kuṭṭū, kuṭṭō	maĩ ⎫
thou beatest (past)	taĩ kuṭṭū, kuṭṭō	taĩ ⎬ kŏṭa, *fem.* kŏĕṭī
he beat (past)	uṇī kuṭṭō	tēīnī ⎭
we beat (past)	asẽĩ kuṭṭō	āsē ⎫
you beat (past)	tusẽĩ kuṭṭō	tusē ⎬ kōṭā, *fem.* kŏĕṭī
they beat (past)	uṇẽĩ kuṭṭō	taiṇhē ⎭
I shall beat	aũ kuṭalō	aũ kūṭal, *fem.* kūṭal

[LSI pp. 915-923]

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GUJURĪ

653 Gujurs living in the hills north of the Panjab, speak a language closely allied to Rājasthānī. The resemblance of Gujurī to Mēwāṛī is very striking. But still closer is the resemblance of Gujurī to the Mēwātī dialect of Rājasthānī spoken in Alwar, some distance to the north of Mewar. It is curious that Gujurī agrees with both Mēwātī and with Mēwāṛī much more closely than with the intervening Jaipurī. On the whole, it follows Mēwātī very systematically, only differing from it, and agreeing with Mēwāṛī in regard to one or two points of detail. As compared to Mēwātī it presents a more archaic appearance, preserving many words in a stage of development older than that which we find in Mēwātī. Thus :

Gujurī	*Mēwātī*
satt, 'seven'	*sat*
hī̃, 'I'	*maĩ*
trē, 'three'	*tīn*

The Mēwātī *sāt* must have passed through the Gujurī form *satt* before becoming fixed as we have it now. In the case of the word for 'I' Mēwātī has lost the old nominative, preserved by Gujurī, and has substituted the oblique form exactly as has occurred in standard Hindōstānī. In the Gujurī *trē*, an *r* has been preserved which has been lost in Mēwātī.

In the declension of nouns, the two languages closely resemble each other. The postpositions used to form cases are practically identical. Thus :

	Gujurī	*Mēwātī*
Agentive :	*nē*	*nai*
Dative accusative :	*nā*	*nai*
Genitive :	*kō*	*kō*
Locative :	*mā*	*maĩ*

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The personal pronouns closely resemble each other. Thus :

	Gujurī	*Mēwātī*
I (gen.)	*mērō*	*mērō*
We (obl.)	*ham*	*ham*
(gen.)	*mhārō*	*mhārō*
Thou (gen.)	*tērō*	*tērō*
You (Obl.)	*tam*	*tam*
(gen.)	*thārō*	*thārō*

In the nominative singular, both Gujurī and Mēwātī have feminine forms for the demonstrative pronouns.

	Gujurī	*Mēwātī*
This	*yō* (f.*yā*)	*yō* (f.*yā*).
That	*ō*, *ōh* (f. *wā*)	*wō*, *wōh* (f.*wā*).

The agreement in regard to substantive is very striking. Some of the forms are :

	Gujurī	*Mēwatī*
I am	*hũ*, *hoũ*	*hũ*
We are	*hã*	*hã*
You are	*ō*, *hō*	*hō*
Were (m.pl.)	*thā*	*thā*, *hā*

As regards active verb the agreement is also striking. Especially noteworthy is the agreement as to the formation of the future by adding *-gō*. Thus, *mārũgō*, 'I shall strike'. In most Rājasthānī dialects as well as in Western Pahāṛī, the typical

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sign of the future is usually *-lō*, or some related form and not *-gō*. Some of the verbal forms are :

	Gujurī	*Mēwātī*
I strike	*mārũ*	*mārũ*
We strike	*mārā̃*	*marā̃*
They strike	*mārẽ*	*maraĩ*
Present participle	*mārtō*	*mārᵃtō*
Past participle	*mārĕō*	*māryō*

The definite present is formed in both by adding the verb substantive to the simple present, and not to the present participle. Thus, *mārũ-hũ*, 'I am striking'.

From the above it will be seen that Gujurī grammar is practically the same as that of Mēwātī. [LSI pp. 925-929]

GUJURĪ OF HAZARA

654 The following grammatical sketch is based on the Gujuri spoken in Hazara and in the Galis of the Murree Hills.

Nouns. Obl. sing. and nom. plur. are the same as nom. sing. Nom. feminine plur. ending in *-ī* add nasalisation and those ending in consonants add *-ẽ* to the nom. sing. form. Thus, *bakrī*, 'a goat', nom. plur. *bakrĩ*, *trīmt*, 'a woman', nom. plur. *trīmtẽ*. Obl. plur. add nasalisation or *-ā̃* to the nom. sing. form. Thus, *ghoṛā*, 'a horse', obl. plur. *ghoṛā̃*.

The postpositions are :

Agent :	*-nē*
Acc.-dat. :	*-na*, *-kē*
Abl. :	*-tē*, *-tā̃*, *-tō*
Gen. :	*-kō*
Loc. :	*-mā̃*, 'in' ; *-bichch*, 'in' ; *-tarũ*, 'up to'.

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There does not seem to be any locative or agentive case formed by adding -*ē*, such as we find in Western Pahāṛī, but on the other hand, an ablative is formed by adding -*õ*, as in *dūrõ*, 'from far'. The genitive postposition -*kō*, is, as usual, an adjective. When agreeing with a masculine noun in the oblique singular, or in the nominative plural it becomes -*ka*, when it agrees with a masculine noun in the oblique plural it becomes -*kã*, when agreeing with a singular feminine noun it becomes -*kī* and when agreeing with a feminine plural it becomes -*kĩ*. When, however, it is governed by certain postpositions, it becomes -*kē*, as in *ghoṛa-kē nāḷ*, 'with the horse'. [LSI pp. 930-931]

Adjectives. Adjectives in -*ō* follow in their declension the model of the genitive.

Pronouns. The nominative forms of the first two personal pronouns are *hũ*, 'I' ; *ham*, 'we' ; *tõ*, 'thou', *tam*, 'you'.

The demonstrative pronouns are *yō* (fem. *yā*), 'this', and *ō*, *ōh* (*wā*), 'that'.

The relative pronoun is *jō*, 'who'. The interrogative pronouns are *kōn* or *kaun*, 'who ?' and *kē*, 'what ?'. [LSI p. 931]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present tense is conjugated as under :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hõ̃, hũ, hẽ*	*hoã, hã*
2.	*hŏẽ, hai, ai*	*hŏo, hō, o*
3.	*hŏẽ, hai, ai*	*hŏẽ, haĩ, aĩ, hẽ*

The past is *thō*, plur. *thā* ; fem. *thī*, plur. *thĩ*. It does not change for person.

Active verb. The infinitive is formed by adding -*ṇõ* (-*nõ*) to the root, as in *hoṇõ*, 'to become'. An oblique is formed by adding -*aṇ* (-*an*), -*uṇ* (-*un*), or -*ōṇ* (-*ōn*) ; thus, *pūt kĕhoṇ jōgō*, 'worthy to be called a son.'

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The present participle is formed by adding *-tō* to the root, as in *mārtō*, 'striking' ; *jāuṇō*, 'to go' makes *jātō*.

The past participle is formed by adding *-čō*, to the root, as in *mārčō* fem. *mārī*, 'struck'. Roots ending in *-ā*, add *-yō*, as in *khāyō*, 'eaten'.

The imperative has its 2nd person singular the same in form as the root; while the plural adds *-ō*. Thus, *mār*, 'strike thou' ; *mārō*, 'strike ye'.

The old present and present subjunctive is conjugated as follows :

'I strike, I may strike', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārũ*	*mārā*
2.	*mārē*	*mārō*
3.	*mārē*	*mārẽ*

The future is formed by adding *-gō* to the old present, which changes for gender and number ; thus, *mārēgō*, 'you or he will strike' ; *marēgī*, 'you (fem.) or she will strike'.

The tenses formed from the past participle are as usual, except that intransitive verbs nasalise the final *-ō* of the participle in the first person singular only. Thus, *hũ gẽõ*, 'I went' ; *ōh gēō*, 'he went'.

The passive voice is formed with *jaũṇõ*, 'to go', and the past participle as usual, as in *hũ mārčō* (or *marē*) *jaũgō*, 'I shall be beaten'. [LSI pp. 932-934]

GUJURÎ OF SWAT

655 The Gujurī of Swat is spoken by Gujurs and Ajṛīs residing in the Swat valley. These people frequently make use of Pushtō words and phrases, but their language, like that of other Gujurs, is closely allied to Mēwātī and Mēwāṛī. [LSI p. 941]

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The following grammatical sketch illustrates the grammar used by the Gujurs in its pure form :

Nouns. The masculine nouns ending -*ō* add -*ā* in nom. plur. and obl. sing., and -*ã* in obl. plur. Other masculine nouns as well as feminine nouns in nom. plur. and obl. sing. remain unchanged and add -*ã* in obl. plur.

The genitive termination is -*kō* which is as usual adjectival. [LSI p. 942]

Adjectives. Adjectives ending in -*ō* end in -*ā* in direct plural and oblique cases. Other adjectives are immutable. [LSI p. 942]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of personal pronouns are ; *hũ*, 'I' ; *tū*, *tō*, 'thou' ; *ōh*, *wah*, 'he' ; *ham*, 'we' ; *tau*, 'you' ; *wē*, 'they'.

The proximate demonstrative is *yō*, 'this', plur. *yē*. The relative pronoun is *chi*, 'who or what' (Puṣḥtō). The interrogative pronouns are *kauṇ*, 'who ?' ; *kī*, 'what ?'. [LSI p. 942]

Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive. The present tense is *hai*, for all numbers and persons.

The past masculine singular is *thō*, plural *thā*, fem. *thī*, for all numbers and persons.

Finite verb. The infinitive is formed by adding -*aṇ* to the root ; thus, *mārаṇ*, 'to beat'.

The present participle is formed by adding -*tō* to the root and past participle by adding -*iō* ; thus, *mārtō*, 'beating', *mārіō*, 'beat'.

Active verb. The present tense is formed by adding personal endings to the root. The personal endings are as under :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*ũ*	*ã*
2.	*ai*	*õ*
3.	*ãi*	*aĩ*

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The future is formed by adding *-gō* to the present tense form; thus *mārū-gō*, 'I will beat'.

The imperfect is formed by adding *-thō* to the present tense form.

The past is simply the past participle; thus, *maĩ mār-iō*, 'I beat'. [LSI p. 942]

The following points may be noted in regard to the grammar of the specimens :

The agent case is generally the same as the nominative. Indeed the use of the agent with the past tense of a transitive verb seems to have almost disappeared.

Amongst the postpositions may be mentioned *mā̃*, 'in'; *kanah*, 'with'. The postpositions *tah* and *nah* are borrowed from Puṣhtō. They are used indiscriminately to mean both 'to' and 'from'. Thus, *īṭhār-tah ā-jā*, 'come to this place', and *īṭhār-tah-jā*, 'go from this place'.

The present participle is used to form a habitual past. Thus, *khāitō*, 'he used to eat'. [LSI pp. 943-944]

GUJURĪ OF KASHMIR

656 The language of the Gujurs of Kashmir closely resembles that of Hazara and Swat. The main differences are really matters of spelling. Thus, we have *-nā* instead of *-na*, the postposition of the dative, and *kihō* instead of *kĕho* for 'said'.

The borrowed forms come from Kāshmīrī, and some of them are instructive. In the word *kihō* for *kahiō*, from *kahṇō*, 'to say', we see the Piśācha law of epenthesis coming into force.

We also come across the Piśācha tendency to disaspirate soft aspirate consonants, and then to harden them. Thus, *dhī*, 'a daughter', becomes first *dī* and then *tī*. [LSI p. 953]

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Nouns. The declension of nouns is nearly the same as in Hazara. The only differences are that masculine nouns in -ī, like *admī*, 'a man', shorten the ī in the oblique plural, forming *admīă*, not *admīă*. So also feminines like *kōṛī*, 'a mare', *tī*, 'a daughter', and *gă*, 'a cow', have their nominative plurals *tīă* and *găwă*, respectively.

The postpositions are :

Agent :	*-nē*
Acc.-Dat. :	*-nā*, sometimes *-kē*
Inst. :	*-nal*
Abl. :	*-thũ*
Gen. :	*-kō*, *-gō*
Loc. :	*-mā*, 'in, on', *-kōlē*, 'near'.

The usual postposition of the genitive is *-kō*, but we sometimes find *-gō*, especially after a vowel, as in *tīă-gō*, 'of the daughters', *-gō* occurs also in the Bāgṛī dialect of Marwāṛī, and related forms are *-gai*, the sign of the dative in the Maiyã of the Indus Kōhistān, and *-gō*, the sign of the dative in the Gādī dialect of Chameăḷī. [LSI pp. 953-954]

Adjectives. As regards adjectives, the only thing to note is that the oblique form of *ēk*, 'one', when used as an indefinite article, is *ēkaṇ*. [LSI p. 954]

Pronouns. The nominative forms of first two personal pronouns are ; *hãũ*, 'I' ; *ham*, 'we' ; *tũ*, 'thou' ; *tam*, 'you'.

The demonstrative pronouns are *yū*, 'this', and *wū*, 'that'.

For relative and correlative pronouns we have *jō* or *jēṛō*, 'who', and *sō*, 'that'. The interrogative pronouns are *kōṇ*, 'who ?', and *kē*, 'what ?'. [LSI p. 954]

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Verbs. The verb substantive is thus conjugated in the present :

'I am', etc.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*hõ*	*hã*
2.	*hai*	*hẽ*
3.	*hai*	*hẽ*

The past is *thɔ*, etc., as in Hazara.

There is a negative verb substantive *nai*, 'is not', used for all persons of both numbers, as in *is-lāik kō nai*, 'I am not at all worthy'.

Active verb. The infinitive ends in *-ṇō* (*-no*) as in *hoṇō*, *mārnō*. The oblique form ends in *-aṇ* (*-an*), the *a* being dropped if the root ends in a vowel. Thus, *hōṇ lagō*, 'he began to be'.

The present participle ends in *-tɔ* ; thus, *hōtɔ*, *mārtɔ*.

The past participle ends in *-iɔ*, as in *māriɔ*. In this form of Gujurī, the past participle frequently takes the suffix *-vī*, without changing its meaning, as in *māriɔ-vī*, *lagɔ-vī*.

The imperative singular is, as usual, the same in form as the root. Thus, *mār*, 'strike' ; *dē*, 'give'.

The old present is thus conjugated :

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	*mārũ̃*, *mārõ*	*mārã*
2.	*mārē*	*mārẽ*
3.	*mārē*, *mārā*	*mārẽ*

The future is formed by adding *-gɔ* (*-gā*, *-gī*) to the old present. Thus, *mārũ̃gɔ* or *mārõgɔ*, 'I shall strike'.

The tenses formed from the past participle are as usual, and call for no remarks, except that, in the case of intransitive verbs, the first person is not nasalised as in Hazara. Thus, *hũ̃ giɔ*, not *ũ̃ giõ*, 'I went'. [LSI pp. 954-955]

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657 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND PHRASES IN THE VARIOUS FORMS OF GUJURĪ

English	*Gujurī* (Hazara)	*Yūsufzai Gujurī*
one	ēk	yakō
two	dō	dō
three	trē	tīn
four	chār	chār
hand	hatth	hath
foot	pair	pair
head	sir	sar
a father	bāpp	yakō bāp
of a father	bāpp-ko	yakō bāp-kō ~ (*obl.*) -kā
to a father	bāpp-na	yakō bāp-tah (*Puṣhtō*)
two fathers	dō bāpp	dō bāp
I am	hū̃ hū̃, hōã̃	hū̃ hai
thou art	tō̃ ai, hai	tū hai
he is	ō ai, hai	wuh hai
we are	ham hã̃	ham hai
you are	tau ō, hō	tam hai
they are	wē aĩ, haĩ, hẽ̃	wē hai
I was	hū̃ thō	hū̃ thō
thou wast	tō̃ thō	hū̃ thō
he was	ō thō	wuh thō
we were	ham thā	ham thā
you were	tam thā	tam thā
they were	wē thā	wē thā

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English	*Gujurī* (Hazara)	*Yūsufzai Gujurī*
I shall be	maĩ hõũgõ	hũ hũgõ
I beat	hũ mārũ	hũ mārũ
thou beatest	tõ mārē	tũ mārai
he beats	ō mārē	wuh mārai
we beat	ham mārã	ham mārã
you beat	tam mārō	tam mārõ
they beat	wē mārẽ	wē māraĩ
I beat (past)	mẽ mārĕō	maĩ mārīō
thou beatest (past)	tẽ mārĕō	taĩ mārīō
he beat (past)	us-nē mārĕō	us (~ us-nē) mārīō
we beat (past)	ham-nē mārĕō	ham-nē mārīō
you beat (past)	tam nẽ mārĕō	tam-nē mārīō
they beat (past)	unhẽ mārĕō	un-nē mārīō
I shall beat	hũ-mārũgō	hũ mārũgō

[LSI pp. 964-981]

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